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JOHN MORLEY.

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THE

# FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. CXXI. NEW SERIES.—JANUARY 1, 1877.

## THE BIRMINGHAM PLAN OF PUBLIC-HOUSE REFORM.

ON the 15th of November last a sub-committee of the six hundred of the Birmingham Liberal Association appear to have agreed to the following resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that local representative authorities should be empowered to acquire, on payment of fair compensation, on a principle to be fixed by Parliament, all existing interests in the retail sale of intoxicating drinks within their respective districts; and thereafter, if they think fit, to carry on the trade for the convenience and on behalf of the inhabitants, but so that no individual shall have any pecuniary interest in or derive any profit from the sale."

The wording of the resolution is, perhaps unavoidably, rather vague. But this defect is amply compensated by the very full and clear speech of Mr. Chamberlain. He lays down three propositions: first, that the absolute suppression of drinking is impossible; secondly, that unless we can secure some better regulation of drinking, the evils of which we complain will be permanent, and possibly extended; and, thirdly, that this regulation can only be sufficiently secured by entrusting the trade to the control of the local authorities.

It is, of course, this last proposition on which the whole project rests. From it Mr. Chamberlain expects these advantages: first, the diminution of the number of public-houses; secondly, a greater adherence to the law; thirdly, that the liquor sold will be pure and unadulterated; fourthly, it is urged on behalf of the plan that it would facilitate the making fresh regulations against intemperance, if needed.

To this plan Mr. Chamberlain anticipates there may be three objections. First, it may be said that it is wicked to sell liquor; secondly, that it is wrong to compensate the publicans; thirdly, that those who propose this scheme are entering on a vast speculation, the end of which no man can see.

We have placed before the reader the summary of Mr. Chamberlain's speech, because he seems to have taken considerable pains in

its preparation, and in order that, on a subject of so much importance, the reader may have the whole case before him.

By way of clearing the ground, we may at once point out several propositions of Mr. Chamberlain which it is not our intention to dispute. We certainly shall not contend that it is possible to put an end to drinking altogether—we should as soon think of a plan for putting an end to eating. Nor are we much moved by the objection that it is wrong to enter into the liquor trade, which appears to us just as legitimate as any other. Nor yet are we oppressed by the objection that it is wrong to compensate a publican from whom you take away by force the means by which he earns his bread; indeed, we incline to the opinion that not to do so would be the height of tyranny and cruelty. We do not exactly know who the six hundred of Birmingham are, but their moral courage must be at least equal to the physical daring of the glorious six hundred of Balaklava, if they are afflicted with no misgivings at the sight of Mr. Chamberlain's third objection, that "they are entering on a vast speculation, the end of which no man can see."

The following was the proposal of Mr. Chamberlain in May last: Town councils might be empowered, after giving the usual notice, and on payment of a fair compensation based on the average profits of the last three years, to acquire all or any of the licenses within its jurisdiction, and at the same time the powers possessed by licensing justices and licensing committees might be vested in the councils, with an appeal to the High Court of Justice only, and subject to the provision that no new license should be granted till the proportion had been reduced to, say, one in five hundred of population. Power should be given to the councils to deal with all or any of the houses acquired by them in any of the following ways, namely; (*a*) to abandon them altogether; (*b*) to grant such license to the highest bidder, under conditions to be fixed by the council, and for a period not exceeding five years; (*c*) to carry on the trade in the present premises, or in other premises rented or purchased for the purpose, under the conduct of managers, with remuneration independent of the amount of or profits on the sale of intoxicating drinks. In the two last cases the amount received for the sale of licenses or as profit from the traffic should be carried to a license fund, to be applied as follows: 1. To pay interest on all loans contracted for purchase of license or premises. 2. To create a sinking fund to extinguish loans in twenty years from date. 3. To pay all costs of management and expenses of carrying out the Act. 4. To buy up and extinguish licenses till the maximum proportion of one in five hundred of the population has been reached. 5. The surplus (if any) to be used, first in securing the earlier repayment of the loans contracted till these have been entirely extinguished, and then to be carried to the credit of the education rate and the poor rate in fixed proportions.

These were the views of Mr. Chamberlain six months ago. Since then it appears that he has modified them in the following particulars. He gives up the plan of compensating the publicans on the profits of the last three years, and leaves the matter wholly to Parliament. He discards the idea of granting licenses to any one. Thus the plan has grown bolder as it advances to maturity. Instead of buying up a part of the public-houses, it is now proposed to buy them all, and instead of a fixed principle of valuation, the town must be ready to pay whatever a Parliament, in which the publicans are by no means without influence, may choose to decide.

The first observation that occurs to us is that this proposal calls upon Parliament to make a new and very serious precedent. The granting of powers to take other people's property has hitherto been limited to cases of the clearest and most unquestionable utility, where the forcible purchase is of land, a kind of property in which the public must from its very nature have a kind of dormant joint interest with the proprietor. As far as we know, the forcible suppression of a lawful trade is a proceeding which no English Parliament has ever been asked to venture on. Even if the good were quite certain, it is most probable that Parliament would submit to almost anything rather than establish so violent and dangerous a precedent. How much more strongly will this be felt when we are asked to take this arbitrary step, not to achieve any certain good, but to try a doubtful and far from promising experiment!

But if Parliament may well be expected to feel the greatest reluctance to entertain this new and startling question, what shall we say of the town of Birmingham, at whose expense this enormous and, as it appears to us, very unpromising experiment is to be tried? To borrow a million of money is no light affair. No one will doubt that the rich and prosperous town of Birmingham can give ample security for a much larger sum; what we may reasonably doubt is whether, even if, which we do not believe, Parliament could be induced to give its support to such an experiment, the town would exercise the most ordinary prudence if they consented to try it.

As the complaint is of the number rather than of the quality of the public-houses, it seems as unnecessary to buy up the whole in order to retrench a part, as it was for Hoti the swineherd to burn down his whole hut in order to roast a single pig. We have often seen persons pull down a small house to build a large one, but this is the first occasion on which we have heard the proposition entertained of pulling down a large house to build a small one.

The Birmingham Town Council are cutting out for themselves an enormous amount of patronage. As the one publican of the town they will have some thousands of lucrative places to give away, and to give away to persons who will necessarily become their own constituents and the electors for the borough. Are they quite sure

of their own virtue? and, if a long and unvaried experience has made them secure on that point, can they answer with equal confidence for those who may come after them? Have they no fear that their well-meant endeavours to prevent Birmingham from becoming a sty of drunkenness may result in turning it into a hot-bed of corruption? The object is to restrict the number of public-houses. In order to attain this the Town Council is to go into business as publicans, or rather as a single incorporated publican. They will have not merely a very large and lucrative patronage, they will be holders of a vast and stringent monopoly of their own creating.

As far as the army of persons dependent on the Town Council go, we may reasonably expect a repetition of the American precedent. Just as the successful party on the presidential election claim the whole patronage of the government as the reward of the victors, so it is to be feared will the winning party in the municipal election insist upon the patronage as their share of the "spoils." It is said that the customers of public-houses will, under the administration of the Town Council, obtain better and even cheaper supplies of food and stimulants. It may be so, but that is not the ordinary experience of those whose unhappy lot it has been to be compelled to deal with monopolies. It is an axiom of political economy that where the power of extortion is given, it is sure to be used to the utmost sooner or later. In the present case it is assumed that the Town Council of Birmingham will never abuse the immense power entrusted to them, in fact that they, of all mankind, will exercise monopoly without extortion and patronage without corruption. We entertain no doubt of the purity of the motives with which this project is introduced. The great mass of mankind are virtuous till subjected to severe temptation. But even if the present Town Council of Birmingham can answer for themselves, how are they to answer for those that will come after them? They, alas! will pass away; but is it quite sure that they will bequeath their virtues to their successors, together with the legacy of patronage and monopoly? May not a time come, even to Birmingham, when a cry will arise against the heavy pressure of the rates? May not some Achitophel arise to point out that by an increase in the number of the public-houses a very considerable revenue may be raised and the burdens of the ratepayers greatly lightened? And if there be found, as assuredly there will, an Ahab who will serve Baal a little, there will soon arise a Jehu who will serve him much. We are putting no extraordinary case but only appealing to the universal experience of mankind. The zeal and fervour and disinterestedness of the inventors of a new scheme are but faintly transmitted to their successors, and after an interval more or less prolonged material interests inevitably prevail.

Our information as to the proceedings of the body which is to be trusted with these powers, as far as we know utterly unprecedented

in England, is somewhat scanty. We are not told, nor indeed have we the slightest idea, what price the Birmingham Town Council intend to put upon their beer and spirits. This is one of the especial embarrassments of a monopolist, who has nothing to guide him in fixing the price but his own arbitrary will. Let us take the different alternatives that are open to the Town Council.

Some ardent reformers may say, "Make no profit at all, have nothing to do with the wages of iniquity." But this would never be endured, for it would imply the payment of the interest of the debt out of the rates, which would disgust the wise, and a sale of beer and spirits at a cheaper rate in Birmingham than anywhere else, which would be a grievous blow to the authors of this movement. Shall the Town Council, then, sell at the rate that prevails just outside Birmingham? But this would be too little if it did not pay the interest of the debt, and if it more than paid it the disposition of the surplus would, as in the case of the Irish Church, raise the most difficult question of all. Will the able and conscientious author of the scheme, who is willing to vote for the Permissive Bill, will Mr. Chamberlain himself consent to relieve the rates of the town by the profits of a traffic for the forcible suppression of which he is, we understand, ready to vote? We have put the question as if the Town Council were the only persons concerned or having a voice in these questions. But this is very far from being the case. The Town Council may shirk the question of profit or no profit in the first instance, but the ultimate decision will rest, not with the Town Council, but with the ratepayers. It will not be for them a question of abstruse policy, which they will be content to leave to the higher powers. It is a question on which they will feel the keenest interest, either as ratepayers or as consumers; it is a question on which they will believe themselves, and as far as the price and quality of beer and spirits are concerned, will be excellent judges. We are unwilling to underrate the disinterestedness of human, and especially of Birmingham, nature, which has inspired her excellent representative with so much confidence, but we cannot dissemble our apprehension that it is only too probable that the result of this well-meant movement will be that two parties will be formed—the one the votaries of cheap beer, the other claiming that the monopoly be strained to the utmost in order to lighten the pressure of the rates. We do not presume to suggest which party will be victorious, but neither will, in the long run, have much reason to congratulate themselves on their success, whether victory incline to the side of drunkenness, or of a grinding and hypocritical monopoly. It also appears to us very doubtful whether the consumer, who, it must always be remembered, is sure to have a voice potential on the matter, will be quite as well pleased as the authors of this scheme with the attendance and demeanour of persons who are (and it is the glory

of the plan) utterly indifferent to his custom, and have not the slightest wish to see his face within their doors again. Shenstone pathetically complains that we receive our warmest welcome at an inn: that complaint at least will not be heard in Birmingham. The prospects of the consumer are not brilliant, since all that he has to expect from the new creation of his chosen leaders and friends is monopoly seasoned by indifference and incivility.

These considerations appear to us so serious, that we confess we should have been opposed to the plan even had the objects which it proposes been much more important. How much more must we object when we find that all that is suggested as the result is—(1) that the number of public-houses will be reduced; (2) that the law will be better observed; and (3) that, contrary to the very essence of monopoly, the quality of the provisions and stimulants supplied will be better (we do not observe that it is said cheaper) under its rule.

It will now be convenient to examine the main assumption on which the scheme is founded.

It is assumed that to reduce the number of public-houses very much below what it would be if left to open competition, nay, very much below what it is when under the control of magistrates, will materially check intemperance. We can have no satisfactory statistics on the point, because the experiment of free trade in the retail trade of intoxicating liquors has never been tried on a sufficient scale and for a sufficient time to furnish us with data on which we can rely. We can only reason on somewhat abstract probabilities—a rather unsatisfactory ground when issues so momentous are to depend upon our conclusions. There are, of course, many and various reasons for frequenting a public-house; but the question we have to answer is, Are these motives of such a nature that they would exist only in a slight degree if the object of desire were not continually before the eyes of the victim? We cannot suppose that, even if the scheme were carried out to the fullest extent, the municipality of Birmingham would interpose any very serious interval of time or space between the working man and the public-house, or that the municipality would wish that the public-houses should be purposely made inconvenient or disagreeable. Any attempt of the kind would inevitably lead to the utter subversion of the whole scheme. We shall therefore assume that the obstacles which will be interposed between the customer and the public-house cannot be of a very formidable or serious character. Whether these obstacles will be sufficient to keep the man away from a place to which by the supposition he would go if such obstacles did not exist, must depend upon the degree of repulsion exercised upon him by his own home and the attraction of the public-house. If he has a wife who, as is too often the case with English women of her class, cooks his food

in a way that makes it almost or altogether uneatable—if she is a termagant, or a slattern, or a confirmed dawdle—the merely lengthening the walk to the public-house by two or three minutes will hardly decide the point in favour of home. Attraction is still more powerful than repulsion. If the man be of quick and lively temperament, keenly relishing and qualified to shine in such society as is open to him, a warm politician, a managing man in clubs or benefit societies, if he be a leading member of a trades-union, or, finally, if he has a decided taste for fermented or spirituous liquors, the lengthening of his walk to the public-house will not sensibly diminish his attendance. It seems to result from these considerations that the regular attendance at public-houses will be little, if at all, interfered with by such a diminution of their number as the municipal government would be willing, or indeed able, to enforce. The whole advantage of the measure, therefore, must consist in the influence in the way of attraction and opportunity which would be exercised by the difference between the number of public-houses licensed by the magistrates under the present plan, and the number that would remain after the process of buying up had been completed. We know of no data by which the amount of effect produced by this reduction of the number of casual visitors can be estimated. Of course, all those who go to public-houses for the purpose of obtaining needful refreshment will continue to go; they are the victims of the system, and, as far as they go, furnish an argument against it. We cannot estimate the effects of the proposed reduction of the number of public-houses on casual tipplers very highly. If, indeed, it were intended that public-houses should be as entirely concealed from public notice as betting-houses and places for the receipt of stolen goods, there can be no doubt that the ocular temptation to the weaker vessels, to whom to see a public-house and to enter it are an inevitable sequence, would be removed. But it must be remembered that after the Birmingham system has been fully developed, the temptation created by public-houses will still exist; the fish will still continue to be caught, only there will be fewer night-lines set for them. It must also be remembered that nothing is better established than the fact that drunkenness does not at all depend on the number or paucity of public-houses as compared with the population. These considerations appear to reduce the advantage to be gained on behalf of temperance to very narrow dimensions, and may not unreasonably raise a doubt whether an experiment from which such very moderate results are all that can be looked for, is worth making at all.

Nothing is more remarkable, and to us more unaccountable, than the species of fascination which the bare idea of a monopoly seems to exercise over some minds. It is only thirty years ago that we contrived to emancipate our minds from the monstrous delusion that monopoly was the life and soul of industry and commerce. There

are those who still think a government monopoly an excellent form of taxation, and the great mass of the community who soar superior to these vulgar errors still adhere to their discarded favourite as an excellent measure of police by tolerating the qualified monopoly of the licensing system. Just as in the days of commercial restriction the cry always was that the monopoly failed because it was not strict enough, so is it alleged that all we want is to trample out the last embers of competition, and to place the supply of a considerable amount of the food of the poor in the hands of a single monopolist. We profess ourselves quite unable to understand how that which is economically so utterly wrong can be socially so entirely right. We had thought that free and unrestricted competition in the articles they consume was the charter of the poor—the only absolute guarantee that can be given them that they shall have what they want at the lowest price and of the best quality. We do not believe that to deprive the managers of all interest in the sale is the way to accomplish this object, and we believe that the new monopolists will soon awake to the conviction that they also have an interest adverse to the interest of their customers. It would be an edifying spectacle to see a municipal, or perhaps a parliamentary, election turn on the soundness of the municipal beer or the strength of the corporate gin.

These considerations have led us to inquire whether the first step to an improvement does not lie exactly in the contrary direction. It seems to us the vainest thing in the world to suppose that by placing a trade on a basis economically false, and therefore morally wrong, you can ever arrive at a good result. You start with an injustice; you take away from the poor man the only infallible guarantee that he will obtain what he wants at the lowest price and of the best quality that the price will bear. This you have no right to do except in a case of extreme necessity, and that necessity has never been and can never be shown.

In 1854, a Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. Charles Villiers, and on which served Sir George Grey, Lord March, Sir J. Pakington, Mr. Beckett, Mr. Sotheron, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. Kerr Seymer, agreed to a report to the following effect: that there should be one uniform license for the sale of intoxicating drinks; that such license should be issued by the magistrates at sessions; that it should be open to all persons of good character to obtain such license, on compliance with certain conditions, and the payment of a certain annual sum; that every person, previous to obtaining a license, should enter into a bond, with two sureties, for the observance of the conditions; that the license fee should not be less than £6 nor more than £30, and should be graduated according to the population; that in case of a conviction the sureties might retire.

Are not these better and safer lines to work upon than the vesting

a monopoly in an elective body, and thus placing in their hands the double temptation of making money so as to lower the rates by adulteration and overcharge, and jobbing the patronage of managers for the purposes of municipal or parliamentary corruption? The committee distinguished between the conditions which are necessary for securing fair play and equality between buyer and seller and the regulations which are necessary for the preservation of good order and decorum, and they applied the principles applicable to each. As far as the question turned on economical considerations, they thought they could not give too much liberty. As far as the question was one of police, they had no objection to the most stringent restrictions that could be devised. The distinction is a very obvious one, and in its recognition and adoption lies, we are persuaded, the only solution of this difficult and interesting question.

We should not be dealing fairly with this subject if we dissembled our opinion, that not only is the specific remedy which it is proposed to apply quite inadequate, but that it is founded on a radical misconception of the real nature of the mischief. We are told that agitation on the subject is increasing; that if we do not do something, others will; and we are reminded of the case of the American slaveholders, who lost all because they would not yield in time. Agitations are formidable, but only formidable when two things combine—some right withheld or some wrong continued which it is in the power of the executive or of the legislature to grant or to redress. There is nothing of the kind here. We have to deal not with a wrong that we can redress, not with a crime which we can punish, but with a vice, an evil habit, which is not within the reach of the law without an intolerable inroad on personal liberty. Much as mankind suffer from each other's vices, mankind have come to the conclusion that it is better to endure them than to submit to the loss of liberty which a censorship would imply.

If the mind is diseased, it is to the mind that the remedy must be applied. We are not wholly wanting in this respect. By a general system of education we have, we may reasonably hope, offered an alternative to the public-house which we may fairly expect that many will adopt, and increased civilisation will react upon those who grew up with fewer opportunities of learning. Another auspicious circumstance is that we have reformed ourselves. When we think of the example which, without the slightest excuse, was set to the poor by our ancestors, we should not be too much surprised if the poor are not yet clear of the slough in which the rich have not so very long ago been wallowing. Crimes and wrongs can be put down at once by the strong hand; habits, especially national habits, are the growth of years, and wise and moderate men should be content if they see causes at work which tend to their ultimate eradication.

ROBERT LOWE.

# CHARLES KINGSLEY.[1]

THE greater part of the work of the world is always carried on by people who are working well within themselves, who could do at any given moment far more than they are doing, who could very probably do very much more permanently than they are ever likely to do—at a cost which they dimly divine and are unwilling to meet. In the case of ordinary men and women who have common-place work to do, we accept this tendency without remark, and as we decline to study its more accessible manifestations, we are naturally confused by its effects upon natures which are raised in different degrees by special gifts above the common level. In really great men like Goethe, and Milton, and Marlborough, and Wordsworth, it impresses us with a welcome sense of power held in reserve; there are others in whom it strikes us as fastidiousness, of which we do not venture to complain. We wish that Campbell, or Gray, or Leonardo da Vinci had given us more, but the work which such men do for us is so excellent in its different kinds, that we dare not bid them force their gift. When the superiority is less marked we are more exacting, at least when the possessor of the superiority tries to find a career in its cultivation. We are severe upon the wasted lives of those who have talent enough to begin some work out of the common hopefully, and not strength enough to carry them on from intention to execution without fatigue, which often impoverishes the work, and yet more often disenchants the worker. Or we insist that, up to forty or fifty at any rate, a worker whose first work was good shall continue to improve with practice; we do not reflect that the spontaneous activity of the brain, like the spontaneous activity of the muscles, begins to decline very soon after growth is complete, and that impressions are assimilated far more perfectly when they are not collected with a view to the market. Most of those to whom this rule is applied think it hard, most of those who apply it think it necessary, though they never dream of applying it to those who are very unmistakably above themselves. But there have always been those of all degrees of greatness who have applied the rule to themselves, who have chosen to live at high pressure, though they were not unaware that it is easier and safer to live at low. Men so unlike as Raffaelle, and Schiller, and Mendelssohn, and Mozart, and Dickens, and Kingsley are alike in this, that they gave all that it was in them to give, and did all that it was in them to do. We

(1) "Charles Kingsley, his Letters and Memories of his Life." Edited by his Wife. (London: H. S. King & Co. 1876.)

may say of some of them that their lives were not worthy of their art, even then we can hardly say that the art was marred by the life. Could Mozart have done better? Could Raffaelle have done more? Pure excitements wore out Mendelssohn as fast as less pure excitements wore out these; the feverish endeavour of Charles Kingsley may have been more spiritual in aim and motive than the yet more feverish industry of Charles Dickens, it was equally deadly in its result.

We feel that his widow has chosen the right motto for her memorial of him:—

> "Sleepe after toyle, port after stormy seas,
> Ease after warre, death after life, does greatly please."

He said himself in his speech at the Lotus Club, in 1874:—

"One of the kind wishes expressed for me is long life. Let anything be asked for me except that. Let us live hard, work hard, go a good pace, get to our journey's end as soon as possible—then let the post-horse get his shoulder out of the collar. . . . I have lived long enough to feel, like the old post-horse, very thankful as the end draws near. . . . Long life is the last thing that I desire. It may be that, as one grows older, one acquires more and more the painful consciousness of the difference between what *ought* to be done and what *can* be done, and sits down more quietly when one gets the wrong side of fifty, to let others start up to do for us things we cannot do for ourselves. But it is the highest pleasure that a man can have who has (to his own exceeding comfort) turned down the hill at last, to believe that younger spirits will rise up after him, and catch the lamp of Truth, as in the old lamp-bearing race of Greece, out of his hand before it expires, and carry it on to the goal with swifter and more even feet."

It was only as he neared the wrong side of fifty (or the right) that he became willing to leave things which he wished done for others to do, but from the early years of a singularly happy marriage he was strangely familiar with the thought that it would be a blessed thing to have it all over. It was with him among the beauties of the Moselle when his enjoyment of them was keenest, as well as among the cares of his parish and the literary labours forced upon him by the cares of his family. One almost thinks his craving for death when life was most intense was like an ascetic's craving for pain when rapture is at its highest—best understood, so far as either is intelligible, as the reaction of nature under a perpetual strain. Few who succeed as ascetics would have been happy or useful under the conditions of ordinary life: one cannot say that of Kingsley; his good-will, his ready sympathies, his quick perception, his fearlessness would have brought him comfortable employment and earned him honourable distinction if he had been content to take life at the rate of other country parsons. It almost seems as if it might have been so if circumstances had been a little easier—if he had had a very moderate amount of private fortune, if he had come into a living with a clear income instead of having to spend borrowed

money to make the house habitable, and repair in other ways the neglect of his predecessor, he might have been able to give more scope to his "favourite occupation" of "doing nothing," and to avoid to some extent what he disliked most, "work of any kind." He would still have been a notable observer, a famous fisherman, a telling preacher, a hearty friend; he would still have been vehement against injustice, or what he thought injustice; but, as he disciplined what was excessive in this vehemence, he might easily have come to the conclusion to which most men come—that it is best to do one's own share of the world's work and leave other people to do theirs; he would have gained something and lost much, and escaped much also.

However this may be, there was much in his disposition as well as in his circumstances to mark him out for a strenuous life. He said himself, writing in 1865 to Mr. Galton on his book on Hereditary Talent:—

"We are but the *disjecta membra* of a most remarkable pair of parents. Our talent, such as it is, is altogether hereditary. My father was a magnificent man in body and mind, and was said to possess every talent except that of using his talents. My mother, on the contrary, had a quite extraordinary practical and administrative power; and she combines with it, even at her advanced age (seventy-nine), my father's passion for knowledge, and the sentiment and fancy of a young girl."

His father was ordained late in life, having come to the end of his career as a Hampshire country gentleman at the age of thirty through his guardians' improvidence and his own. He went to read for orders at Cambridge, and there became acquainted with Dr. Herbert Marsh, then Margaret Professor of Divinity, whose interest in German literature he shared. In theology the elder Mr. Kingsley was rather of the school of Simeon, but perhaps we may trace Dr. Marsh's influence in the resolution with which he stood up for geology at a time when a clergyman could not do so without courage. The connection bore fruit in other ways: Mr. Kingsley's first cure was in the Fens; Dr. Marsh, when Bishop of Peterborough, made him one of his examining chaplains, and gave him one of his best livings to hold for his son, then seventeen.

Mrs. Kingsley came of a West-Indian family; her father was a man of books and science, the intimate friend of Sir Joseph Banks and the distinguished John Hunter. At the time of the panic caused in Barbadoes by the earthquake wave, and darkness which accompanied the great eruption of the Souffrière of St. Vincent, "he opened his window, found it stick, and felt upon the sill a coat of powder. 'The volcano at St. Vincent has broken out at last,' said the wise man, 'and this is the dust of it.' So he quieted his household and his negroes, and went to his scientific books."

Charles Kingsley was born at Holne Vicarage, under the brow of

Dartmoor, in 1819: he only remained there six weeks, as his father was removing to another curacy in Nottinghamshire; but his mother had enjoyed the scenery upon his account as well as her own, and he always felt himself a Devonshire man. As a child Kingsley suffered more than once from brain fever, and was moved into a haunted room at Barnack Rectory, where he heard too many ghosts ever to believe in them in later life, though his imagination was still haunted by what he had experienced or fancied. In 1864, he gave the following characteristic *rationale* of the matter to Mrs. Francis Pelham:—

"My Dear Alice,—Of Button Cap—he lived in the great north room at Barnack (where I was *not* born). I knew him well. He used to walk across the room in flopping slippers, and turn over the leaves of books to find the missing deed whereof he had defrauded the orphan and the widow. He was an old rector of Barnack. Everybody heard him who chose. Nobody ever saw him; but in spite of that he wore a flowered dressing-gown, and a cap with a button on it. I never heard of any skeleton being found; and Button Cap's history had nothing to do with murder, only with avarice and cheating.

"Sometimes he turned cross and played Polter-geist, as the Germans say, rolling the barrels in the cellar about with surprising noise, which was undignified. So he was always ashamed of himself, and put them all back in their places before morning.

"I suppose he is gone now. Ghosts hate mortally a certificated national schoolmaster, and (being a vain and peevish generation) as soon as people give up believing in them, go away in a huff—or perhaps some one had been laying phosphoric paste about, and he ate thereof and ran down to the pond, and drank till he burst. He was rats.

"Your affectionate Uncle,
"C. Kingsley."

When he was four years old, Kingsley preached his first sermon, which his mother wrote down and showed to Bishop Marsh, who told her to keep it. Some sentences are prophetic of his later teaching. "Honesty has no chance against stealing. . . Nobody can tell how the devil can be chained in hell. . . . If humanity, honesty, and good religion fade, we can to a certainty get them back by being good again. Religion is reading good books, doing good actions, and not telling lies and speaking evil, and not calling their brother Fool and Raca." The first poems, composed eight months later, are less remarkable, and as a schoolboy his tastes and character were more conspicuous than his abilities. When he was eleven his parents had settled for five years at Clovelly, after a halt of ten months at Ilfracombe: he was sent to a preparatory school at Clifton (where he saw the Bristol riots, which scared him into strong Toryism), and thence to the grammar-school at Helston, then under the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, where he became intimate with R. Cowley Powles, who contributes some interesting letters and recollections. His translations into English verse were good, he worked fitfully at classics and mathematics, geologized eagerly, and botanized with

passion; he had much information, which his schoolfellows had not, and was accordingly unpopular, because, without intending to snub them, he produced the effect. Moreover, though he was strong and active, he was not expert at games of any kind; on the other hand, he bore pain wonderfully, and excelled in all feats that required nerve and daring. At the age of fifteen he composed much poetry in verse and prose, of which Mr. Powles has preserved some interesting specimens: one called Hypotheses Hypochondriacæ, on the death of a certain young lady, who, it appears, did not die, is in verse, and contains a good deal of observation of Devonshire landscape, and innocent Byronic sentiment, forcibly and musically expressed; the other, Psyche, a rhapsody, probably refers indirectly to the same occasion; Psyche seeks love through the world and only finds it in God, and when she is gone the world misses her. He had come now to take an interest in the love of others, if not to have a serious love of his own: his interest showed itself characteristically in eager advice to his schoolfellow; he bids him "teach her a love of nature. Stir her imagination, and excite her awe and delight by your example. . . . Teach her to love God, teach her to love nature." He had already views on art, and, as Mr. Powles reminds us, it was not the fashion for boys to have views on art forty years ago. His views were perhaps as enlightened as Shelley's; he thought Vandyke and Murillo the most exquisitely poetical of all painters, while Rubens was magnificent but terrible.

Hitherto his life had been happy, except for the shock of his brother Herbert's death; but the change in 1836 from Clovelly to Chelsea, and from Helston to King's College, was anything but a welcome one. He found clerical society, into which his family were naturally thrown, intolerably "shoppy;" all the details of parish work were disgusting to his boyish fastidiousness and his aristocratic prejudices. He had no relaxation that suited him, except the society of one or two acquaintances, no exercise except the tramp from Chelsea to the Strand, and from the Strand to Chelsea. It is not surprising that he overworked himself in a way that he remembered as long as he lived, with perceptible injury to his health, and more serious injury to the tone of his mind.

He was well prepared when he went to Cambridge, and obtained a scholarship at Magdalene in his first year; but the curriculum was thoroughly distasteful to him at the time, though, when he came to lecture on the School of Alexandria, he had argued himself into admiration of the discipline against which he had rebelled. The reaction was not long delayed; he was his own master if he dared to be, and he had never known the fear either of man or of more than man as a motive for obedience. He was always, indeed, a dutiful son, but his respect for his father's person took the form, even in

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later life, of holding that his father's opinions had never given his abilities fair play. The disease of "emancipation," which few clever young men escape, unless they are very modest and their elders very wise, attacked him in its severest form. He disbelieved almost all that he had been taught, and then was distressed at not knowing what to believe. He neglected his work and gave himself up to wild sports in the Fens, which then presented much of the bleak picturesqueness that he has immortalised in his prose idyls. He was very popular, but not very sociable, as few of his contemporaries cared for such strenuous amusements, and sowed their wild oats without so much heart-searching.

On July 6, 1839, on a visit to Oxfordshire, Kingsley met his future wife, Fanny, the daughter of Pascoe Grenfell and Georgiana St. Leger, his wife. Some fifteen years afterwards he said, "That was my real wedding day." At first this only intensified the crisis. Circumstances seemed to give the lover very little hope; in intervals of recklessness Kingsley thought of joining the prairie hunters, a scheme which he remembered when he travelled across America in 1873, when he met his brother, Dr. Kingsley (of whom, as of his other brother, we hear very little), in Colorado. But from the first, the influence of a pure and passionate attachment told. Mrs. Kingsley has naturally felt that the time has not come to tell the whole story; we have to read between the lines; and, after all, we cannot be sure how much of autobiography there is in the story of Lancelot and Argemone. The conjecture that there is something would force itself upon us, even if Mrs. Kingsley did not suggest it by comparing her husband to his own Lancelot. From some allusions to the period in his later letters, it would seem that there was a time when Lancelot was more nearly inclined to agree altogether with Argemone than Argemone knew. The nearest approach to an admission is a letter of December, 1840, where he says, "If I ever believe Christianity, it will be in that spirit in which you believe in it. There is no middle course between deism or the highest and most monarchical system of Catholicism. Between the two I waver." A letter of the next month explains his deference to her judgment:—

"How I envy, as a boy, a woman's life at the corresponding age—so free from mental control as to the subjects of thought and reading—so subjected to it as to the manner and the tone! We, on the other hand, are forced to drudge at the acquirement of confessedly obsolete and useless knowledge, of worn-out philosophies, and scientific theories long exploded—while our finer senses and our conscience are either seared by sensuality, or suffered to run riot in imagination and excitement, and at last to find every woman who has made even a moderate use of her time, far beyond us in true philosophy."

In June, 1841, he wrote of Tract 90—

"Whether wilful or self-deceived, these men are Jesuits, taking the oath to the Articles with moral reservations which allow them to explain them away

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in senses utterly different from those of their authors. All the worst doctrinal features of popery Mr. Newman professes to believe in."

The nearest approach to a relaxation of this harsh judgment is to be found in a letter of 1865 to Maurice, where he says, "The Tract 90 argument was quite fair—*if its author could have used it fairly.*"

But although he rejected the system so impetuously, it came very near to dominating him; he never lost the sense of what he owed it, or of what he had inferred from it, and it is just here that the narrative fails us. Kingsley's courage made his letters at the time the expression of his resistance, and not of the concessions which were half involuntary. The indication we get from a letter of his early married life, in which he says to his wife, "Was it not better and more poetical in my sorrow to use mortification than to behowl the moon" in verse. One is reminded of Argemone sleeping upon the ground in sympathy with the distress of Lancelot. The truth of the matter we suspect is as follows. Kingsley's muscles and senses were far more vigorous than the rest of his constitution: looking only to his strength, he was fit for an athlete; looking only at his temperament, he was fitter for a monk. His brain, or his personality, as we may choose to phrase it, was steadily on the side of the robust and active element, but was never impervious to the other. Hence all who were really intimate with him were struck by the union of the most exquisite tenderness with a manliness that often seemed aggressive. Hence, too, his personal predilection for mystical writers, even when he felt bound to protest against what he thought their demoralising quietism. Hence, too, one is tempted to guess, an impulse to complete his conversion by renouncing his love, an impulse which may have been the stronger because the sense of unworthiness, which is to be found in all true lovers, was very strong in him. It is hard not to suspect some personal animosity in his reprobation of the depreciation of wedded love which for him was the one damning sin of asceticism.

Another consequence of Kingsley's constitution was extrême intellectual impatience. The importunate muscular energy which made mental application in itself a penance, became comparatively manageable by the help of tobacco, which he learned to prize at Cambridge, though we find that when he had long been a hard-working country parson, he could not work at writing when the weather interfered with energetic exercise. But the exuberant vitality asserted itself in another way—he threw himself readily into a combative attitude and condemned before he understood. After reading ten lines of Palmer on the Church, he was sure that the book was too sophistical and dangerous for his correspondent to read until she could read it with him, and was ready to convict the citations of the "Tract writers" of bad faith on the strength of the

counter-citations of Dean Goode. This, of course, was in his salad-days, when he was green in judgment, and thought Salisbury Cathedral a monument of elegant soul-crushing austerity; but years after he seriously maintained that the successful activity of the clergy promised nothing for the permanence or prosperity of the Establishment, unless the Church comprehended the necessity of an alliance with Arnoldism, because, "as we who know history know," the last fifty years before the Reformation were full of just the same superficial activity and improvement, the proof being, that during those years the fashion of founding colleges of priests, instead of monasteries, came in, and that many churches were built in Somersetshire.

Kingsley's leanings to democracy seem to have come from Carlyle, whose French Revolution and Past and Present did much to decide him to take orders. Oddly enough, he was introduced to Carlyle's writings by the same influence as that which led him back to comparative orthodoxy; but one must not forget that Carlyle has done so much to rehabilitate the past, that those who wished to restore it might for a time mistake him for an ally. He influenced Kingsley on two sides: he familiarised him with the conception which he and many since have taken for an evangel, though Schiller formulated it as a *pis aller*.

"Die Welt-geschichte is das Welt-gericht."

He familiarised him, too, with the belief that every privilege had to be justified, and could not claim to be respected simply because it was there. Besides, the theory of democracy was in the air. Kingsley was impressed, like De Tocqueville, by the growing power of large masses of the proletariate and the growing disorganization of what remained of the old hierarchical system. Like De Tocqueville, he was slow to perceive that the proletariate was completely incapable of wielding the same extent of power that the chiefs of the old order had possessed, and that consequently the old directing classes would be able to retain indefinitely large powers of obstruction at any rate, and were likely to be reinforced at various points by the egotism of a *parvenu* oligarchy. Nor was it then so clear as now how small a proportion of the proletariate is capable of anything like sustained political passion, and Kingsley's illusions were more pardonable because he lived through the Chartist agitation and the Revolution of 1848 before he was thirty. There was another more personal and more honourable reason for Kingsley's illusions in the fact that he was able to make friends of uncultivated people without any painful effort of condescension, a gift which is probably becoming rarer and rarer among the cultivated, while it tends increasingly to consign its possessors to a not wholly enviable eminence as "trusted friends and advisers of the working classes."

Eversley was moreover a democratic parish of "heth croppers," hereditary poachers on Windsor Forest and other preserves in the neighbourhood, and surrounded by commons which helped to maintain their independence in more innocent ways.

He went there six months after taking his degree, which was better than his friends had expected. For the last year he had read steadily, and for the last six months violently; his mind had recovered its tone as a result of so much exertion conscientiously, though, as he thought at the time unprofitably, applied; and though his letters of the time are full of awestruck humility about himself, deepened by a mystical estimate of the clerical office, one is struck by the unhesitating tone in which he advises his friends on the gravest subjects often when dead tired in body or mind, or both, as he tells his correspondents frankly.

His life at Eversley at first was full of hardship; he was only curate, there were no gentry in the parish, he lived in a cottage, working hard, faring hard, chopping wood for exercise, one might almost say for recreation, reading historical and unhistorical lives of saints and famishing for intellectual intercourse. For part of the time he had the farther trial of being cut off from all communication with his future wife, and nothing in the whole narrative of his life becomes him better than this passage in it:—all the letters to his betrothed, including the letter of farewell on the eve of a parting —which for all that either knew might last for life—are full of obstinate thanksgiving, he is so far from claiming pity that he will not even give it. With him, love is enough, for eternity will make amends for time. Nor was there anything in his faith to depreciate this life and its duties; his very ground for believing that the law of perfection was binding here was his immovable confidence in its transcendental fulfilment there, and although his love to the law doubtless sustained the confidence, the confidence deepened the love; it is a common experience which deserves more attention than it has received, that most men abandon their wishes when the beliefs which those wishes have suggested appear to break down.

As the period of separation to which Kingsley had assented drew to a close, the prospects of the lovers brightened. He received the offer of a more desirable curacy, and their engagement was sanctioned. Before he went to Pimperne, the rector of Eversley had absconded, and the parishioners wisely exerted themselves to secure Kingsley as his successor. His brief stay at Pimperne brought him into contact with S. G. O., who was deep in statistics and abuses, and the condition of the Dorsetshire farm-labourer, not cheerful now, was more than disheartening then, as Kingsley wrote: "'What is the use of my talking to hungry paupers about heaven? Sir,' as my clerk said to me yesterday; 'there is a weight on their hearts,

and they care for no hope and no change, for they know they can be no worse off than they are.'" At Eversley the task was less overwhelming. "He found a kindly people, civil and grateful for notice, and as yet wholly uninjured by indiscriminate almsgiving." His regular house-to-house visiting conquered them. "If a man or woman were suffering or dying, he would go to them five or six times a day—and night as well as day—for his own heart's sake as well as for their soul's sake." His only recreation was fishing; he would not shoot because the population were poachers; he could not afford to hunt, though latterly he sometimes followed the hounds on an old hack, but from the beginning his knowledge and love of horses and dogs won the hearts of the stablemen and whippers-in of Sir John Cope's hounds. "When the first confirmation after his induction was given out in church, and he invited all who wished to be confirmed to come down to the rectory for weekly instruction. the stud groom, a respectable man of five-and-thirty, was among the first to come, bringing a message from the whips and stablemen to say that they had all been confirmed once, but if Mr. Kingsley wished it they would all be happy to come again."

While Kingsley was bringing Eversley into some approach to order, it was daily becoming more apparent how far England was from being safe and orderly. It is very difficult to realise how menacing the clouds seemed which gathered and passed without bursting, but thirty or forty years ago nearly all thoughtful observers seem to have been convinced that heroic measures of some kind, something like a national reformation, a conversion to purified feudalism—or Christian socialism, or socialism without Christianity, or strict Benthamism and Malthusianism—were indispensable if England was to be saved from final ruinous decay, or at any rate from a bloody revolution. There has been no national conversion, no general adoption of heroic remedies. The only radical change has been the adoption of free trade in corn, and England at the present moment is as safe and prosperous as any nation has ever been, and may look forward reasonably and soberly to going on from good to better by the diffusion of an interest daily less fitful, because more intelligent in the application of very unheroic remedies. This interest is still kept up by the devotion of a minority, very far from unheroic, who impress upon the majority the importance of always doing a little in the right direction. At the beginning of the movement it was natural that this minority should have their whole minds set upon the need for fundamental change, and should gather into little groups with the object of initiating the application of heroic remedies on a small scale, not having yet learnt from experience the beneficent effect of unheroic remedies largely applied.

One of these groups gathered round the late Mr. Maurice, and Kingsley was for some ten years one of its most active and influential members, more influential and more active perhaps than the titular chief, for we are inclined to think that Mr. Maurice's part in the battle (a very real part, since it sustained his followers) was to lift up his hands on the mountain. For Kingsley himself these years were the most fruitful of his life, the years of his most decisive activity as a parson and politician, as an author and as a director of souls. They were years also of conflict which astonishes us by its violence. The crust of prejudice or principle which still held the old order together was very thin, as is shown by the ease with which it has yielded to the dissolvent influences of the last ten years; but those who thirty years ago were struck with the menacing instability of a fabric already undermined found the shell still cruelly hard. It was this sense of isolation, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, which made Kingsley take the *nom-de-plume* of Parson Lot in his writings addressed to working-men; he felt himself a solitary ineffectual preacher of repentance in a city which deserved to be rained upon with fire and brimstone. The tone of his addresses one thinks ought even then to have given little offence to Conservatives. The main burden of his teaching was that working-men must emancipate themselves from the tyranny of their own vices before they could be emancipated from the tyranny of bad social arrangements; that they must cultivate the higher elements of a common humanity in themselves before they could obtain their share in the heritage of national civilisation. He consistently discouraged every approach to illegality or violence, and on the memorable 10th of April he and his associates worked as hard as the Duke of Wellington to keep the peace. But the great body of the respectable and orthodox regarded it as a crime in a beneficed clergyman to enter into amicable intercourse for any purpose whatever with revolutionists, especially when he admitted that the revolutionists had grievances, and stated those grievances with as much emphasis as if he had been prepared to join in revolutionary action. The *rôle* of Mentor is always thankless, and Kingsley had more than his share of its trials and less than his share of its rewards and consolations, such as they are. From first to last, too, he felt for his clients rather than with them; their wrongs made his blood boil, but their aspirations hardly made his heart beat higher. There is little in his letters, or the recollections of his associates, to show that he admired the working-men leaders with whom he came in contact; there is a good deal to deepen the impression made by Alton Locke, that he was often struck by their absurd pretentiousness and unreality. An agitation in which members of different classes meet, is generally a happy hunting-

ground for some of the most worthless members of both, and Kingsley had, as Mr. Hughes tells us, all the fastidiousness of an aristocrat, and disliked all wilful eccentricity. In every-day life he appreciated the comfort of undress quite sufficiently, but it shocked him to be associated with men, one of whom was capable of attending an important deputation in plush gloves. Then, too, if the leaders, with their theories of popular sovereignty, went beyond him, he went beyond the mass of the rank and file in the extent of the social reconstruction he desired. To his mind the principles of association and competition stood in sharp contrast, with nothing very solid or visible between. The ideal of English artisans has always been "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work;" not to get rid of masters, but to agree with them on customary terms, subject to equitable revision from time to time. But Kingsley's ideal was that working men should unite to be their own masters. The establishment of such an association is the conclusion to which he works up in his famous pamphlet on the distress in the tailoring trade. When the association failed (partly by bad workmanship, and partly, no doubt, because, when the glut of cheap Irish labour ceased, the ordinary trade got back to a comparatively wholesome state), and when other associations failed too, Kingsley saw nothing for the working classes to do but to "sit and consider themselves." In many respects he was twenty or thirty years ahead of his contemporaries, but he agreed with the economists in seeing only the failures of trades' unions, and the waste of unsuccessful contests, and in leaving out of sight the promise of future victory and the barriers already raised against oppression.

But no divergence of views and no fastidiousness of taste were allowed to interfere with his labours for the good cause: by the end of 1848 he had worked himself to a standstill. He had published the *Saint's Tragedy*, and written *Yeast* in "Fraser," and worked hard all the time at Eversley and among the Chartists, and at the Queen's College for working men, to say nothing of some vehement and elaborate letters of spiritual advice.

While resting at Ilfracombe the idea of *Alton Locke* came to him. It developed itself with so much freshness and clearness, that he accepted it as an inspiration from above, and prayed against spoiling it. It is an advance upon *Yeast* in every way; one does not feel, as in *Yeast*, that the story is arranged simply to give the hero occasions for talking trenchantly of matters which he does not understand; and it is an artistic gain that the writer is idealising his observation rather than his experience. Both being written at a red heat, are far superior to his first work, *The Tragedy of St. Elizabeth*, which represents the outcome of years of reading and meditation. Ever since leaving Cambridge he had contem-

plated writing her life, and that of St. Theresa as a pendant, to exhibit, as he supposed, the twofold aspect of the ascetic ideal upon the practical and the contemplative side. The half of the scheme that was executed shows that a poem with a purpose ought not to be too elaborate. The historical appreciation is falsified throughout; it was not Conrad, but the Democrats whom he burnt, that were Manichees; St. Elizabeth did not find Conrad's yoke heavy because it came between her and her home, but because she was naturally unmethodical, and took a childlike pleasure in giving. Montalembert believed in her far more implicitly than Kingsley, but he lets us see far more clearly that if she had not been a saint she would have been a goose.

Though *Yeast* was written first, it did not appear as a book till 1851, and in the interval he had formed and discarded plans for a second and third parts. In one, Luke, Claude, and Lancelot were to work out the ecclesiastical, pagan, and naturalist tendencies in art, and the result of the last experiment was to be Tregarva's conversion from Puritanism to an appreciation of art among other good gifts. In the other, Argemone was to undertake the regeneration of Whitefoord, and to fail until guided by Lancelot into the true gospel of the time. When *Yeast* did appear, it was a signal for a storm: the purpose of the book had been deliberately left to the reflection of the reader, and though this, when discovered, was edifying, or at worst unobjectionable, the temper and method of the book must have seemed objectionable enough; besides which, the doctrines that moral and spiritual life has a physiological basis, and that good comes out of evil which practically would not come without, never easy of digestion, appeared doubly offensive in an author who had nothing positive to suggest, and proclaimed the religious and intellectual bankruptcy of the existing system. The *Guardian's* review was of a kind which the author was almost justified in meeting with the compendious retort of Father Valerian "Mentiris impudentissime."

There was a longer interval before the appearance of *Hypatia*, which was undertaken partly as a business speculation, like all the writings which followed it. After completing the first draft of *Yeast*, he had more than half agreed to give up novel-writing: he was busy without it, and though what he called his "blessed habit of intensity" doubled his working power, it was no guarantee against exhaustion. But silence was a real difficulty to a man whose convictions were energetic and singular, and *Alton Locke* had brought money—which was wanted. He decided to take a curate to have time for writing, and a pupil or pupils in order to find funds to pay a curate. *Hypatia* was written *con amore;* in one of his letters while the work was in progress, he calls her "a

little darling," which is a stronger sign of paternal affection than he bestowed on either of the later novels which have the mellowness of over-ripe fruit, or even upon *The Water Babies*, his last great and spontaneous success.

Before the publication of *Hypatia*, Kingsley was mainly occupied with sanitary reform, a subject forced upon him by the epidemic of cholera in 1849, by the unhealthy state of his own parish, and by his discoveries in the worst parts of London, and also by the perception that the social problem was too large to attack as a whole, and that in pressing for the necessity of pure air and pure water, the risk of premature and doubtful theories was less than in dealing with political or economical problems. Even in *Alton Locke* he had expressed a wish that the working classes would adjourn their political aspirations altogether in favour of social reforms, and in October, 1850, we find him writing to Maurice:—

"All my old roots are tearing up one by one; and though I keep a gallant 'front' before the Charlotte Street people (Council of Association), little they know of the struggles within me, the laziness, the terror. Pray for me; I could lie down and cry sometimes. A poor fool of a fellow, and yet feeling thrust upon all sorts of great and unspeakable paths, instead of being left in peace to classify butterflies and catch trout."

The same month he wrote to Mr. J. M. Ludlow about the Christian Socialist, whose epitaph he was to write in June 9, 1852, with wonderful eagerness and hopefulness urging that the contributors should not write down to the working classes in any way, but pour out their whole souls in a truly democratic spirit, treating their readers as ripe for the highest teaching that it was well to attempt to lay before any section of the nation. While he grudged no efforts and no risks, Kingsley was always on his guard against the prudery of equality, in which he recognised another disguise of his lifelong enemy, the spirit of asceticism. He resented theories which called men to give up beer and tobacco, or meat, as he resented the theory which called men to give up marriage. He would have agreed with Robespierre that atheism was an aristocratic vice, and he held that asceticism was aristocratic too. The ascetic claims for himself a privileged position in the next life, and is often at once the parasite and the patron of all who have reached a privileged position in this. Neo-Platonic spiritualism was of course aristocratic too—it crushed our common nature in the interests of a special culture only accessible to the few, and from this point of view the writer was justified in regarding *Hypatia* as a democratic book, though to the uninitiated reader the democratic tendency is not very apparent.

*Hypatia* is a brilliant attempt to apprehend imaginatively the life of a period which could not yet be apprehended scientifically; its success marks something of a turning-point in Kingsley's

career: hitherto his reputation had been that of a party chief; *Hypatia* gave him reputation of a wider and more peaceful kind, at a time when the struggle in which he had been engaged was dying away, partly by the desertion of the combatants and partly by the abatement of the national distress. Henceforward, we may say that to reconcile the Church and Democracy was only a secondary object with him, his primary object was to reconcile science and the creeds. From the beginning the fear of materialism had haunted him, and he had already endeavoured to meet in *Phaeton* the floating doubts in which he rightly discerned the vanguard of a systematic assault upon all that has hitherto been recognised as religion. He has the merit of having anticipated the line of defence which apologists are still endeavouring to fortify: he insisted upon the dynamic and spiritual element in nature, feeling sure that most men, if they can be persuaded to dwell upon it, will find it easiest to conceive in the traditional anthropomorphic way. He also was one of the earliest to adopt a sophism which is rapidly getting accredited as a truism, that we ought to admire the beneficence of an order carried on under stable conditions, which we discover by the bad effects of neglecting them. *Hypatia*, like most of his early efforts, was followed by an illness which necessitated a prolonged residence in Devonshire, to which we owe *Glaucus, or the Wonders of the Shore*, which, oddly enough, is not enumerated in the chronological list of his writings placed at the end of the second volume of the memoirs.

In other ways the years from 1852 to 1859 were happy years for Kingsley. When the strain of the struggle for social reform was lightened, he overflowed in boyish gaiety to his fellow-workers, especially to Mr. Hughes. All the letters and verses connected with their fishing expedition to Snowdon in 1856 are among the very best things that Kingsley either did or inspired; to be appreciated as they deserve they should be read at length—the riotous animal spirits let loose are contagious; but if one tries to select samples they are apt to be as insipid as bubbles if one could catch them from an effervescing spring.

By January, 1857, Kingsley had completed *Westward Ho!* and *Two Years Ago*, the two most popular of his novels, and was able for the first time for three years to pass the winter at home. He began to be sought by persons of maturer years and better-fixed position than the young men who having shared the perplexities expressed in *Yeast* and *Alton Locke*, had found it natural to carry their troubles to a writer who had dared to avow the like.

The tragedy of the Indian Mutiny was a great shock to one whose happiness was so dependent on confidence in the order of the universe, and he missed one great pleasure in 1857, because when

his friends proposed to him to go to the Art-Treasures' Exhibition at Manchester, he could not resolve to tear himself away from a sick parishioner who would have missed his daily visits. His health suffered again from confinement and over-exertion, and was not restored by a tour in Yorkshire which he undertook in view of a novel on the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The novel was partly written, but abandoned under the impression that it was degenerating into twaddle. He resolved to rest altogether, and to seek a new direction for his activity. When asked his opinion on Mansel's Bampton Lectures, he replied that he had not read them and hardly knew whether he should; he had made up his mind on the subject and did not want to be disturbed, and thought that Mansel appeared to be making the mistake of regarding the divine action as conditioned by time.[1] For himself he was going to repair his resources and then renew the attack on the side of physical science.

The course of events seconded this resolution: no one was more sensitive than Kingsley to the great changes produced in the intellectual atmosphere by the appearance within a couple of years of Essays and Reviews, Darwin's Origin of Species, and Mill's Essay on Liberty. They did not affect him to the same extent or in the same direction. Mill's essay simply filled him with unreserved, unreflecting, perhaps unfruitful sympathy; Darwin's great work moved him far more powerfully: he was more convinced than ever that natural science was the subject of the day; he accepted Mr. Darwin's method and the great body of his facts with one characteristic reserve. He had no objection to the principle of evolution, but he could not apply it without precaution to ourselves; he thought it of the two more likely that existing anthropoid apes are degenerate men, than that men were the perfected descendants of extinct anthropoid apes. When the controversy between Huxley and Owen about the hippocampus minor was at its height, Kingsley attended the British Association and produced an amusing squib, which Mrs. Kingsley has done well to reprint, in which he calls Lord Dundreary of all people to pronounce judgment upon the knotty point. He could not bring himself to enter into such questions seriously; the excitement about them only convinced him the more of the value of the arcanum which Cardinal Manning and Mr. St. George Mivart are so fond of pressing on an ungrateful world—the old Greek doctrine that the different kinds of bodies are constituted by different kinds of souls. A conviction of this kind is obviously too deep to be affected by ordinary arguments or discoveries of detail; on these, too, Kingsley felt inclined to form opinions of his own, and, considering how eagerly he followed the course of investigation, one cannot accuse him of

(1) It was characteristic of Kingsley to feel that the high value he put upon metaphysical distinctions dispensed him from giving much thought to metaphysics.

presumption for conjecturing *inter alia* that "mimicry" among butterflies might be due to hybridism, especially as he was always ready to admit upon competent authority that the facts were against him, with the ready saving clause that they were much more wonderful, than his own theory.

If the great impulse which Mr. Darwin gave to popular interest in natural science carried Kingsley forward in a direction of his own, the great shock given to prejudice by the publication of Essays and Reviews carried him rather back. The mere fact that others had gone beyond him was enough alone to give him rank as a moderate. Moreover he sincerely disapproved of the boldness of the essayists; he held that, whatever they might assert, they were responsible for each other. He wished the book had never been published; he wished that, being published, it had been let alone severely. It is true that Mr. Maurice pained and alarmed him by accusing him of rationalising because he was ready to admit mistakes in the Bible if proved, but he was very reluctant to look out for them. He described his attitude very naïvely in a letter, thanking the present Dean of Westminster for his lectures on the Jewish Church.

"I have dared to bid my people relinquish biblical criticism to those who have time for it, and to say of it with me, as Abraham of the planets, 'Oh! my people, I am clear of all these things; I turn myself to Him who made heaven and earth.'"

Meanwhile official recognition and promotion had come. He had been made a Fellow of the Linnæan and Geographical Societies, an honour which he valued very highly; he had been appointed a Queen's Chaplain; he had made the acquaintance of the late Prince Consort, to whom he attached himself with instinctive loyalty; he had lectured to enthusiastic classes of ladies upon sanitary reform; he had been appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, and had a large class of undergraduates, and a special class, including the Prince of Wales. He accepted his professorship in the hope of making himself independent of his income from literature; some may think that his success as professor was a severer satire upon the university than anything in *Alton Locke*. The only course of lectures which he ever published is written in a fearful and wonderful dialect, and contains little or nothing beyond vague vivid amplification of elementary facts; but his lectures were crowded, and a fair proportion of his hearers were induced to study the best original authorities on his subjects.

Within a year of his appointment he published a revised edition of *Alton Locke* with a preface which may be described as a protest against his own conversion to conservatism: he exaggerated the change which had taken place in the world because he under-

*rated the change in himself. He had come to hold that a democracy* required the influences of an hereditary monarchy and aristocracy, and of a church, and if possible an established church. He regretted that the relation of landlord and tenant could not be permanently settled upon an hereditary semi-feudal basis; he convinced himself that it was hopeless to dream of the reclamation of the comparatively fertile wastes of England by peasant squatters. His attitude during the American war is noticeable. He insisted that the distress in Lancashire was caused by over-speculation, quite as much as by the cotton famine, and pointed out that a national subscription in aid of Lancashire poor-rates was rather unreasonable, considering that poor-rates had long been much heavier in Hampshire than in Lancashire at the time the subscription was called for, and that Hampshire, with all her faults, had never asked for a national subscription to save her from the consequences of her own mismanagement. When the Freedmen's Aid Fund was started after the war, he doubted whether a fund was wanted, and did not doubt at all that whatever was wanted ought to be raised in America, considering what West Indian emancipation (by which he personally had been a heavy loser) had cost England. No personal motive is needed to explain his zeal on behalf of Mr. Eyre; it was quite of a piece with his enthusiasm for Rajah Brooke; he judged both upon the same principles, though most readers will think that in Mr. Eyre's case it was more than doubtful if the principles applied.

Much of his youthful radicalism persisted and even grew. In the wet summer of 1860 he preached a famous sermon, which edified his farmers and shocked the clergy, to explain, in the first place, that a wet season coming after three dry ones probably does more good than harm; and in the second place, that pious people ought to be very much shocked at the thought that it is possible for our intensest wishes to act in some swift untraceable way upon the weather (which certainly acts swiftly and untraceably upon our wishes), because this would involve the dislocation of the whole order of the universe, which it is assumed can only be altered for the worse. One feels he had travelled far since he wrote in 1843, "Never let us get into the common trick of calling unbelief resignation, of asking, and then because we have not faith to believe, putting in a 'Thy will be done' at the end." He was more consistent in interesting himself in Mr. Mill's election for Westminster, which led to a correspondence in which Mr. Mill was always very deferential, and also to a share in the agitation for women's rights. From the suffrage agitation he soon withdrew, upon the ordinary ground that the best women were against it, and he had thought out, perhaps not unaided, the reasons for which the best women were against it: they all appear to be corollaries from the fact that the agitation has interested those women

most in whom secondary sexual characteristics form the smallest element in their nature. But he still urged the medical education of women, the more because he had a strong, if not an exaggerated, sense of the importance of all that depends upon sex, and was therefore anxious that people of both sexes should be in a position to study it practically and scientifically.

His course upon this question exemplifies a tendency which grows sooner or later upon most active men, and grew early upon him, the tendency to discard coherent schemes and concentrate one's interest upon a few points where activity, or at least impulse, can still play unimpeded. His piety, one might almost say, gathered itself up into stoicism, as his socialism had gathered itself up into zeal for sanitary work, as his intellectual activity had gathered itself up into zeal for promoting knowledge of natural history. The last was perhaps his chief source of happiness in a period which does not seem to have been very happy. The success of the Wellington College Museum, and of the botanical class at Chester, was very sweet to him; but many things, we gather, had lost their savour.

A man cannot enjoy a canonry very much when he takes it as Kingsley took his, both at Chester and at Westminster, as a matter of duty to his children, and a relief from literary task work. There were tangible things, too, to vex him, such as the enclosure of Eversley Common, which spoiled the beauty of the parish, and interfered with the comfort of the poor; the successful opposition to the proposal to make him a D.C.L. at Oxford, on the ground of the crudities and nudities of Hypatia; and, worse still, his controversy with Dr. Newman, in which, as Mrs. Kingsley truly points out, his defeat was the more calamitous because of the generous impulse which made him anxious to withdraw as much as he could of a charge—which he did not see to be unfounded. Worse than all, it may be, were the beginnings of that growing sense of emptiness within, which so often comes as the sphere of outward activity widens. The letters from America are cold and meagre compared with the letters from the West Indies, as those are meagre compared with the letters from the South of France in 1865, to say nothing of the letters from the Rhine in 1851. One comes upon phrases like this:—"As I ride, I jog myself and say, 'You stupid fellow, wake up. Do you see that? and that? Do you know where you are?' and my other self answers, 'Don't bother. I have seen so much, I can't take in any more; and I don't care about it all.'" "I longed to get here, I have been more than satisfied with being here, and now I long to get back again." And this from St. Louis: "I wish already that our heads were homeward, and that we had done the great tour, and had it not to do."

There are many joyous phrases still; the bright bold spirit still

turned gallantly to the sunshine. Once, at least, we get a flash of pathetically pure enjoyment, as in the lines on the 'Delectable Day,' put into his wife's hands on November 6th, 1872, and even this has a sad close:—

> "Ah, God! a poor soul can but thank thee
> For such a delectable day,
> Though the prig, the fool, and the swindler,
> To-morrow again have their way."

The end came before the sense that the days of pilgrimage were few, and evil had become habitual. He never regained his strength after a sharp illness in Colorado. When he went up to Westminster in September, a severe attack of congestion of the liver shook him terribly. After preaching on Advent Sunday he caught cold, but went down in high spirits with his wife to Eversley; but the journey tried her so much that she was given over, and then, "My own death-warrant was signed," he said. He sustained and comforted her; he became reckless of himself; his cough turned to bronchitis, and then to pneumonia. He had been warned that his recovery depended on the same temperature being kept up in his room, and on his never leaving it. But one day he leapt out of bed, came into his wife's room for a few moments, and, taking her hand in his, he said, "This is heaven; don't speak." . . . They never met again. When told that another move would be fatal, he replied, "We have said all to each other; we have made up our accounts," and often repeated, "It is all right, all as it should be." For a few days a correspondence was kept up in pencil; it became, in his own words, "too tantalising, too painful," and ceased. For his children's sake he still fought for life; he astonished the doctors by the brilliant way in which he described his symptoms, and his nurse by his vivid reminiscences of the West Indies, the Rocky Mountains, and California, scenes which had hardly stirred his imagination at the time. His last words were prayer. " . . . . Most worthy Judge Eternal, suffer us not for any pains of death to fall from Thee." After that he lay quite still for six hours, and passed so silently that the watchers could not mark the end.

One does not ask whether it is worth while that a plant should spring up and run to seed and die, or whether it is worth while that any one of the multitude of men should be born and married and buried with or without consciousness or desire, each lives the life of its kind, and when we have said this, we have said enough. We, too, live without our choice, how to live is for us to choose; and so when a man dies like Kingsley, worn out by a constant struggle for ideal ends, carried on at a cost we hardly knew, it is natural to ask if he chose well, if the achievement repaid the endea-

vours. In many ways it did. It is the common lot to enter life weak, greedy, ignorant, and to get listless and distracted and irritable by the way; it is beyond the common lot to leave it gentle, diligent, resolute, pure. It is rarer still to keep the sanctities of home, great and small, flawless and undimmed for over thirty years, to trust them as eternal and to cherish them as if every hour were the last, to be a lover through all the years of marriage, and to govern children without fear, and, hardest of all in these restless times, to make servants feel themselves members of the family. And Kingsley was almost as successful in ruling his parish as in ruling his heart and his home. It is true that seven public-houses in a number of scattered hamlets were too much for his working men's club; but he left his people civilised and with awakened intelligence, and, if that be worth anything, "every man-jack of them church-goers." If he missed a ploughman at church, he would stride across the fields next day, and tell him "that his wife did not want him in bed all Sunday morning, and that he ought to get up and leave her the house clear, and then stay at home after dinner and mind the children, and let her go out." His work in natural history was, within its limits, entirely successful: he described himself as a camp-follower of the army of science, and he said truly that camp-followers may do good service as scouts and foragers along the line of march determined by the general. The facts of nature are so complex, and the theories in process of establishment so abstract, that a few doubtful conjectures detract little from the merit of a keen observer and picturesque writer, who will fill up for one or two neighbourhoods the outlines which the masters of science have drawn. He did much to make natural history attractive, even more perhaps to make well-disposed people think that they ought to find it so. The same remark applies to his sanitary work. He recognised one great difficulty in the way of sanitary reform, in the political power of the class who own unhealthy houses in small lots; he did not recognise the greater difficulty which lies in the general belief that to act upon such sanitary knowledge as exists is worth some care and trouble, but not much. However, he inspired many pious souls with a conviction that popular apathy on the subject was sinful.

But those things in which Kingsley succeeded were not the things which made his reputation, though some of them served to extend it. He made his reputation as a militant man of letters, fighting for certain social and religious beliefs, and his success must be finally gauged by the worth of his literary work, and of the ideas by which it was inspired. It is certain that ideas were more to Kingsley than to most of us; they supplied the support which he needed in his generous efforts, as society supplies the support which is needed for ordinary industry. The pathetic part of the problem

is that the ideas which were the root of Kingsley's life were as far from being clear and stable as the ideas which are the fading flowers of the lives of common men. Upon the social side he attained, if not to an adequate expression, at least to a coherent doctrine. He set out with a keen appreciation of simplicity of life, of the worth of its common permanent elements, of the instability of a society most of whose members have no conscious share in its highest interests—all which he symbolized under the name democracy. He supplemented this perception without confusing it, when he came to realise that inherited station intelligently accepted is one of the best titles to authority—which will always be indispensable. The course of his political thought made Kingsley more conservative and less eager; the course of his religious thought made him more conservative and less confident; his trinitarian speculations faded away, though his trinitarian creed remained. As he grew older he preached positivism in observation, and optimism in feeling, more and more in an arbitrary way, with less and less pretence that the combination supplied a reasonable explanation of facts. Yet his theology is not worthless. He was one of the first to note the fatal tendency of an old creed to become a *terminus ad quem* instead of a *terminus a quo*, and to urge the fruitful method of confronting religious classics directly with the broad permanent facts of human experience, and the working hypotheses of virtuous lives.

Of his literary work we can speak with less hesitation. With little subtlety of insight or feeling, with too much tendency to boisterous edification, he was still a most admirable descriptive writer. As a poet, it appears, he took himself too seriously; *Santa Maura* we see now was written with more emotion than it will be read with. The *Three Fishers* will probably live; it is too soon to guess whether the *Bad Squire* and the *Buccaneer* will follow the *Corn-Law Rhymes* to a premature grave. *Andromeda* has most of the merits of a Broad Church tract and an Alexandrian heroic idyll. His mantle as a novelist has fallen upon writers so unlike him as the author of *Guy Livingstone*, *Ouida*, and Miss Broughton.

G. A. Simcox.

# ECONOMIC LAW AND ENGLISH LAND-OWNERSHIP.

In a brilliant address, recently delivered to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, Mr. Froude has propounded a defence, on economic grounds, of the present state of land-ownership in the United Kingdom, and has even gone the length of justifying and applauding what he admits to be the constantly progressive reduction in the number of those, who have property in land, in the rural districts. He has, indeed, fairly admitted that it is possible to find faults with the system, to appreciate its defects, to question the expediency of so small and ever-decreasing a number of landed proprietors, without being opposed to the existence of the class. It has not been suggested that England would be the better for the suppression of its landed gentry. It is admitted that they are a most important element, if not the most important, in the social and political life of England; that they have played a great part in our history, have rendered services to the State and to society. It is also fully recognised that if among them are to be found some, who remind us of the characters of Justice Shallow, Squire Western, and Lord Steyne, these are but few in the mass of useful members of society, and are more than redeemed by the number of those, who from the time of Sir Philip Sidney to the present have aimed at Chaucer's high ideal of the English gentleman, in their love of—

"Trouthe and honour, fredome and chevalrie."

Admitting this, however, it may still be permitted, without any hostility to the class, to doubt whether that system can be sound which tends to the exclusive enjoyment of property in land by one class only, and to a progressively decreasing number even of that class.

Before, however, dealing with these questions it will be well to consider the actual results of land-ownership as disclosed by the recent return. Careful analysis of its figures has reduced the total of upwards of a million so-called landowners to a very moderate figure. After deducting purely house properties, duplicate entries, and properties held by corporations, it is now clearly ascertained that there are not more than 200,000 owners of agricultural land of above one acre, as distinguished from house property, in the United Kingdom. Of this number, there are in Scotland not more than 8,000, and in Ireland 21,000, including

4,000 peasant proprietors created by the recent sale of the Church property, leaving therefore for England and Wales about 170,000.

How far do these numbers compare with those of past times? We have but little information on which to form an opinion. With respect to Ireland and Scotland we have absolutely no facts. For England we have no certain data since the first Domesday Book of the Conqueror. We have, however, the tradition that in early times, and throughout a great part of our history, the number of landowners was very great; and that it was considered a source of strength to the country, and one of its chief merits, that it contained a great number of small freeholders. Nor is it impossible, starting from the numbers given by Domesday Book, to conclude that the number of freeholders by the time of Edward III. must have been very considerable. Domesday gives the number of lords of manors holding directly from the Crown, or indirectly through some superior lord, as 9,271; the number of freeholders holding under lords of manors by military service, as 13,700; and the number of freemen holding by fixed and determined rent-service, as 30,831; a total of 53,802 freeholders. In addition to this, there are specified 108,407 villeins as distinguished from burgesses and serfs (servi), and who were occupiers of land in rural districts. To these numbers should be added, for the purpose of comparison with the present time, one-fifth, in respect of the four northern Counties and Wales, which were not included in Domesday Book. Between the time of the Conqueror and that of Edward III., the villeins gradually acquired the legal position of copyholders; their customary tenure ripened into actual property, and they ceased to hold at the will of their lords; so long as they paid their customary rents or fines they could not be disturbed; virtually, therefore, they became freeholders, and constituted the class of small landowners of which early writers so often speak. In proof of their numbers, Hallam states that the extant rolls of the manor of Brisingham, in Norfolk, show that so early as 1254, there were 94 copyholders and 6 cottagers, holding by fixed and certain rents and services. It is also to be observed that, between the dates alluded to, under the process of subinfeudation, the number of landowners must have increased considerably, as it was considered necessary in the year 1290, by the statute of Quia Emptores (18 Edward I.), to prohibit the future creation of feudal tenures under this process. Means also were discovered by the French lawyers of breaking through the law of entail, by a technical construction of the words, under which feuds were granted to a man and the heirs of his body; and the great lords alienated their estates to an extent which created alarm among the class, and induced them to pass the Act known as De Donis (13 Edward I.), by which strict entail was again revived

and alienation rendered impossible. Again, it is certain that the law of primogeniture did not apply to any but lands held on military service till the time of Henry III.; socage tenure had been the main tenure under Saxon law, which did not recognise primogeniture, and under which equal division of property at death was the law and custom; and lands subject to this tenure, which survived the Conquest, retained the custom of equal division till long after. It is probable also that the villeins or copyholders, up to the same date, had the same law and custom of division of property, a custom which has been preserved in some manors and in some parts of the country, as in Kent, up to the present time. Primogeniture also did not apply even to feudal property in very early times so fully as later; the law only required that the principal manor should descend to the eldest son, and if there were more manors, they were divided among the younger sons. Another cause, which operated to increase the number of freeholds, was that the relation of landlord and tenant such as we now know it, did not exist in those days; either the lord cultivated his demesne lands by his own serfs or servants, or he demised them to tenants, who held of his manor either by military service or by certain or customary rent or service, and the tenures thus created were permanent and hereditary, and therefore freehold. The first notice we have of the existence of farming tenants was in the time of Henry III.

All these causes, then, operated greatly to increase the number of freeholders in the two hundred years succeeding the Conquest. The 200,000 freeholders and villeins of the time of Domesday, must necessarily have developed into a very much greater number of freeholders, by the time of the Edwards; previous to the Black Death, which depopulated the Country, it is probable that the rural districts, in many parts of the country, were even more thickly populated than at the present time. The number of small parishes, the number and size of their churches, equally with the records of ancient parish registers, all tend to prove this. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that the learned Sir John Fortescue, writing in the time of Henry VI., should make it one of the chief boasts of his Country that it contained many small freeholders. By what process these small freeholders were gradually reduced and eliminated, is foreign to my purpose to describe. So early, however, as the year 1576, Harrison, in his description of England, speaks of "the daily oppression of copyholders, whose lords seek to bring their poor tenants almost into plain servitude and misery, daily devising new means and seeking up all the old, how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now and then seven times increasing their fines; driving them also for every trifle to lose and forfeit their tenures." From that time to the present the reduction in number

of small owners has probably been continuous. The only estimate of the number of landowners, in more recent times, was that of Doubleday, who gave the number for England and Wales, in the time of Queen Anne, at 250,000. It is probable that this was based on no very accurate data. Assuming it, however, to have been a fair estimate, we arrive at the fact that this number has been reduced by one-third during the last one hundred and fifty years—a period during which the country has enormously increased in population and wealth, and a vast extent of waste land has been enclosed—to the present number of 170,000, of which a large proportion are in the neighbourhood of towns and not in the rural districts.

The total number of landowners in the United Kingdom has been already shown to be under 200,000. Of these, 523 peers own between them one-fifth of the total area of the three countries, exclusive of manorial wastes and woods, of which they may be possessed; 5,000 persons own about two-thirds of the whole area, averaging 10,000 acres each; and 10,000 persons own about three-fourths, averaging 5,000 acres each. Dividing the owners of land into four classes, there are 5,000 large proprietors, averaging 10,000 acres each; 12,000 medium-sized proprietors or squires, with from 500 to 2,000 acres each; 52,000 persons owning from 50 to 500 acres each; and 130,000 owning less than 50 acres each. The proportions of these classes vary very much in the three Countries. In Scotland, more than half the land consists of mountain and moor, of very little agricultural value, and held in immense blocks. The remaining half is owned by a very small number of persons; the classes of yeomen and peasant proprietors do not exist there. The same must be said of Ireland, where, notwithstanding the effects of the Encumbered Estates Act, under which, since 1848, upwards of one-sixth of the country has been sold, the number of landowners is most conspicuously small. In England the number is proportionally larger than in the other two Countries. The class of yeomen still exists in some parts of it, and there is also a certain number of smaller proprietors. These, however, cannot be ranked as a class of peasant proprietors. Such a class does not exist in England. The small properties are for the most part in the neighbourhood of towns, where they consist of villas, market gardens, or other small plots.

Small as this number of landowners already is, it would appear that the tendency is still towards a further diminution of the number. Such at least is the opinion of Mr. Froude, who says: "When the details of the new return are looked at, they do in part bear out what the agitators complained of; for it is quite true that about two-thirds of Great Britain belong to great peers and commoners, whose estates are continually devouring the smaller estates that adjoin them." The expression "devouring" would probably be thought a strong one in the mouth of any one who was denouncing

the system; it is all the more expressive, therefore, when used by one who defends it. It is not unimportant, that so strong an admission, as to the drift of the present movement of land, should be obtained from one so competent to form an opinion, and who justifies and applauds the process; for Mr. Froude also says, that "the further what is called the land monopoly is carried, that is to say, the more small estates are absorbed into the larger, the better will the duties of landlords be carried out."

The admissions, thus made, accord with the prevalent opinion that, in rural districts, land is gradually but continuously falling into the hands of a smaller number of owners, that the large owners are increasing either in number or in extent, and that the smaller squires, and yet more the yeomen, are being extinguished, either by being swallowed up by their larger neighbours, or by being bought up by wealthy manufacturers, who are seized with the ambition of becoming large landowners. In many parts of the country, the process has been carried so far, that complaints are not unfrequently heard of the scarcity of resident gentry, of the difficulty of finding competent persons to perform the duties of magistrates, and even of chairmen of boards of guardians. In the reports presented to Parliament on the education of children in rural districts, frequent complaints were made by the clergy of the difficulty of getting subscriptions to their schools, from the fact of there being no resident owners in their parishes; in some Counties all the land which comes into the market is bought up by the trustees of wills directing the accumulation of land; while in most parts of the country, if a small freehold of a few acres comes into the market, it is almost certain to be bought up by an adjoining owner, either for the purpose of rounding a corner of his estate, or for extending political influence, or still more often by the advice of the family solicitor, who is always in favour of increasing the family estate. On most large estates there will be found the remains of several manor houses, either converted into farmhouses or into labourers' cottages, showing that in former times the number of resident squires must have been far more numerous. In confirmation of the above, I may state as the result of enquiries, that of 167 rural parishes in Berkshire there are 81, or nearly half, which contain no resident landowner of the social position of a gentleman. In Dorsetshire, out of 252 rural parishes, 129 are without a resident owner. If the same proportion is maintained in other parts of England, there must be nearly one-half of the 12,000 rural parishes without resident owners.

Is this process and this tendency the result of economic laws only, or of positive law peculiar to this country? and in the latter case, is it in the interest of the community that it should be carried further? This is what Mr. Froude says on this point:—

"In a free country like ours, the distribution of the land depends upon economic laws as absolute pretty nearly as the laws of gravity. . . . If you have a multitude of small proprietors instead of a few large ones, what is to prevent them from selling their interest, and the large estates from growing again? In Great Britain, and among the British people such as we know them, you may divide the land as you please; but if you leave personal liberty, the phenomena which you deprecate are certain to recur. . . . Agricultural land, on the average, pays only two per cent. on its value, and so the yeoman finds it to his interest to sell his land and rent it from some one else, putting the money into his business. . . . These tendencies we cannot interfere with if we leave a man his political liberty; and in this way the land of the country will go to those who can afford to pay for it as a luxury. . . . The more easy we make the transfer, the more certain is land to flow in the channels in which it tended to flow. . . . Unless the area of Great Britain could be made larger than it is, or unless the British people are to change their natures, a peasant proprietorship in these islands is a mere dream."

These are views which fairly represent the prevalent opinions of the class whose interests and aims are mainly concerned in the process described; it is not too much to say, that by the great bulk of these persons it is confidently believed that the present condition of the ownership of land, and its tendency, are as immutable and inevitable as the law of gravity, and as beneficial as though Providence had marked out Great Britain for its special dispensation, in the matter of distribution of land. We have only, however, to cross the seas in any direction to find how very different a state of things Providence has ordained, or man in his wisdom has contrived. In France, an area about half as large again as the United Kingdom, is owned by nearly five and a half millions of proprietors of agricultural land, of whom five millions of peasant farmers own one-third of the whole area, with what result is every day becoming better known and more fully recognised in this country. The industry and thrift of these peasant-owners are marvellous, and spread their effect through the whole society of France. The gross farming produce per acre of France may not be so great as in England, but this is equally observable when comparing the large farms of France, of which there are more than one hundred and thirty thousand, with the large farms of this country. As compared with the small farmers of France, hiring the land of others, the small owners unquestionably are vastly better in every respect, and they hold their own even beside the large farmers. There may be some defects in the system of small owners; the process may be carried too far in France; but at least it has raised the status of the lower classes there, has almost abolished pauperism in the rural districts, and has endowed the people with such universal habits of thrift as are almost unknown in the people of the same class in this country. It is not the fact, as commonly stated, that the peasant proprietors of France are loaded with debt; the average mortgages on these farms are known to be no more than ten per cent.

on their value; while the best evidence that they are able to accumulate money, is to be found in the fact that the peasants have been the main subscribers to the great loans which have been raised in France, and that at the present time the French debt to the amount of one thousand millions of our money, is held by four millions of persons, while British Consols, to the amount of seven hundred millions, are held by not more than two hundred and fifty thousand persons.

It will be said, of course, that the climate and soil of France differ from England so much that no comparison can be drawn between them. This may be admitted as regards the central and southern parts of France, where the cultivation of the vine and olive is specially suited to peasant-owners; but its northern and western provinces are in no way different from the greater part of England. The garden of France is unquestionably Normandy, the climate and soil of which differ in no essential quality from those of the south of England, and which especially resemble such counties as Kent and Somersetshire. In Normandy there is a greater variety in the ownership of property than in any other part of France; large estates with resident owners are numerous, but still more so are small properties; there are an immense number of peasant proprietors, but they do not monopolise the land as in some parts of France. "If I had to point out the happiest part of France," says Monsieur de Lavergne, "I should not hesitate to select Normandy." Population there increases slowly in proportion to wealth; while its wealth has increased fourfold since 1789, its population has increased by one-third only. In many rural communes there is not a single pauper. The same writer adds: "La plupart des Normands n'ont pas lu Malthus, mais ils pratiquent instinctivement ses conseils." The case of Normandy is especially instructive, as it shows what is the result of a happy combination of every variety of large owners and small owners, of land farmed by tenants, and of peasants farming their own land. In the more northern provinces of France property is even more divided, and gives admirable results, though perhaps the net produce after taking into account the number of cultivators is not so great. Crossing over the frontier, we find in Belgium a country still more resembling our own. It is a rich manufacturing country with great accumulation of wealth, intersected in all directions by railways, with abundant markets for labour in its manufacturing towns, and with precisely the same temptation as in this country to the small landowners to sell their holdings and to invest their capital in trade. The soil also is generally poor; yet what do we find? The six millions of acres of this small country are owned by upwards of one million of persons, giving an average of six acres to each owner; a division of property far beyond the average of that even in France.

The passion for land not only for farming, but as an investment, is such, that its price is higher than in any other part of Europe, and the small proprietors not only compete with the large, but beat them in the market. There are not only a large number of peasant proprietors farming their own lands, but there are also vast numbers of small owners, who let their lands to farmers. We see the same phenomena of large numbers of peasant proprietors throughout a great part of Germany, in Switzerland, in Denmark, and in the other Scandinavian countries. The best cultivated parts of Italy are in the same condition.

Whatever may be the conclusions arrived at as to the comparative merits of large farms and small farms, this, at least, there is no difficulty in stating, as the conclusion of all experience of the Continent, and especially of France, that the small proprietor cultivating his own land has an immense advantage over the tenant holding the same amount of land from another. It is the magic of property which alone gives the inducement to industry sufficient to make the small farm pay. It is also not worth while for the landlord of a small farm to expend money in farm buildings for a number of small tenants; the tenants care not to do so for themselves, at the risk of having their rents raised, and therefore improving the property for the benefit of their landlords. Hence it follows that small farms held on lease are generally conspicuous for negligent farming and small production. The very opposite is the case with the land of peasant proprietors; they have every inducement to do their best for the land, and they exhibit marvellous qualities of industry and care. Another unquestionable result of peasant farming is the effect it has upon the population, in stimulating general industry, and therefore in warding off poverty. Whenever a large class of peasant proprietors exists, population increases but very slowly. Pauperism is almost unknown, and motives of restraint are felt by all classes of society, by the lowest as well as the highest.

As the wealth of France has enormously increased of late years, while the population has been all but stationary, it is obvious that the average condition of the peasant has greatly improved. Probably in the history of the world there has been no more remarkable change than in the condition of the peasantry of France since the Revolution; and this has been concurrent with a great increase of small holdings, and a reduction in the average holdings, which so competent an observer as Arthur Young, writing immediately before the Revolution, thought already too small, and the cause of misery and poverty. Nothing is more difficult than a comparison between people of the same class in different countries. If the quantity of meat and beer be the test, possibly the English labourer is better off than the French peasant, who rarely touches meat, and who is the most sober

of men; but taking into account the whole condition of the two classes, their relative positions in society, their possession of property, and their prospects in old age, there can scarcely be doubt that the French peasant has a more enviable existence than the English labourer.

When we cross the Atlantic, though we do not find a class of peasant proprietors in the sense in which it is so common on the Continent, yet we find in the United States a vast population of farmers owning their own land. The relation of landlord and tenant of farming land is utterly unknown throughout the length and breadth of the land, even in the oldest States. The general aspect of the country, especially in the more settled districts in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New England, would surprise people who have not been out of England. The country districts have a more populous appearance than even in this Country. Every hundred to a hundred and fifty acres belong to a separate owner, who has a substantial house, and who farms the land himself. There are no large owners; there are no withdrawals of rent from the country districts. The multitude of landowners is the main cause of wealth to the country, and is the foundation of prosperity to the cities and towns. The same condition of things is being extended through the far West, hundreds of miles beyond Chicago, and will eventually extend across the continent. The same may be said of our own colonies. Everywhere the land is owned and farmed by the same persons. Proprietorship of land, as distinguished from occupation, has not begun to exist, even in the most settled of them, where land has become valuable.

The system of England and Ireland is, therefore, exceptional in the highest degree. What, then, are the causes? What is the economical explanation? Is it due to economic laws which are immutable, or is it due to positive law and to arbitrary arrangements peculiar to our system? The arguments in favour of the view that the English system results from economic laws may be ranged under the following heads:—

1. That with the growth of wealth in this Country, land has a natural tendency to rise in value, and that it has long ago reached a price, when it has become the luxury of the rich, one which cannot be indulged in by other classes. That consequently there is a tendency and inducement for all small owners, whether small squires or yeomen farmers, to sell their land, and to put the proceeds into some trade or investment returning a higher rate of interest.

2. That the land is better and more economically farmed in large farms, and that, consequently, under a system of large properties alone, is there a possibility of the land being parcelled out in areas, which sufficiently satisfy the most economic conditions for its cultivation.

3. That the large owner is generally better circumstanced in point of capital, and more able to do justice to the land in the manner required by the system of landholding in England, under which the owner lays out all the capital necessary for farm buildings and for draining and otherwise improving the land.

These explanations or justifications, if sound at all, must be such as to satisfy the conditions of the problem for Ireland, as well as for England. Let us first, then, take the case of Ireland, a country where large properties, as already shown, are even more numerous in proportion than in England. Ireland, however, differs from England in three most important respects, all of which are inconsistent with the arguments alleged in favour of the economic cause of large properties.

In the first place, Ireland is a country of small farms; farms of above 100 acres are very rare; the great bulk of the 600,000 farms are under 50 acres in extent, and vast numbers are under 20 acres. Secondly, the landlords have not, as a rule, laid out any capital in improving the land or in erecting farm buildings. The improvements have been effected by the tenants; the houses have been built by them, for the most part under yearly tenancies, which have given no real legal security to the tenants that their improvements will not accrue to the benefit of the owners. Lastly, the price of land in Ireland is not high. It cannot be said that land need there be the luxury of the rich. Though rents are paid with certainty and regularity, and with much less drawback than in England, the average price of agricultural land sold by the Encumbered Estates Court has for the last few years been no more than twenty years' purchase of the annual rent, bringing therefore to the purchaser five per cent. on his outlay; and but a few years ago the price was even lower. At this rate land offers a very fair inducement for investment, bringing in a rate of interest better than Consols, and equal to that of most other investments within reach of the middle and lower classes, in a country where there is not much opening for capital in manufactures and trade. The result of the recent experiment of the sale of the Irish Church lands to the tenants (under the provisions of the Church Disestablishment Act, which directed the Commissioners to offer these lands to the tenants in the first instance), shows that when properly approached, and where the purchase is facilitated, in part by the certainty of a good title without expense, and in part by allowing three-fourths of the purchase money to remain on mortgage at four per cent., or to be paid off by instalments at the same rate of interest, the tenants are most willing to purchase, and that they give a price better than can be obtained from other persons. The Church Commissioners have already sold to 4,000 tenants farms averaging 20 acres each, and at a price which

gives twenty-five years' purchase on the rental, or beyond the average price of land sold by the Encumbered Estates Court. The Commissioners, in reporting their transactions to Parliament, say:—

"When we first commenced to offer the Church lands for sale to the tenants occupying them, the tenants were not generally prepared to take advantage of the offers. Few were aware of the privileges conferred on them by the Act; as a class they were poor and ignorant, and the offers of sale were often misunderstood. Many of them thought that the purchase money demanded would only secure them a lease for ever, and that the rent would still be payable. The intention and effect of the Irish Church Act is now fully appreciated. The agricultural tenants are almost universally anxious to purchase their farms."

An illustration may be given from one of these transactions effected by the Commissioners. The farm sold consisted of 10 Irish acres, let for £10 2*s*. per annum; the purchase money was £232, or 23 years' purchase. Of this £61 7*s*. 6*d*. was paid in cash by the tenant, and the remainder is to be paid off by sixty-four half-yearly instalments of £4 15*s*. The effect of the transaction, therefore, is that for a sum of £61 7*s*. 6*d*. the tenant secures the farm; he will continue to pay for thirty-two years a yearly sum, about the same as his previous rent, and at the end of that time the farm will be free of charge and the absolute property of its former tenant. The experiment is the more important because it shows that the Irish tenants are prepared to invest their money in the purchase of their farms, that they can find the money for the purpose, and that they can afford to give a larger price than is given by other persons. The experience of the large prices often given only for the goodwill of farms, ranging in the north of Ireland from ten years' purchase of the rental to fifteen and even to twenty years, makes it the more easy to understand that the tenants should be tempted to give as much as twenty-five times the rental for the absolute property of their farms.

The Irish Land Act of 1871 contains similar provisions for the sale of land to tenants by the Encumbered Estates Court upon the same terms, but for some unexplained cause, these clauses have been acted upon in very few cases. That 4,000 sales should have already been effected by the Church Commissioners, and that 6,000 more should be in course of completion, is very significant, and is fraught possibly with important consequences in the future. Who can say then that with such experience the creation of a class of peasant proprietors in Ireland is a mere dream? Would it not be possible to extend the experiment still further? Might not many owners of property in Ireland be ready to avail themselves of the State assistance to sell to their tenants? And might not other properties in mortmain be dealt with in the same way? What has been achieved may be but the commencement of a policy which shall favour the creation of ownership rather than tenancy, and which

would follow in the footsteps of Stein, who did so much in this direction for Prussia.

Can it then be doubted that good results will follow the creation of such a class in Ireland? Who can look at the state of ownership of landed property in that country without feeling how insecure is its basis; how small the number of persons who are interested in its rights? What would not be the advantage to Ireland if, of its six hundred thousand peasant farmers, one or two hundred thousand were owners as well as occupiers? They would be at once an element of security in the political and social system of Ireland. They would exercise a powerful influence in promoting industry and thrift. They would raise the standard of production to the small farmers, their neighbours. They would supply the steps in the ladder by which the lowest might hope to arrive at the position of landowners. Is it impossible to suppose that such a result is beyond the reach of political effort? The success of the experiment in the sale of Church lands forbids a negative to this answer, and raises every hope for further success in a direction so full of promise to Ireland.

Why, then, it will be said, if tenants will buy, when thus assisted by the State, and give higher prices than other purchasers, have they not hitherto bought in the open market, at the lower rate which has prevailed for years past? Why have they not availed themselves of the clauses of the Land Act? The answer to the latter is yet to be given; it is probable that it is to be found either in some small defect in the machinery for working the Act, or in the want of knowledge on the part of the tenants concerned, in the want of interest, perhaps, on the part of the officials charged with the duty, or the want of personal explanations which, as the Church Commissioners inform us, were necessary in the first instance to make tenants understand what was offered to them, and to induce a trial of it. The answer to the first question is more difficult; it is to be found probably in the long history of Irish land laws; in the traditions of bad laws and wrongful policy of the government; but still more in the impediments created to the free transfer of land by a system of land tenure, and the consequent complications of title, difficulties, and costs of transfer, which are unequalled in any system of law in the world.

The case of Ireland shows conclusively that in that country, at least, it is not either the high price of land, or the economic necessity for large farms, or the advantage of capital being expended in improving the land, by the owners rather than by the farmers, which are the true explanations of the accumulation of land in few hands, and that we must look for other causes. These explanations having failed us in Ireland, it is the less probable that they are good for England, where proportionally there are many more small proprietors than in the sister country. In England, though land is much more valuable than in Ireland, its price, except in special cases,

is not absolutely a deterrent to small purchasers. It ranges, as a rule, from thirty to thirty-three years' purchase on the rental for purely agricultural land; at this price it will pay about the same rate of interest as Consols. It will be said, however, that the landowner has many calls upon him for improvements, which bring down the net income to two per cent. This may be so; but for pure investment, the land may be let on *long lease*, which would relieve the owner from most of these outgoings; or, if the tenant should buy, he would recoup himself the value of the improvements through his farm. Again, the price which land brings in England, high as it is, is not beyond, if indeed it has reached, the price which is given for land in France and Belgium by the small proprietors. If in England large proprietors give long prices, having regard to many other considerations than the mere return of interest—to prospective increase of value, to permanence and safety, to the status which it gives the possessor in the eyes of his neighbour, and to the natural ambition to possess a stake in the country—all these motives are at least as strong in the eyes of the small owner in France and Belgium, and it is difficult to understand why they should not be at least as strong in the minds of Englishmen, other than those of a particular class.

The other commonly alleged economic cause, non-existent, as has been shown, in Ireland, exists to a very much less degree in England than is generally supposed. England is, indeed, in the main, a country of large farms, as compared either with Ireland, with France, or still more with Belgium. It is, however, by no means exclusively farmed in large holdings. Of the area under cultivation, more than half consists of farms of under 200 acres, and there are 330,000 holdings under 50 acres in extent, and averaging only 12 acres each. On the hypothesis, then, that economic causes are at work to determine the size of farms and holdings most suitable for agriculture, it would appear that these economic laws permit, and result in, the existence of a very large number of small holdings. In fact, every variety is observable in the size of farm-holdings, from the very large to the very small, and one might therefore expect to find this same variety in the ownership of land and in the size of individual properties. The question, therefore, arises whether, under a freer system of land transfer, land would not be quite as likely to be divided into plots, suitable for the most improved agriculture, as well as for the many varied wants which it must supply, as under the present system, which is presumed to have large farms exclusively in view.

There remains the further argument that large owners only can afford to spend an adequate amount of capital in improving the land of their tenants, that they alone are capable of improving the condition of the people, and of performing those duties which, under the

social system of England, are expected of them. Mr. Froude looks upon the landowner as much more than a mere capitalist. He regards him as an emanation of authority, as a being endowed with exceptional and almost arbitrary powers, necessary for the well-being and good government of his tenants and those under him, and therefore to be supported by the special sanction of a large landed property: "The landed system is like a political system. It consists of a number of petty monarchies, which are gradually becoming restricted by custom, and the monarchs, while powerful for good, are powerless for harm. . . . . The landowner who desires honour and influence spends the rents which fall to him rather as a revenue than as a private income." He illustrates this position by a notable example, which he finds no nearer home than the Scilly Islands. The late Mr. Augustus Smith, better known for his spirited defence of Berkhampstead Common, took a lease from the Crown of these islands, and spent the best part of his life, and more than all the income he received in rent from the people, in improving the condition of the poor tenants he found there. He did, undoubtedly, a vast amount of good; he raised the social condition of the people to a remarkable degree; not, however, without the exercise of almost arbitrary power, which, as the sole landowner, he was able to do, by driving the bad from the islands, and by preventing early and improvident marriages. This case gives rise to these reflections of Mr. Froude:—

"Paternal government is a very hateful thing no doubt where we have a wrong kind of father. Men like Mr. Smith are rare; but I am none the less thankful when a rare chance gives the right man the right opportunity. If the islanders had been as free as Mr. Mill himself could have wished them, and all animated by the most determined spirit of self-improvement, they could not have accomplished in a hundred years what Mr. Smith accomplished for them in one generation."

Mr. Froude has himself supplied an answer to his argument. The case of Mr. Smith was a rare chance. He was a "fortunate accident," as the Emperor of Russia said of himself, in reply to the compliments of Madame de Staël, that with such a ruler, his country needed neither liberty nor a constitution.

One is tempted to draw an example from another group of Islands, to prove that it is possible for a peasant population, without the assistance of a paternal government of landlords, to be animated by a determined spirit of self-improvement, and to do as much for themselves as could be done for them by others. The case of the Channel Islands has recently been most fully described in this Review by Mr. Zincke.[1] He has shown that the islanders have, by their own exertions only, developed the most surprising prosperity and an industry and thrift almost unexampled in the world. The islands have no special advantage of climate or soil; they are under the care of no

(1) *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1876.

large proprietors. They inherited the law and custom of equal division of property from France; property is greatly subdivided, and yet the production is very great, and the average condition of the people, by whatever test it be judged, is wonderfully high. Pauperism is unknown. Population is very numerous in proportion to the area of the Islands, but it increases very slowly, not through the prohibition of marriage by a superior lord, as in Scilly, but by the natural restraint of the people. One might describe the Islands in the very words used by Mr. Froude of Scilly; "the whole place wears an air of quiet industry, prosperity, order, and discipline." The case of the Channel Islands is well worthy of the attention of those who doubt whether individual exertion, urged on by the stimulus of widely diffused property, can effect self-improvement without the aid of a local but most philanthropic "tyrannus," in the shape of a Mr. Smith. It suggests the reflection whether, in lieu of leasing the Scilly Islands, on the rare chance of finding such a lessee, the Crown would not have done well to facilitate the purchase of its property by the tenants themselves.

If in a large district where there is but one proprietor, be it the Scilly Islands or an English district, the local magnate acts up to the high ideal of Mr. Froude, all goes well; nothing can be more admirable; the people are forced into the path of virtue, *bon gré, mal gré;* farms are improved, farm buildings restored, cottages built; the whole economic condition is sound and healthy. But what under such a system if the landowner does not do his duty, or cannot do it? If encumbered by his ancestors or by his own folly, or if as a limited owner, with a large expenditure, he has not the means to do justice to his broad acres, and yet either cannot sell by the terms on which he holds under some settlement, or will not sell through pride, or from some hope of future revival of his family? In such case the land is undrained, farms go to ruin, cottages fall into the condition of pigsties, and a whole district is ruined through the failure or inability of one man to perform his duty, and without any fault of the population, and equally without any remedy. Mr. Froude himself admits such cases when he says, "The possession of a large estate carries with it authority, which can be abused in proportion to the capacity of the person to whom it is entrusted. The young heir may be a fool or a spendthrift, and his tenants and labourers and every one suffer accordingly. But nature has provided a remedy in the shape of bankruptcy. The incompetent is sold up; nature shakes him off to put a better in his place." If that indeed were the case, little harm would be done; but under the system of settlements it is precisely what does not occur. It is part of the system, under which property has been accumulated in few hands in this country, that long after the time when the owner has ceased to be in a position to do his duty by the land, the owner-

ship is still prolonged and carried over to another and even successive generations. It is notorious that a large proportion of landed properties, both great and small, are so encumbered by debts and charges, sometimes the result of extravagance, more often the result of successive provisions for other members of the family, that their owners, or rather the limited owners (a term happily expressing the position of the tenants for life), are unable to improve their property by the outlay of sufficient capital, and are also unable or unwilling to sell portions of it, which would enable them to improve the remainder. It is admitted that a large part of England is insufficiently drained, and badly provided with farm buildings. The reports of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children in agricultural districts are also full of statements of the insufficiency of cottages, both in number and quality, over a large part of England.

Cases are, fortunately indeed, not rare of owners of large properties fully performing all their duties according to the highest ideal, filling the part of model landlords, setting a good example to wide districts, improving their property in all directions—generous landlords, yet not too indulgent to the incompetent, giving encouragement to those who show enterprise, caring equally for the labouring class, providing good cottages and efficient schools. Such men, and many could be quoted, are a benefit not only to their neighbourhood, but to the whole country.

Instances, however, are unfortunately not wanting of the other extreme—of owners of large estates either so encumbered as to be absolutely unable to expend anything in the improvement of their property, or spending so much elsewhere on their own pleasures as to leave nothing for the performance of their duties as landlords. On such properties no improvements are effected, the tenants are not encouraged to do it themselves, and there is no one else who can do it. In such cases there is no law to compel the performance of duties, or to secure that the capital wanting for the drainage of land, the building of farms, or repairing of cottages, shall be expended on the property. There is equally no public opinion brought to bear on such a case; the whole district is dependent on the will of the one man, and that one man cannot or will not do anything. It may happen that an estate may remain in successive generations of such owners before it passes into fresh hands. Between these two extremes lie the great bulk of English landlords, of whom it may be said that a large proportion do not attain a high average according to any moderate standard of what should be performed by landowners, and who would probably be better off and better able to perform these duties if they sold a portion of their landed properties.

Let us, however, take the best examples—those where the landlords perform their duties according to the highest ideal of the system. Is it, however, the interest of the community that the

whole of the property in land over a large district should be concentrated in one hand? that all the sense of property in land, its value as an incentive to industry, its power to raise the status of those who have it, or who are striving for it, should be lost as regards the bulk of the population? Is it desirable that all the inhabitants of a wide district should be entirely dependent on one man, however conscientious and desirous of performing his duties? In such cases it frequently happens that the landlord is unable personally to superintend more than a portion of his property—that, perhaps, immediately surrounding his residence. The remainder must necessarily fall under the care of agents, who in many of the transactions involving the happiness or fate of individuals are practically irresponsible. Without undervaluing the efforts and intentions of landowners in such cases, it may be open to question whether a numerous and divided proprietary, the mingling of the small with the great, is not more likely to bring out all the energies of the population, and to secure its well-being and liberties in the fullest sense.

It is not, however, by the very highest examples of a class, or by its very best results, when tried under most favourable circumstances, that a land system must be judged, but by its average results; by taking into account its extremes at both ends, and also by looking at its effects, not upon one class of society, but upon all, even the lowest. The results of the English system upon the condition of the labouring class, tried under circumstances where it has had full play for centuries, undisturbed by any extraneous forces, such as the growth of manufactures, as for instance in Sussex and Dorsetshire, do not tend to show that the patriarchal or the feudal system of landowners, unmixed with any more modern principles, has produced a result of which we have great reason to be proud. What is everywhere apparent among this class is a sense of dependence, and an absence of those habits of thrift, which are so conspicuous, where property is more widely distributed.

It would seem, then, that a variety of interests, arising from a distribution of property and power, are expedient in every district, in order not only to preserve that balance of power under which alone personal liberty is safe, but also to make available, even among the lowest, the potent effects of property as an incentive to individual exertion. Such a state of things is not inconsistent with the existence of a landed gentry, both numerous and wealthy. What is contended for is that there should, if possible, be variety, and that beside the large owners there should be many other owners of every size and class.

It appears, then, that in England also, though not perhaps so certainly as in Ireland, it is not economic causes, or these causes

only, which have resulted in so limited a number of landowners, and which tend progressively to reduce their number still further; nor can the existing state of things and its tendency be justified on economic grounds. If, then, we have to look about for other causes, it is surely not difficult to find them in the positive laws which, in this country, for centuries past, have facilitated and promoted the accumulation of landed property and prevented its dispersion, and in the political and social forces which have supported those laws, and have defended and justified their results. Space will not permit a full explanation of the causes which led to the Feudal System developing, in this country, into a system of large proprietors, while in many parts of the Continent it resulted in the very opposite system of small proprietors. It is sufficient briefly to point out that, in its early stages, Feudalism was very favourable to the creation of tenancies on fixed and permanent services and rents, and that such tenancies necessarily became hereditary. In France, and in many other parts of the Continent, when the feudal lords entered upon their conquered estates, they found them already in the occupation of a large body of tenants who, under the Roman law, had held under a fixed rent or *census*. Many of these were reduced to the position of serfs; but vast numbers found their place in the feudal system, as tenants of the feudal lords, at fixed rents and with hereditary holdings. To these the Roman law of equal and compulsory division of property at death continued to apply; their numbers were continually recruited by the enfranchisement of serfs; and they undoubtedly laid the foundation of the class of peasant proprietors; the feudal law of primogeniture was never extended to them, and the law of entail was in France always considered as the privilege only of the feudal lords, and was prohibited to the *roturiers* and peasants. The Revolution of 1789, therefore, found already in existence a very large class of peasant proprietors, with the law and custom of equal division of property. The sale of lands of the *émigrés* and of the Church added considerably to the number of these small proprietors; and the Code Napoléon applied to all property the principle of compulsory division on death, which had been already the law and custom of the peasants.

In this country, as already pointed out, free socage tenants, paying fixed and certain rents to their feudal superiors, and copyhold tenants when first recognised as having permanent interests, were also subject to the Saxon law of equal division on death; but later the feudal lawyers succeeded in extending the principle of primogeniture to them as to all freehold owners of land, though we still have a trace of the older Saxon system in the rule which treats leasehold property as personal property, not subject to primogeniture. With respect, however, to the free socage tenants and copyholders, not only was primogeniture extended, but the whole of

the complicated system of the feudal land laws, which were so utterly unsuited to small proprietors.

It is to this, and to the excessive powers of entail through family settlements, invented by the astute lawyers of the time of the civil war, and which still encumber nearly the whole of the landed property of the country, and to the vast difficulties of title and expenses of transfer engendered by this complicated system, that we must attribute, in the main, the accumulation of property in few hands in this country. These causes have, however, been supported by political and social forces of great weight. For centuries the owners of land had entire control of the Government of the country, and were the sole dispensers of the patronage and honours of the State. The late government of Mr. Gladstone was the first to break through this rule; but it has again been revived under the present government. One branch of the legislature has been exclusively composed of large landowners. Mr. Pitt used to say that a landowner with £10,000 a year had a right to claim a peerage, if he were on the right side of politics; and even at the present time, as illustrated by the creations of the past three years, though the standard is raised, a large landed estate, without any public service or great personal merit, is considered sufficient claim for this hereditary honour. This alone acts as a great incentive to accumulation, and numerous families are engaged in the process of cumulating properties upon successive eldest sons with the sole object of satisfying family pride by the attainment of the peerage. In the Lower House of Parliament, one section of the representation of England is entirely in the hands of the large landowners. It is all but impossible for any one to become a member for his native county without the possession of a large landed estate. Such an event as a county member being selected for other reasons than his connection with broad acres is most rare. The whole of the local government and administration of the law in rural districts is also still vested exclusively in the large landholders.

The motives, therefore, of family pride and social distinction and political power which are thrown into the scale in favour of primogeniture and the accumulation of land are most potent. The same motives also tend equally to prevent dispersion. A large landed property has its importance, influence, and power, long after the owner, through debts, encumbrances, and charges, has ceased to derive any substantial income from it, and he clings to it with a tenacity which shows how strong are these motives.

The increase of value to many large estates, through the growth of towns and by the working of minerals, has raised the standard of what is considered necessary to constitute a large property, and has added again to the motives for accumulation. An examination of the returns of properties, of over ten thousand acres,

will show how very few large properties have been dispersed during the last half-century, and how many have been gathered together.

While every encouragement and facility has been given to the accumulation and retention of large landed properties, every discouragement and impediment has been opposed to the existence or creation of smaller properties. The complications and difficulties of our land laws and the cost of transfer tell with enormous weight on small properties. The cost of making out a title and concluding a transfer for a property of ten acres is often as great as that for property of a thousand acres, and the proportion of such expense to its value becomes a most serious item. But far more serious is the difficulty of dealing with the property when bought. To the small owner, the power of mortgaging is of extreme importance; without it, the property will be of little value to him; with it, he can raise capital for working his holding, or reduce the purchase money to be paid at once to a comparatively small amount. In every country where small properties exist, there is also a simple system of registering titles and of effecting charges thereon, which makes a mortgage the most easy and inexpensive transaction. In this country, it is in mortgaging that the difficulties and cost of title are most felt by the small owner. He may, perhaps, obtain a temporary loan from a banker at a high rate of interest, on a simple deposit of his title-deeds; but for a permanent loan, at a moderate rate of interest, a mortgage deed is necessary, which involves an investigation of title little less troublesome and expensive than that on sale, and neither lender nor borrower can afford the expense of it, or is prepared to encounter the trouble and delay. Without a system of registration, upon which alone a charge by way of mortgage can become a secure, simple, and easy transaction, it is not too much to predict that small properties, though they may be promoted, as by the Irish legislation, will not long continue.

The owners of small properties are also, as a rule, quite as ready to avail themselves of the power of tying them up by complicated settlements and burdening them with charges as are the owners of large properties. It is only the large estates which can long stand the burden of these settlements, and still have a margin for the support of the owner and for the improvement of the property. In the end, the time comes when the small property must be sold.

It is contended by Mr. Froude that the law of entail tends to sustain such small estates as still remain, and that if it were abolished, accumulation would proceed more rapidly. The same argument was used, for the first time, last Session, in the Debate in Parliament on the Bill for the Abolition of Primogeniture, by those who were in favour of maintaining that institution. In both cases the view thus entertained is contrary to all experience. It is only where primogeniture exists, and where it can be enforced by entail,

that accumulation of land takes place. Remove the sanction of the State, and the machinery by which it is effected, and the process will cease. The truer view seems to me, that settlements not only tell against small properties, which are unable to bear the successive charges which they facilitate, but are the main cause of those complications in the title of land, which prevent the possibility of *securing an effective registration, and therefore a simple system of transfer and mortgage.* Thus it is that the tendency has been for the large estates to become larger, and for the small properties to disappear.

Is it, then, the interest of the community that the process of accumulation should be continued? The answer to this question does not necessarily involve any such proposition as that of transplanting to England the French system of a population of small proprietors, and of equal and compulsory division of all property, at the death of its owner. He would be a bold man who could propose any such measures. Nor is it necessary to contemplate as an end to be aimed at, or as a result to be feared and guarded against, the extinction of the landed gentry. The utmost that need be aimed at is a state of things in which there may be many proprietors of every class, small as well as great; that the condition of the law shall be such that small proprietors may exist and survive beside their larger neighbours. With this object, it would be desirable that the process of accumulation should not be favoured and promoted; that the great facilities for the tying up of land for successive generations should be removed; that land should be freed as far as possible from the intricate system of tenure and title which now hampers it, and which prevents its being dealt with readily, simply, and cheaply; and that facilities should be given for the creation and existence of small properties. It is only when this is done, that economic laws will have their fair development, and that we shall be able to say with confidence that the ownership of land is really on a natural basis, and arranged on free-trade principles, and that the conditions on which land is distributed are such that labour and capital can be most advantageously employed upon it.

It has already been shown that, even in England, there are a very large number of small holdings of agricultural land. We may reasonably assume, therefore, that there is an economic demand for small farms. It is difficult, then, to understand why small properties should not equally exist, the more so as all experience shows that it is only owners of small holdings who can turn them to the best advantage. Recent experience as trustee to a landed property, in which the tenant for life, having power to sell, has very wisely sold a number of outlying parts of his property in small lots of from one to twenty acres, which have been bought by the surrounding villagers at very high prices, tempted in part by the certainty of title without expense, has shown me that there is a demand for land among this

class. Without, then, expecting that a freer system of land transfer would lead to the creation of a peasant proprietary on a large scale, it is not too much to hope that numerous cases may occur of labourers becoming possessed of land. A proportion of labourers working partly on their own land and partly for hire on the land of others would be a useful addition to the rural system, but far more useful in holding out a motive and an incentive to saving and thrift to that class which, of all others in the country, is the least saving, and to whom the very notions of property are now so often wanting.

So also with the class of yeomen farmers. Is it impossible to expect that a proportion of this class may continue to exist, and even to increase in number? and that under a better system of land tenure there may be a not inconsiderable number of persons owning the farms they cultivate? Such a class exists more or less in every other country: why not also in this? It is not to be presumed that farmers must of necessity employ the whole of their means as capital in the working of their farms. In many cases there is some reserve as a provision for the family, which should be secure from the hazards of their trade; and what better or more secure investment than the farm on which their labour and capital are expended?

Lastly comes the class of the smaller squires who are said to be doomed to extinction under the present system, and who, Mr. Froude thinks, will be devoured by their larger neighbours. It is difficult to conceive what argument there can be on economic or other grounds in favour of this course. If there be value in a resident gentry in rural districts, able to take part in local affairs, contributing to the formation of public opinion, acting the part of good citizens, and spreading through those below them a sense of higher civilisation, it is certainly in the interest of the community that they should be numerous and varied. So far as the influence of the State is concerned, it should be directed rather to the distribution of property than to its accumulation. This country, with its seventy-six millions of acres, or twelve times the size of Belgium, is not so small but that there is room for many of all classes of proprietors, from the peasant to the lord.

To what actual result economic laws, under a system of perfectly free land transfer, with a simple, easy, and cheap system of registration, and with a removal of the present facilities to entail under family settlements, would lead to, it is unnecessary to forecast; it cannot be doubted, however, that it would be very different from the present state of things. Proprietors of all classes and sizes would exist; property in land would more fully realise its value in stimulating industry; and we should have that variety in land-ownership which is of the greatest importance in developing all the many functions of Society.

G. Shaw Lefevre.

# FREE SCHOOLS.

The question of popular education is rapidly becoming the line of demarcation between parties, and the test of true Liberalism in this and every other European country. On one side are ranged those who see in the universal instruction of the people the guarantee of social order, the promise of continual improvement, and the practical realisation of that dream of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality which has exercised so great an attraction for many of the noblest and wisest patriots and reformers of the last hundred years. Opposed to them, now as always in the history of the world, are the priests and the obstructives—those who profit by superstition, and those who find ignorance the best support of despotism. Especially in France, and Spain, and Italy the contest between the two parties rages with infinite bitterness and varying success. In America the battle is won, though the defeated side make occasional attempts to renew the strife; while in England, where the struggle has been somewhat less bitter, the issues more complicated, and the interests more divided, there may still be discerned the same principles at stake, and the same influences guiding the position of the combatants, and determining the fortunes of the war.

We have advanced so far in this country that it is becoming rare to find men openly avowing their dislike to the spread of education, though the feeling is still latent in the minds of many Conservatives, and sometimes finds candid expression. Thus, in the present year (1876), a Mr. Norfolk is reported to have told the East Riding Chamber of Agriculture that the country was worse off with education than ever it was without it; that they were educating the world up to idleness, and the working men to drunkenness and the neglect of their wives and families. The Marquis of Salisbury, a more important and representative Conservative, perhaps, than Mr. Norfolk, argued against the Act for securing the education of the children in agricultural districts, as being inopportune. The effect of legislation of this kind, he said, would be to increase the difficulty of the farmers in procuring labour. The farmers are now fighting with their labourers. They do not want to pay them the increased wages they ask, and when they refuse the labourers strike. Under these circumstances the farmers depend very much on children to get them through their difficulties, and if children under eight years old are to be sent to school instead of into the fields, and children between eight and twelve years old are to be sent to school as well as into the fields, the farmers will be no longer able to depend on

them. In other words, Lord Salisbury thinks that ignorance is to be encouraged, and infants under eight years old are to be sent into the fields in order to enable the farmers to keep down wages, and to defeat the Agricultural Labourers' Union.

Candour of this kind is rare, and we may be grateful for it as an indication of what lies beneath the surface, and prompts more specious reasoners in their utterances on the subject of education. The ground usually taken by these persons is that instruction is desirable, and even necessary; but that it must be directed to proper ends, and accompanied by safeguards and restrictions. "I am far from being friendly," says Mr. Dombey in Dickens's tale, "to what is called, by persons of levelling sentiments, general education. But it is necessary that the inferior classes should continue to be taught to know their position and to conduct themselves properly. So far, I approve of schools." This approval is also qualified, in the case of the ecclesiastical party, by the condition that education shall become the handmaid of the Church, and their claims in this respect have proved again and again the most serious obstruction to anything like a national system.

During the discussion previous to the Act of 1870, many clergymen, and particularly the Bishop of Winchester, objected to all rating for purposes of education, because, as his Lordship explained, "immediately you introduce the ratepayer, you must give him the real direction of the instruction furnished by the rate"—an inference perfectly sound, no doubt, but which the Tories have subsequently contrived to evade by ingenious devices, the possibility of which was not foreseen by the Bishop. After the Act of 1870 was passed, the clergy generally endeavoured, not without success, to prevent the establishment of school boards, and to magnify the terrors and difficulties of compulsion; and now, after proving to their own satisfaction that universal compulsion is impracticable, they have welcomed a measure by which this impossibility has been made possible and compulsion has become general, in consideration of the arrangements by which, as they hope, the practical monopoly of the Church in the rural districts will be maintained, and the denominational system strengthened and extended.

By the Education Act of 1876 every parent is placed under legal obligation to see that his children are educated. This obligation is enforced by magisterial compulsion in cases of habitual neglect, and is further strengthened by the enactment that children under and between certain ages shall not be employed without a certificate of proficiency or attendance at school. As the execution of the Act is left to Poor-Law Guardians in parishes where no school board exists, and as the government grant has been largely increased, so that existing schools may in many cases be carried on without

expense to the individuals by whom they are managed, it follows, first, that in a vast number of cases all children, whether of dissenting parents or not, will be driven into Church schools; and, secondly, that the control of primary education will be kept out of the hands of those who are chiefly interested in it, viz. the working classes and the parents of the children.

Compulsion will accordingly be brought to bear in the most odious form without representative machinery, and in violation of the rights of conscience. The efforts of all lovers of justice and of all friends of education must now be directed to the establishment of the principle that representation shall go hand in hand with taxation, and that no grant of national or local funds shall be made to any school, a majority at least of whose managing body does not consist of representatives elected by the district for the purpose.

The institution of universal compulsion also brings into prominence the question of Free Schools; and the working classes, who are required to sacrifice the earnings of their children in order to assure the security and welfare of the whole community, are fairly entitled to demand that, at least, the cost of the service of education shall be undertaken by the State, and distributed fairly among the whole of the taxpayers. In other words, free schools are a necessary corollary of compulsion. Free schools may exist without compulsion, but compulsion must ultimately be followed by free schools. It almost seems, in view of our present experience, that it might have been wiser to have altered the order of precedence of our educational reforms: to have made all schools free first, to have seen how far that would have solved the problem with which we had to deal. Then, if necessary, we might have gone on to adopt compulsory laws. That might not have rendered compulsion unnecessary, but, at all events, it is likely that compulsion would have worked with much less friction than it does at present. The results of a free-school system without compulsion are very extraordinary, and worthy of careful attention.

The United States of America afford the best illustration in such a matter, because there, and there alone, has a free system been thoroughly and extensively carried out amongst a population having many similarities to our own. In making a comparison it is necessary to bear in mind that the average attendance of children of school age throughout England and Wales was, in 1873, 28·4 per cent. That is to say, of all the children between the ages of three and thirteen years, 28·4 per cent., or rather more than a quarter, were in average attendance. If we take the latter figures for 1875 we find that the percentage has risen to 31·2. Now, in America, where the free-school system has extended slowly but surely through

the whole of the Union, the results are marvellously different. In the State of Kansas, which heads the list, the average attendance of the school population between five and fifteen is 80 per cent.; in the State of Maine, 76 per cent.; in Massachusetts, 73 per cent.; in Connecticut, 62 per cent.; in Pennsylvania, 59 per cent.; in the State of New York, 52 per cent.;[1] and in all the States except some in the South, where the black population has to be taken into account, the attendance is very much larger than anything we know in England. Another illustration may be derived from the experiences of our own colony, and our own fellow-countrymen, in Canada. It appears from the report of a speech of Mr. Mackenzie, a late Prime Minister of Canada, that he stated that the whole of the schools in Canada were free, and that they had accordingly found it unnecessary to enforce a compulsory bye-law, although they had powers for that purpose.

No one can doubt that in England many children at the present time are entirely kept away from school owing to the pressure of this taxation. Whenever bad times come, the education of many children is interrupted, and much that has been previously spent is wasted, because the first luxury which an ignorant man denies himself is the continued education of his children. And the difficulty is a growing one. In the first instance, the new schools are filled by the children of the more highly paid workmen, but when these have all been provided for, there is a poorer and very numerous class who have still to be induced to send their children to school. Now all educationists will readily admit that persuasion is better than force. We would all rather tempt children into school than compel them by means of police regulations and magisterial interference. The principle is one which is adopted even in our own country, in our municipal work. It is considered very desirable, in the interests of the whole community, that the population should drink wholesome water. In many municipalities the practice has been adopted of enforcing a water rate upon all persons, whether they take the water or not, and then allowing the use of the water free to all. That is the case, wholly or in part, in Glasgow, in Manchester, and in several others of our largest towns, and the effect will almost explain itself. When people find that they have to pay whether they take the water or not, they are all, of course, ready enough to secure advantages which are offered to them without further payment.

The same result has obtained in the case of the free libraries and museums which are now provided in many provincial towns, and which are visited and used by enormous numbers of persons. It is a subject for congratulation to all, it is the interest of the whole community, that this intellectual excitement should exist, and that

(1) "Free Schools of the United States," by F. Adams, p. 109, Chapman & Hall.

advantage should be taken of the opportunities for improvement thus offered. If, instead of these institutions being freely provided for all at the cost of all, a charge of one penny were made every time a man took out a book, or a charge of threepence were made every time he entered the Art Gallery, not one-tenth, not one-hundredth, part of the numbers would have taken advantage of those great institutions. A proof of this was furnished the other day at Birmingham, where there exists within a few hundred yards of the Museum of the Corporation a most interesting and admirable collection, established by the liberality and intelligence of the Governors of the Proof House, called a Museum of Small Arms, and that institution is open to the public at a maximum charge of sixpence. On the occasion of a recent holiday, the numbers that visited the Corporation Gallery and the Small Arms Museum were compared, and in the one case they were over five thousand, and in the other less than a hundred. It must be evident from these facts that the imposition even of a small fee acts as a great bar to attendance, and tends at any rate to increase the reluctance of many persons to send their children regularly to the primary schools.

It is, however, probable that even if we had had free schools in England, thanks to the long course of ignorance and neglect from which this country has suffered, there would still have remained a residuum of the population which it would have been absolutely necessary to force into the schools by compulsion. But, granting compulsion, whether, as now, preceding any attempt to deal with the question of fees, or whether, as in America, coming ultimately in order to complete the work of the free-school system, in either case free schools will be found to be a necessity. The gratuitousness of the schools is a matter of justice as well as of expediency. How is it possible to defend compulsion at all except upon this one theory—that it is necessary in the interests of the community? Otherwise, what right have we to interfere with individual liberty, to interfere with domestic rights, to invade an Englishman's "castle," drag him before the tribunal of the law, and to force him, if he does not choose, to educate his children? Our contention, and the contention of those whose efforts have established the present system, is that ignorance is a continued injury and loss to all of us—to those of us who are attending to the education of our own children, just as much as to those who are altogether indifferent to the subject.

But if we are justified in requiring this in order to secure the well-being of the community, at all events the community is bound to pay the charge of the public service which it exacts. You have no right to impose a new obligation upon people in the general interest, and to make a private charge to them at the same time for the purpose. In countries where compulsory military service prevails, no one has ever heard of the State imposing on individuals, at

the same time with the obligation to serve, the obligation to pay the cost of service. Nobody has ever heard of a State which requires its soldiers, under the conscription, to find their own uniforms or their own muskets. Again, in our own country, in the interest of the community, compulsory vaccination is imposed upon all classes. No one has ever yet contended that those who are compelled to undergo this operation should, at the same time, be made to pay its cost. We know perfectly well that, great as are the difficulties which now attend compulsory vaccination, they would become simply insurmountable if a fee were charged every time the operation is performed.

It has been urged by a certain school of political economists, of whom the best-known representative is Professor Fawcett, that this principle would, if logically carried out, lead to the loss of all individual action and responsibility; and the community would at last be called upon to find everything—free clothes and free food quite as properly as free schooling. One practical reply to such a contention would be this. "If education and food are analogous services, if they are to be put in the same position, why are you not consistent? Why do you not furnish two-thirds of the food at the present moment, as you do furnish two-thirds of the education?" Either education should be fully paid for as food now is by those who take it, or, if education is to remain two-thirds gratuitous, food ought to be made two-thirds gratuitous, as well; always assuming the correctness of the assertion that the two services stand on precisely the same footing.

The simple fact is, however, that there is a clear distinction between free food and free education. In the first place, food is an indispensable necessity of existence; education is not a necessity at all. Education is provided because it is expedient, and for the good of the community, even more than because it is desirable in the interest of the individual. Human nature, which is periodically hungry, may be trusted to supply itself with the elements of bare existence; but human nature cannot be trusted to supply itself with instruction, of which a great many human beings have unfortunately only a limited appreciation. If parents wilfully neglect to provide their offspring with sufficient food, they are guilty of murder; nobody, however, has proposed to hang all the fathers and mothers who knowingly leave their children without elementary instruction. The interference of the State for the protection of life is demanded on different grounds from its interference to secure the proper cultivation of the intelligence of its future citizens. In the second case, society is seeking to protect its general interest; in the first, it is defending the existence of its individual members. Again, while the provision of education can be defended on economical grounds as a public service of great utility, the provision of food will not stand upon the same grounds at all. If every child were to

be educated separately at home, with a separate teacher to each family, the cost of education would be twenty times what it is now. Nothing like the same saving nor convenience could be secured by *providing food on a wholesale scale,* and in large establishments, for the whole people. Under these circumstances *it may be expedient* and right to provide free education; while it is not right and expedient to provide free food.

In any case it is evident that the present system of providing education partly by the community and partly by the parent is anomalous and inconsistent; and this double taxation, levied in the first place from the general rates and taxes of the country, and, in the second place, upon the individual at the time the service is performed, is inefficient for the objects for which it is imposed, and is unjust in its incidence.

Now we will consider these in order. It is inefficient for the objects for which it is imposed. This is the universal experience of all practical teachers, who complain of the waste of time and the worry involved in the effort to collect the fees, and of the loss of attendance due to this cause. The following letter was written by the head master of one of the best board schools in Birmingham :—

"I think you are aware that I have been much averse to sending children back for their money; I do send back those who I am sure can pay and will not, but those only number two or three. I have no doubt my high averages and large arrears are, in great measure, due to this forbearance on my part; but I have to deal with a very poor class of people here, who want very careful management. Since January, however, I have sent back any boy who came a second week without his money, and I have made special efforts to keep my books clear of arrears; but the worry and pain that I have experienced cannot be told. That, combined with the time spent in collecting the fees and making inquiries, have made me heartily wish that the schools were entirely free. *I calculate that, on an average, about two hundred attendances are lost every week, because parents are disinclined to allow their children to come without their pence.* A regular excuse of some absentees is that their parents had not the money to send them. I have no less than six boys absent the whole of this week from this cause. Personally, I shall be heartily glad when the Board take the matter into their serious consideration; for it certainly is the most painful and harassing part of my duty, and I have no doubt other teachers feel the same."

This letter was forwarded to all the board's teachers, with a request that they would give their candid opinion upon it, and replies were received, which, in the large majority of instances, confirmed the views expressed. Thus one master said he "agreed with the letter, and till last Christmas sent home about ten weekly. Some kept at home remainder of the week, and some never came again at all. Now he does not reject, but visitor has report of defaulters, and grants free orders where necessary." The head mistress of a penny school "agrees. *Many children do not come till Tuesday and Wednesday, from want of fees.* Some absent themselves altogether." The master of another school "agrees. If I sent back every child, I should send back more than half. *Granting of free orders does not*

*meet the difficulty.*" The head mistress of the girls' school "agrees. Fee has reduced our average largely. Sends girls home." In another case the master of a school where the fee is only one penny per week says, "Have daily experience of necessity of free schools in such districts. *Frequently asked to take halfpenny on account.* Boys are sent home weekly, and frequently remain absent for rest of week from want of fees." In another school, "difficulties have been reduced to one-third by reduction of fee to one penny. Still, twenty children on an average, in each department, come without fee." The master of another school "agrees generally," and the mistress "agrees in every respect. One day a week wasted in the collection of fees. *Children receiving free orders slighted by those who pay.*"

This kind of testimony is not confined to Birmingham. In Norwich the difficulty has grown almost to a crisis. That school board has had a great number of reports on the subject, from one of which the following illustration may be taken. In one school there were six months' arrears, amounting to £13 13*s.* 7*d.* A collector was specially detailed to visit the homes of the parents, and to endeavour to collect those arrears. He succeeded, in three days, at a cost of 24*s.*, in collecting 8*d.* It was felt to be hardly a profitable investment of capital, and in other cases the arrears of fees were cancelled. At Mitcham the school board resolved, a short time ago, to cancel all arrears, on the ground of impossibility of collection. At Tipton and West Bromwich the school board committees reported that they had threatened proceedings against the parents, but absolutely without effect. In the London school board the same difficulty cropped up. One return stated that 251 children had been sent back into the streets in a single district for non-payment of fees—a proceeding, by the way, absolutely illegal, and involving a waste of time and a loss of education which practical teachers are best able to appreciate. There is one board in Staffordshire whose schoolmasters, so the current story goes, have a flogging-day for children who do not bring their fees—a highly pleasing incident in connection with elementary instruction! At Kidderminster the school board have passed a resolution requiring prepayment of the fees before admitting the children—again an absolutely illegal decision, which would not stand a challenge in any court of law in the country. Instances might be multiplied to any extent, and this universal testimony as to the difficulty, in a great number of cases, of collecting fees, may be contrasted with the ease with which the Free system is administered in countries in which it has been adopted.

The strongest evidence of the universal effect of free schools comes from the United States of America. Allusion has already been made to the high average attendance, and the reports of the school super-

intendents show that this result is distinctly due to the abolition of payment. At the present time, free schools are in existence, not only over a few States, but universally throughout the country. *There is not a single State in which "rate-bills" or school fees are charged.* The New York State report for 1874 says, "The free-school system, inaugurated in 1867, has been so successfully vindicated by its results that it may be deemed secure. Under its operation the aggregate yearly attendance of pupils at the public schools has increased nearly eighty-two thousand, and the average daily attendance nearly eighty thousand." The Commissioner of Public Schools for Rhode Island, in 1871, reports results equally gratifying. He says of the city of Providence, where the schools had recently been made free, that "the effect has been in the highest degree satisfactory; and, notwithstanding the indifference of some and the opposition of others to the free schools, the number of children in school has largely increased, and the percentage of those who do not attend largely diminished." In New Jersey, from the report of 1872, "the free-school law has given an impulse to education which it lacked before, and vigorous efforts are being made to overtake the wants of the State. The State Board report in 1872: 'There has been a large increase in the number of pupils attending the public schools, and we may safely infer, from the absence of all complaint, that our school machinery is working to the satisfaction of the entire community.'" In Michigan, the State superintendent reports: "A larger number of children are found to attend the public schools, and there is far less irregularity of attendance." The Connecticut Board of Education, in their report for 1869, state: "The reports come to us from all parts of the State of a largely increased attendance of the children of those parents who were unable, or more frequently unwilling, to pay the charges for tuition; and while we have no sympathy with this class of parents, we rejoice that their children need no longer suffer for this, their parents', neglect;" and the Secretary of the Board, Mr. G. B. Northrop, says: "The law has received an emphatic ratification from the people. The rate-bill is buried beyond the hope of resurrection. If any 'mourners go about the streets,' the procession is a small one. There is little prospect of an 'about-face,' and another march to the dark ages. No such retrograde movement ever occurred in this country. Wherever once repealed, the rate-bill has never been re-enacted. In many States, for long periods, and under varying circumstances, the rate-bill has been fully and fairly tried, and everywhere it has been found wanting."[1]

The same result is reported from our own colonies. In Australia the free-school system is now rapidly becoming universal. In Victoria, where it was first introduced, the increase in attendance

(1) Adams' Free Schools of the United States, p. 78. Chapman and Hall.

amounts to 71,000 in two years. That is to say, the numbers have increased from 135,000 in 1872, before the introduction of the system, to 206,000 in 1874. It is impossible to resist the conclusion which may be derived from evidence of this kind—evidence which goes to show that the effect of fees is to render attendance at school less easy and less regular.

In the second place, the present system is unjust. It is a tax which is unequal in its incidence. There may be two kinds of just taxes—a tax which is exactly proportionate to the service which it pays or represents, and a tax which is fairly proportionate to the means of those who have to pay it. The postage rate and the income tax may be taken as illustrations of these two classes of taxes, the postage tax being a tax which is roughly proportionate to the average cost of the service rendered, and the income tax, a tax which is proportioned as equitably as possible, according to the means of those who pay it. Now, this tax education is neither. It is a tax which is levied in the most absolutely capricious, irregular, and unsatisfactory way. It is not determined by the service rendered. That is the first point. Some time ago a return was ordered by the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Heygate, member for South Leicestershire, requesting school managers to say what were the fees in their respective schools, and upon what principle those fees had been regulated. The return was perfectly amazing in its extraordinary divergences and anomalies. It showed, for instance, that in various schools the fee was determined by the age, the sex, the regularity of attendance, the attainments, the length of stay in the school of the children. There were five qualifications arising from the circumstances of the children alone, and there were as many qualifications from the circumstances of the parents. In other schools it appeared that the fees were fixed according to occupation, wages, rating, locality, widowhood, or the number of the family of the parents concerned. It is perfectly evident that we have here a tax which differs in different places. It differs at different times in the same place; it differs in different parts of the same place. I do not think it is possible to bring arguments against any tax more weighty than those which can be included in the indictment against school fees. It is not proportioned to the means of the parents, because, under our present system, a poor man who happens to be blessed with six children, has to pay six times as much as a rich man who has a thousand-fold his means, but only one child. The poor always have their quivers full. In some curious way, in consequence, perhaps, of some physiological law, fecundity varies, apparently, in proportion to poverty, and accordingly we find that, on an average, poor people are being taxed absolutely out of proportion to those who are well to do; instead of which, as the service rendered is really for the benefit of both rich

and poor, the contribution of each ought to be proportionate to the stake which each has in the country, to their means and not to the number of their families.

In the report of the American Board of Education for 1872, there is an allusion to this same argument. The secretary says:—

"The poor man with a family of six children to be educated ought not to be obliged to pay six times as much as the rich man with one child, or even as much as the latter with six children. It is common intelligence we are endeavouring to secure, and the cost of the attempt, and all the instrumentalities connected therewith, in justice and equity should be paid by the commonwealth, by all the property in the State. This is a principle long recognised in the school district, and in the town, since never the individual, but property, is assessed for educational and other purposes."

At the present time the incidence of this educational taxation in England is unjust and grossly unfair to the working and the poorer classes, and they ought to be relieved of the excessive proportion of the expense which they now bear, and which should be equitably distributed over the whole community. According to the late Mr. Dudley Baxter, a conservative statistician, the working classes pay something like £3 per annum to the imperial taxation of the country. That is to say, for all the services which the State provides for the common benefit of the community for their protection, for the administration of justice, for the enormous multiplicity of work which it does, the ordinary workman has to pay £3 a year; and yet for one additional service the country charges him at the rate of 30*s.* per year or 3*d.* per week for three children for forty weeks, which is something like fifty per cent. upon the total he pays for everything else. Of course the latter charge is only for a limited period, but during that time it is disproportionately onerous. Free schools would secure a more equitable distribution of the expense incurred, though there would be no difference in the actual cost.

The next point is that a system which would be unjust in any case is rendered still more inequitable by the endeavour which is made to remedy its injustice. At the present time a system of partial remission prevails. It is found absolutely necessary, in consequence of compulsion, to pay the fees of those who cannot pay for themselves. Without compulsion you might allow the very poor to go without education, but when you force every man to educate his children, as you cannot get blood out of a stone, you have to pay his fees if it is proved that he cannot pay them himself. But a remission of this kind is, of necessity, of a most arbitrary character. You must fix a line, and the line is fixed at a different level in almost every school-board district in the country. A parliamentary return was prepared on that subject also, and the line of remission is, in some towns, one-third of what it is in others. That is to say, the scale of wages at which remissions are made is fixed, in some cases, at one-third the scale at which it is fixed in others. But

fix it where you please, still in any case there is always an injustice when the man immediately above the line is made to pay not merely for his own education, but also for the free education of those immediately below it. We will say, for instance, that all persons in receipt of 20*s.* a week wages can pay their own fees. Then a man receiving 20*s.* a week wages has to pay for his own children, and also in the shape of rates and taxes for the children of his neighbour, who happens to be receiving 19*s.* 6*d.* How is it possible to justify such an inequitable arrangement as that? Is it surprising that under such circumstances there are continual complaints, that they are multiplying every day, so that ultimately the operations of school boards will be seriously hampered by a prevalent sense of injustice which will obtain amongst their constituents? Where similar arrangements have been made, similar results have invariably followed. In Toulon, in France, the whole of the common schools have been made free on the distinct ground that the amount of fees collected was not worth the trouble and annoyance to which it gave rise. The same result is reported from many other of the municipalities and communes of France, and also from Berlin. Similar conditions are evidently creating a similar difficulty among ourselves, and sooner or later they will be met in the same way.

A still greater objection to the system of partial remission than its injustice is its pauperising effect upon those who are subjected to it. Some time ago the *Saturday Review* described our present system as "an odd system, which, by exacting an inadequate fee, stamps our schools with the pauper stamp, while it prevents them from being free, and so equal to all." If that is true of the general system, it is especially true that under a system of partial remission the impression is created that education is on the one hand a privilege which may be purchased by the rich, and on the other hand is an alms to be doled out to the poor. Already a growing objection is observed on the part of parents to apply for free tickets, and it is not wonderful that they should object to attend before any board—even the most kindly-hearted, the most intelligent, and the most anxious to meet them fairly—to explain their private circumstances, in order to receive at last as a boon that which ought to be conceded as a right to every person in the community. The result is most baneful to the general cause of education, because the parents who object to apply for free tickets are compelled, as an alternative, to keep their children from school, and weeks, perhaps months, elapse before their absence is discovered and rectified. In the meantime there is a loss of education at a most important period of the school life of the children, and every teacher will feel how seriously that must interfere with the general work of education and the progress of the children.

This partial exemption is, therefore, unfair to those who pre-

sumably profit by it. In all the large towns there are numbers of people who are always on the border-line which separates pauperism from the class just above pauperism. By enforcing upon them the obligation to send their children to school and pay the fees, they are forced to cross this line, and are made, in effect, paupers by their application to the Board for relief. Whenever there is a temporary slackness of trade, thousands and tens of thousands of workmen, who have previously been able to meet their obligations, are suddenly compelled to sue for assistance or forfeit the advantages of education for their children. In this way an evil precedent is growing up which will last longer perhaps than its cause, and will do more injury than even ignorance itself. At the present time we are securing the education of the children by what is, in fact, the degradation of the parents and families to which they belong. This, however, is a position which some political economists boldly accept. They argue that parents who cannot provide for the education of their children must be, and may rightly be, treated as paupers. This seems to be political economy run mad. The object we have in view is the instruction of the children, not the punishment, the degradation, or the humiliation of the parents; and with the experience which has been gained of the working of our poor laws, we should be very unwilling to take a step which will doom thousands of those who are yet untainted to an acquaintance with this miserable system of pauperised education.

Another argument in favour of free schools is that they will tend to promote a very great and a very beneficial admixture of classes. At present the national school, so called, is really a semi-eleemosynary school. To a certain extent it is a charitable school, it is partially supported by subscriptions, and no well-to-do man, having strong feelings of self-respect, can avail himself of such opportunities, any more than he would think it right to send his child to a hospital without, at all events, paying the full cost of his treatment while he was there. But if we can once get people to understand that the schools are national institutions and common schools—the people's schools in the widest sense—we may hope that that will follow in England which has obtained in other countries, and that children of different classes may come to the same school with the very best results, and sit on the same benches.

This hope is not altogether an illusory or sentimental one. In America it is the commonest thing to see classes as widely different as possible in their social and pecuniary position sharing the advantages provided for them in the common instruction maintained by the State. Thus, to take a single illustration of this from many others which could be produced, in the city of St. Louis, according to the report for 1872, there are in the schools 7,243 children of mechanics, 2,228 children of manufacturers, 3,336 children of mer-

chants, and 1,071 children of professional men. Besides these, the parents are classified under the head of agents, artists, boarding-house keepers, boatmen, butchers, clerks, confectioners, draymen and teamsters, farmers and gardeners, day labourers, laundresses, public officers, saloon-keepers, and seamstresses. It is not strange under circumstances like these, that the American people should have come to the conclusion that the security of the nation depends upon the free common schools which they have had the intelligence to establish.

We have now to consider a strange objection made by those who support the present system—namely, that free education itself would lead to the degradation of the parent. Those who would doom thousands of people to the degradation of the pauper taint, by forcing them to sue for relief from boards of guardians or from the school board, maintain that to accept education in the schools in which it is proportionately provided from public taxation will involve them in this very degradation. It may be again pointed out, in answer to this argument, that, if degradation follows free education, all the parents who are availing themselves of primary instruction in elementary schools at the present time are two-thirds degraded, and perhaps we need not trouble ourselves much about the remaining fraction. But it would seem more correct to say that those only are degraded, if degradation there be, who accept education in private schools—who accept education in schools which are, to all intents and purposes, charitable institutions—who accept any eleemosynary assistance from persons who in return claim entire management and control of these institutions, and not those who receive a common education in a common school.

When we remember how many things we receive as the result of our common co-operation as citizens with all our fellow-citizens in the same town, without immediate payment for them at the time, it is hard to see how we should be more degraded by adding to those numerous services a single fresh one. We enjoy the advantage of the free libraries, we have the use of the public roads, of the lamps before our doors, of the policemen who protect our houses, and of many useful public servants to whom we are not called upon to make a payment at the time the service is rendered. We pay for all these services in the general taxation to which we are subjected. There is no degradation to us in receiving such services without a payment being made at the time. In the United States of America the objection has almost disappeared, but still even there, in the States in which free schools are of comparatively recent introduction, we can trace its existence, because some of the State superintendents, in those admirable reports to which reference has been made, deal with it and reply to it. The State superintendent of Virginia says: "According to current usage, public education means education provided by the community as a whole, in contradistinction to

education provided by private means. It recognises the principle that the commonwealth has a stake in the pupils, the young people, and that she means to guarantee her own future by seeing that they do not lack the means of improvement. It is education by the people, of the people, for the people. In other words, it is education by the public for the public good; and this education is free as well as public. It does not mean charitable, by free. To say that a community, in providing a benefit for itself, is doing an act of charity, is a solecism. A public school is no more a provision of charity than a town pump. It is free as the public hydrant is free, or a street lamp is free. It is free to the *individual, and to all individuals alike. The cost is borne by the community, like the cost of water, street lights,* public roads, bridges, and such-like public conveniences, all of which are free. Nobody stultifies himself by calling a free bridge a charity." The State superintendent of Kentucky says: "We claim that the common school is no charitable institution, erected outside the State, to be abandoned or maintained as charitable wealth may elect to dole out its alms; but it is a needful part of the civil order, to dispense with which is to abrogate one of the legitimate functions for which the body politic is organised."

It is said, however, in relation to this part of the subject, that people do not value what they do not pay for. Perhaps not. It does not affect the argument whether they do or do not, because in this case they do pay, and there is no reason why they should not value it. It is a great gain to impress upon the people that this is the case, that these schools are really their property; that they pay for them, whether they use them or not; and, consequently, that it is to their advantage to avail themselves of them.

Again, we must not forget that free schools are universal in America; they are becoming universal in Australia; they are universal in Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and in other parts of the continent; and those very countries which have adopted free schools certainly contain a population as independent as any in the whole world. And lastly, we must insist that an objection of this kind comes with the worst possible grace from those who are members of the middle class in this country, and who owe, almost all of them, more or less of the education of which they boast, to those very free institutions which we hope to make more common. There is hardly a man in this country who has received a good scholastic or university education who has not been indebted, directly or indirectly, to the free endowed schools, or to the free scholarships or fellowships at the universities; and it comes with a very bad grace from them to object that their poorer and less-favoured fellow-citizens are degraded by an education to the cost of which they contribute their quota through the taxes; while the objectors

admit no such result in their own case, though they have borne no share in the provision of the endowments by which they have benefitted. Mr. Mill put this issue admirably when he said there was no degradation in free education—it was the best kind of help, for it was help to do without help.

Another objection frequently urged is, that it is unjust to the provident, and to those who are careful of the education of their children, that they should be called upon to pay for the children of the thriftless and the ignorant. This is only another of those arguments which are disposed of by the acceptance of the principle that our national education is a service which is desired for the whole community for its own benefit, and not a boon conceded to particular individuals in return for payment. This question has been frequently discussed in the United States, and is dealt with in the following passage from an address delivered by Mr. Horace Greeley, when he was a candidate for the presidency of the United States, on one of those stumping tours which are now historical. In America his arguments are almost commonplace, but here, at all events, they are interesting and suggestive. He says:—

"But we are asked why a citizen who has worked, and saved, and thrived, should pay for schooling the children of his neighbour, who has drunk, and frolicked, and squandered till he has little or nothing left. We answer, he should do it in order that these needy and disgraced children may not become what their father is, and so, very probably, in time a public burden as criminals or paupers. The children of the drunkard and reprobate have a hard enough lot without being surrendered to his judgment and self-denial for the measure of their education. If they are to have no more instruction than he shall see fit, and feel able to pay for; a kind Heaven must regard them with a sad compassion, and men ought not utterly to leave them uncared for, and subjected to such moral and intellectual influences only as their desolate homes may afford. To stake the education of our States' future rulers and mothers on such parents' ideas of their own ability and their children's moral needs is madness, is treason to the common weal. They will be quite enough detained, even from free schools, by supposed inability to clothe or spare them; but to cast into the wrong scale a dead weight of paternal appetite and avarice, in the form of rate-bills, is to consign them heartlessly to intellectual darkness and moral perdition. And, in truth, the argument for taxing in equal amounts the improvidently destitute and the frugally affluent father of a family for school purposes, is precisely as strong for taxing them in equal amounts to build courthouses, support paupers, dispense justice, or for any other purpose whatever. Nay, it is even stronger, for the drinking, thoughtless, idle parent is far more likely to bring expense on the community in the shape of crime to be punished, or pauperism to be supported, than his thrifty and temperate neighbour; and, according to our adversaries' logic, he should pay more taxes on his log cabin and patch of weedy garden than that neighbour on his spacious mansion and bounteous farm. The former will, probably, turn off two paupers to one of the latter, and should be assessed in a pauper rate-bill accordingly. And this argument from parental misconduct against the justice of free schools is of a piece with the rest." [1]

It must also be remembered that the education provided by the community will be free to all, to rich as well as to poor,

(1) "Free Schools of the United States," p. 55.

and it is desirable that all should avail themselves of it. If, however, there are persons who are too genteel to accept of education in the common schools, let them pay for the gratification of their choice as they would pay for any other luxury. Let them obtain education for their children in the "academies for young gentlemen," and "seminaries for young ladies," which will, no doubt, be established widely to provide for this demand. If the same persons are dissatisfied with the common security that they enjoy from the protection of the police, they are at liberty to have a private watchman, but the Town Council will not entertain any claim on their behalf to be relieved from the payment of the common taxation because they are not content with the common provision for their security. In the same way they pay, and pay rightly, for the free libraries, and for the support and maintenance of the free parks, although they may have their own libraries and their own gardens. The fact that they are in a position to enjoy these luxuries is no reason why they should not contribute their proper share of a provision which is made in the interest of the whole community.

Again, it is said that this universal payment for a universal benefit is unfair to bachelors and persons who are childless, or to those who have less than the usual proportion of children. If the objection is to be treated seriously, the answer will be that, in the first place, most men and women marry at some time or another; that a payment which is spread over their lifetime may be looked upon as a sort of assurance against the time when, in the case of the humbler classes, they would otherwise have to pay a large sum—a time, too, when it would be most onerous to them. But the main answer is already stated in the principle which we assert—namely, that a national system of education only exists because it is an advantage to the whole community, and that the whole community ought proportionately to pay for a service by which the whole community benefits.

There is only one more matter to which it is necessary to refer, and that is the question which is frequently raised by the opponents to the system as to its probable cost. There is some confusion in talking about the cost of a free-school system. The cost is nothing. Education is no more costly, if all the schools are free, than if they are all subject to a shilling fee. The cost is the same; the teachers' pay is the same, the cost of the books is the same, and the cost of the buildings and furniture is the same. The question is whether the payment at the present time is equitably assessed? Can it be so assessed as to be more convenient and more just to those who are called upon to bear it? No doubt, if the fees are reduced the rates will be increased; but the important issue is whether the incidence of the rates may not be fairer than that of the fees, which has

already been shown to be anomalous and unjust. In passing, too, it may be pointed out that though the cost of education would not be increased by a free system, there is every probability that it would be very materially diminished. In the first place, there is the time of the teachers, which is undoubtedly sacrificed, to a very large extent, by making them treasurers of the school, and in some sense responsible for the collection of those small payments from the children; and in the next place there is a great portion, at all events, of time and cost now wasted in enforcing compulsory bye-laws. In various school-board districts this reaches, at the present time, a sum equal to a rate of from one halfpenny to twopence in the pound; and a considerable part of that would be saved if we had sufficient accommodation for all the children, and if all that accommodation were provided without fees being asked. But, above all, the work which is the object of all our endeavours would be better accomplished if we could secure, as it is certain we should do, a much better average attendance from the individual scholars.

The chief question is, however, as to the way in which the cost shall be distributed—how much shall be borne by one or the other class of the community. Some time ago, a calculation was made for Birmingham in order to show what the effect of such a change would be in that town. It was found that the total amount of fees which might be expected, when all the accommodation required had been provided, would be a little over £16,000 per annum, or equal to a local rate of 3*d.* in the pound.

Assuming that three children are an average family, that they go to school for the compulsory term of eight years, from five to thirteen years of age—that they attend forty-six weeks in each year, and pay 3*d.* per week as fees, and the total cost to the parents of such a family, for the education of their children, would be £13 16*s.*

On the other hand, what would the same parents be required to pay in extra rates if the whole of the schools were made free at a cost of 3*d.* in the pound of additional taxation?

An ordinary ratepayer may be taken to pay rates for twenty years; that is, he may be supposed to be a householder for that period, on an average, and he must pay a fraction more than 13*s.* 9*d.* per annum to make up the sum of £13 16*s.*, which has been shown to be the total cost to him of the instruction of his children. But in order to do this he must live in a house whose nett ratal is £55 per annum; in other words, to throw open the doors of every school in Birmingham free to-morrow, at the charge of the rates, would so alter matters that everybody who is rated below £55 per annum would gain something, while everybody who is rated above £55 would have to pay a proportionate increase. It is contended that this would be a more equitable distribution, inasmuch as those who now live in higher-rated houses do not pay a sufficient proportion of

the expense which is involved in providing for their security, and the *well-being of the community of which they form a part.*

Another way of looking at the cost is to say, as Mr. McLaren, the member for Edinburgh, did the other day—that for the whole country a halfpenny income tax would more than cover the fees. The same result would also be obtained by an additional levy of about 1½*d.* on the general poor rate of the country. In some places the rate would be higher; but over the whole country an additional rate of 1½*d.* in the pound would cover the general deficiency. That is a charge which would be easily borne by all, and it is a charge which would have the effect of relieving the poor from what is an almost intolerable burden—a burden falling upon them in its full intensity, just at the time when they are least able to bear it, inasmuch as they have to provide for the maintenance of their young children.

Expenditure on education is the cheapest and best investment that a nation can possibly make. In this country about thirteen millions sterling are annually expended on pauperism and crime, and when we reflect that the statistics of our gaols and workhouses show a universal agreement between the proportion of ignorance and the proportion of pauperism and crime—when we remember that England at this time pays five times as much for pauperism and crime as it does for education, while Switzerland pays seven times as much for education as for pauperism and crime, it is to be hoped that we shall not be too proud to take a lesson from a smaller but more intelligent nation, and that we may be willing to be more liberal with our expenditure upon national instruction in the hope of a proportionate saving in other directions. In a report which was presented by M. Duruy to the French Chamber some years ago, it was stated that "in certain Swiss cantons a premium is given to poor parents whose children attend regularly, and," said M. Duruy, "this is an investment which always bears the largest interest."

One other remark may be ventured with reference to cost. The supporters of the union between Church and State have elected to make education a battle-field, upon which they will fight for the existence of the National Church. We have been told that the schools are the nurseries of Church principles, and the bulwarks of the Establishment. We cannot forget that these bulwarks protect a mighty treasure misappropriated, as we think, at present in the interest of a sect, but some day or another to be reclaimed by the whole people in the interest of the entire community. The fees payable in this country at the present moment only amount to £800,000 per annum, and whenever the pressure of taxation becomes too hard to be borne, we, at all events, must be excused if we point to the inheritance from which we have been too long excluded—an inheritance estimated at something like ten millions a year, and out of which it would be easy to pay the whole cost of our national education.

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# THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

One special feature of what is called the Eastern Question is the direct and immediate connexion into which it brings the earliest and the latest times of history. In the lands with which the Eastern Question is concerned, the lands between the Hadriatic and the Euxine—perhaps we should rather say the lands between the Hadriatic and the Euphrates—we are brought close to the very earliest times in a different way from anything to which we are used in Western Europe. In Western Europe earlier times have influenced later times in the ordinary way of cause and effect. In Eastern Europe the relation between the present and the past—even the very remote past—is much closer than this; we may say with truth that the past and the present are in being side by side; we may say that several different centuries are in those lands really contemporary. This last fact in truth presents one of the great political difficulties of the country. In a newly emancipated state, say the kingdom of Greece or any other, some part of its area, some classes of its people, will really belong to the nineteenth century, while other parts, other classes, will practically belong to the fourteenth or some earlier century. Now a country which has reached, say the level of England in the fourteenth century, if it stands by itself, out of sight, so to speak, of the nineteenth century, may, if it has inborn life and a spirit of progress, develope in a steady and wholesome way from the starting-point of the fourteenth century. But if the land is placed, so to speak, within sight of the nineteenth century; if, while the mass belongs to the fourteenth century, it contains parts or classes which really belong to the nineteenth, the danger is that its developement will not take this steady and wholesome course. The danger, like all other dangers, may doubtless be grappled with, and perhaps overcome; but it is a real danger which has its root in the history of those lands. One set of circumstances has caused them to lag behind the civilization of the West. Another set of circumstances has put the civilization of the West in their full view. Now an outward varnish of modern civilization may easily be put on. The Turk himself can do that. To attain the substance of such civilization must be the work of time, of trouble, perhaps of difficulties and struggles. In such a state of things, the temptation to grasp what is easiest, to think more of the outside than of the sub-

stance, is great and dangerous. And these dangers and difficulties *must always be borne in mind in judging the amount of progress* which has been made by any emancipated Eastern people. Their progress is likely to be real and lasting in exactly the proportion by which it is native, and is not a mere imitation of the manners and institutions of other countries. But the temptation to imitate the manners and customs of other countries is in such a case so strong that it must always be borne in mind in passing any judgement on the condition of Greece, Servia, Roumania, or any other state which may arise in those parts. In estimating their progress, we must, in fairness as well as in charity, bear in mind the special difficulties under which their progress has to be made.

This is a line of thought which might well be carried out at much greater length. But for my present purpose it comes in only incidentally. The hints which I have just thrown out shew the way in which what I have ventured to call the co-existence of the present and the past in these lands has worked on their political and social state and prospects. My immediate business in the present paper is different. It is to shew another result of the working of the same cause with regard to the land itself and its inhabitants, rather than with regard to the political and social developement of its inhabitants. I wish now to speak on some features in the political geography of the country and in the distribution of its inhabitants, and to point out the bearing of those features upon the great questions of the present moment. Here at least questions of this sort cannot be set aside as mere "antiquarian rubbish." They are the very life of the whole matter.

One main feature of the south-eastern lands is the way in which all the races which have at any time really settled in the country, as distinguished from those which have simply marched through it, still remain side by side. In many cases they remain as distinct as when they first settled there. This is altogether contrary to our general experience in the West. In the West national assimilation has been the rule. That is to say, in any of the great divisions of Western Europe, though the land may have been settled and conquered over and over again, yet the mass of the people of the land have been drawn to some one national type. Either some one among the races inhabiting the land has taught the others to put on its likeness, or else a new national type has been formed drawing elements from several of those races. Thus the modern Frenchman may be defined as produced by the union of blood which is mainly Celtic with a speech which is mainly Latin, and with a historical polity which is mainly Teutonic. Within modern France this one national type has so far assimilated all others as to make everything else merely exceptional. The Fleming of one corner, the Basque of another, even

the far more important Breton of a third corner, have all in this way become mere exceptions to the general type of the country. *If we pass into our own islands, we shall find that the same* process has been at work. *If we look to Great Britain only*, we shall find that it has been carried out hardly less thoroughly. For all real political purposes, for everything which concerns a nation in the face of other nations, Great Britain is as thoroughly united as France is. A secession of Scotland or Wales is as unlikely as a secession of Normandy or Languedoc. The part of the island which is not thoroughly assimilated in language, the part which still speaks Welsh or Gaelic, is larger in proportion than the non-French part of modern France. But however much the northern Briton may, in a fit of antiquarian politics, declaim against the Saxon, for all practical political purposes he and the Saxon are one. The distinction between the Southern and Northern English—for the men of Lothian and Fife must allow me to call them by this last name—is, speaking politically and without ethnological or linguistic precision, much as if France and Aquitaine had been two kingdoms united on equal terms, instead of Aquitaine being merged in France. When we cross into Ireland, we indeed find another state of things, and one which comes nearer to some of the phenomena of the East. Unluckily Ireland is not so firmly united to Great Britain as the different parts of Great Britain are to one another. Still even here the division arises quite as much from geographical and historical causes as from distinctions of race strictly so called. If Ireland had had no wrongs, still two great islands could never have been so thoroughly united as a continuous territory can be. On the other hand, in point of language, the discontented part of the United Kingdom is much less strongly marked off than that fraction of the contented part which remains non-assimilated. Irish is certainly not the language of Ireland in at all the same degree in which Welsh is the language of Wales. The Saxon has commonly to be denounced in the Saxon tongue.

If we pass further towards the East, we shall find as we go on, that the distinctions of race become more marked, and present nearer approaches to the state of things in the south-eastern lands to which we are passing. We mark by the way that, while the general national unity of the German Empire is greater than that of either France or Great Britain, it has discontented subjects in three corners, on its French, its Danish, and its Polish frontiers. It will be at once answered that the discontent of all three is the result of recent conquest, in two cases of very recent conquest indeed. But this is one of the very points to be marked; the strong national unity of the German Empire has been largely the result of assimilation; and these three parts, where recent conquest has not yet been followed

by assimilation, are chiefly important because, in all three cases, the discontented territory is geographically continuous with a territory of its own speech. This does not prove that assimilation can never take place; but it will undoubtedly make the process longer and harder. But this very distinction will help us better to understand the special character of those parts of the world where no length of time seems to bring about thorough assimilation.

It is when we come into South-eastern Europe, that is, in a large part of the Austro-Hungarian and in the whole of the Ottoman dominions, that we come to those phenomena of geography, race, and language, which stand out in marked contrast with anything to which we are used in Western Europe. We may perhaps better understand what those phenomena are, if we suppose a state of things which sounds absurd in the West, but which has its exact parallel in many parts of the East. Let us suppose that in a journey through England we came successively to districts, towns, or villages, where we found one after another, first, Britons speaking Welsh; then Romans speaking Latin; then Saxons or Angles speaking an older form of our own tongue; then Scandinavians speaking Danish; then Normans speaking old French; lastly perhaps a settlement of Flemings, Huguenots, or Palatines, still remaining a distinct people and speaking their own tongue. Or let us suppose a journey through Northern France, in which we found at different stages, the original Gaul, the Roman, the Frank, the Saxon of Bayeux, the Dane of Coutance, each remaining a distinct people, all of them keeping the tongues which they first brought with them into the land. Let us suppose further that, in many of these cases, a religious distinction was added to a national distinction. Let us conceive one village Roman Catholic, another Anglican, others Nonconformist of various types, even if we do not call up any remnants of the worshippers of Jupiter or of Woden. All this seems absurd in any Western country, and absurd enough it is. But the absurdity of the West is the living reality of the East. There we may still find all the chief races which have ever occupied the country, still remaining distinct, still keeping separate tongues, and those for the most part, their own original tongues, while in many cases the national distinction is further intensified by a religious distinction. Or rather, till the revival of the strong conscious feeling of nationality in our own times, we might say that the religious distinction had taken the place of the national distinction. This growth of strictly national feeling has, like most other things, a good and a bad side. It has kindled both Greek and Slave into a fresh and vigorous life, such as had been unknown for ages. On the other hand, it has set Greek and Slave to dispute with one another in the face of the common enemy.

In the great Eastern peninsula then, and in the lands immediately

to the north of that peninsula, the original races, those whom we find there at the first beginnings of history, are all there still. They form three distinct nations. There are the Greeks, if not all true Hellênes, yet an aggregate of adopted Hellênes gathered round and assimilated to a true Hellenic kernel. They form an artificial nation, defined by the union of Greek speech and Orthodox faith. This last qualification is not to be left out; the Greek who turns Mussulman ceases altogether to be Greek, and he who turns Catholic remains Greek only in a very imperfect sense.[1] Here are the oldest recorded inhabitants of a large part of the land abiding, and abiding in a very different case from the remnants of the Celt and the Iberian in Western Europe. The Greeks are no survival of a nation; they are a true and living nation, a nation whose importance to the matter in hand is quite out of its proportion to its extent in mere numbers. They still abide, the predominant race in their own ancient and again independent land, the predominant race in those provinces of the continental Turkish dominion which formed part of their ancient land, the predominant race through all the shores and islands of the Ægæan and of part of the Euxine also. In near neighbourhood to the Greeks still live another race of equal antiquity, the Skipetar or Albanians. These, as I believe is no longer doubted, represent the ancient Illyrians. The exact degree of their ethnical kindred with the Greeks is a scientific question which lies without the range of practical politics; but the facts that they are more largely intermingled with the Greeks than any of the other neighbouring nations, that they show a special power of identifying themselves with the Greeks, a power, so to speak, of becoming Greeks and forming part of the artificial Greek nation, are matters of very practical politics indeed. It must never be forgotten that, among the worthies of the Greek War of Independence, some of the noblest were not of Hellenic but Albanian blood. The Christian Albanian thus easily turns into a Greek; and the Mahometan Albanian is something broadly distinguished from a Turk. He has, as he well may have, a strong national feeling, and that national feeling has sometimes got the better of religious divisions. If Albania is among the most backward parts of the peninsula, still it is, by all accounts, the part where there is most hope of men of different religions joining together against the common enemy.

Here then are two ancient races, the Greeks and another race, not indeed so advanced, so important, or so widely spread, but a race

(1) Would Hellenic nationality be affected in the same way either by embracing Protestantism or by giving up all religious profession? Most likely not. To turn either Mussulman or Catholic is to undergo a political as well as a theological change. It is to accept a new master in the Caliph or the Pope. No such submission as this is involved in either of the other changes.

which equally keeps a real national being. And I would add, as what is my own belief, though I cannot assert it with the same confidence as in the other two cases, that a third ancient race also survives as a distinct people in the peninsula. These are the Vlachs or Roumans, in whom I am strongly inclined to see the surviving representatives of the great Thracian race. Every one knows that, in the modern principality of Roumania and in the adjoining parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, there is to be seen that phenomenon so unique in the East, a people who not only still keep the Roman name, but who speak neither Greek nor Turkish, neither Slave nor Skipetar, but a dialect of Latin, a tongue akin, not to the tongues of any of their neighbours, but to the tongues of Gaul, Italy, and Spain. The assumption has commonly been that this outlying Romance people owe their Romance character to the Roman colonization of Dacia under Trajan. In this view the modern Roumans would be the descendants of Trajan's colonists and of Dacians who had learned of them to adopt the speech and manners of Rome. But when we remember that Dacia was the first Roman province to be given up—that the modern Roumania was for ages the highway of every barbarian tribe on its way from the East to the West—that the land has been conquered and settled and forsaken over and over again—it would be passing strange if this should be the one land, and its people the one race, to keep the Latin tongue when it has been forgotten in all the neighbouring countries. Add to this that the Roumans are not, and never have been, confined to the modern Roumania—that they are still found, if in some parts only as wandering shepherds, in various parts of the peninsula—that their establishment in Dacia seems to be of comparatively recent date. All this may lead us to look for some other explanation of this most singular and puzzling phenomenon. It has indeed been thought that the modern Rouman is not strictly a Romance language, but rather a language akin to Latin, a trace of primæval kindred between the tongues of the Italian and the Byzantine peninsula. This would be carrying things back very far indeed. Such a belief would indeed be the greatest strengthening of my position as to the abiding character of nations and language in South-eastern Europe. But we need not go back so far as this. It will be quite enough, if we look on the Roumans as Romanized Thracians, as the representatives of the great Thracian race which lived on in the inland parts of the peninsula while the Greeks occupied the coasts. Their lands, Mœsia, Thrace specially so called, and Dacia, were added to the Empire at various times from Augustus to Trajan. That they should gradually adopt the Latin language is in no sort wonderful. Their position with

regard to Rome was exactly the same as that of Gaul and Spain. Where Greek civilization had been firmly established, Latin could nowhere displace it. Wherever Greek civilization was unknown, Latin overcame the barbarian tongue. It would naturally do so in this part of the East exactly as it did in the West. But, though the question of the origin of the Roumans is of deep historical and ethnological interest, the questions which I have just been discussing are of comparatively little moment for my present purpose. In any case, the Roumans represent a people more ancient than the Slavonic settlements. If they really represent the Roman and Romanized inhabitants of Trajan's Dacia, their time of endurance would be somewhat shortened, but the difficulties of their endurance would be increased tenfold.[1]

Here then we have in the South-eastern peninsula three nations which have all lived on at least from the days of the early Roman Empire. Two of them, I am inclined to think all of them, have lived on from the very beginnings of European history. We have nothing answering to this in the West. It needs no proof that the speakers of Celtic and Basque, in Gaul and in Spain, do not hold the same position in Western Europe which the Greeks, Albanians, and Roumans do in Eastern Europe. In the East the most ancient inhabitants of the land are still there, not as scraps or survivors, not as fragments of nations lingering on in corners, but as nations in the strictest sense, nations whose national being forms an element in every modern and political question. They all have their memories, their grievances, and their hopes; and their memories, their grievances, and their hopes are all of a practical and political kind. Highlanders, Welshmen, Bretons, Basques, have doubtless memories, but they have hardly political grievances or hopes.[2] Ireland may have political grievances; it certainly has political hopes; but they are not exactly of the same kind as the grievances or hopes of the Greek, the Albanian, and the Rouman. Let Home Rule succeed to the extent of setting up an independent king and parliament of Ireland, yet the language and civilization of that king and parliament would still be English. Ireland would form an English state, politically hostile, it may be, to Great Britain, but still an English state. No Greek, Albanian, or Rouman state that can be conceived would be in the same sense a Turkish state.

(1) I have been set thinking on this question by the second chapter of Jirečeks "Geschichte der Bulgaren," Prag, 1876. On the other side see Zeuss, "Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme," 263.

(2) I do not pretend to answer for the Spanish Basques, who do seem to have grievances, though their way of trying to redress them may be thought a strange one. But a purely Basque state would surely be inconceivable.

On these primitive and abiding races came, as on other parts of Europe, the Roman Conquest. That conquest planted Latin colonies on the Dalmatian coast, where the Latin tongue still remains in its Italian variety as the speech of literature and city life—it Romanized in any case some part of the earlier inhabitants, be they Thracians or be they Dacians—it had the great political effect of all, that of planting the Roman power in a Greek city, and thereby creating a state, and in the end a nation, which was Roman on one side, and Greek on the other. Then came the Wandering of the Nations, on which, as regards men of our own race, we need not dwell. The Goths marched at will through the Eastern Empire; but no Teutonic settlement was ever made within its bounds, no lasting Teutonic settlement was ever made even on its border. The part of the Teuton in the West was played far less perfectly indeed by the Slave in the East. On the points of likeness and unlikeness between the part played by the Teutons in the West and that played by the Slaves in the East, I cannot enlarge here. The great point to be borne in mind is that the Slave in the East does answer, however imperfectly, to the Teuton in the West, that he is there what the Teuton is here, the great representative of what we may call the modern European races, those whose part in history began after the establishment of the Roman power. The differences with which we are here concerned between the position of the two races are chiefly these. The Slave in the East has, as we have seen, præ-Roman races standing alongside of him in a way in which the Teuton has not in the West. He also himself stands alongside of races which have come in since his own coming, in a way which the Teuton in the West is still further from doing. That is to say, besides Greeks, Albanians, and Roumans, he stands alongside of Bulgarians, Magyars, and Turks, who have nothing to answer to them in the West. We might also say that there is nothing in the East exactly answering to the Romance nations in the West. There are no people, Latin or Greek in speech, who have been brought under Slavonic influences in the same way in which the Romance nations have been brought under Teutonic influences.* We might say that the Greeks answer to the *Welsh* in both senses of the word, at once to the Celtic and to the Latin-speaking people of Western Europe. The causes of all these differences I hope to explain in another shape; we have now to deal only with the differences themselves. The Slave, in the time of his coming, in the nature of his settlement, answers roughly to the Teuton; his position is what that of the Teuton would be, if Western Europe had been brought under the power of an alien race at some time later than his own settlement. The Slaves undoubtedly form the greatest element in the population of the Eastern peninsula, and they once reached more widely still. Taking the Slavonic name in

its widest meaning, they occupy all the lands from the Danube and its great tributaries southward to the strictly Greek border. The exceptions are where earlier races remain, Greek or Italian on the coast-line, Albanian in the mountains. The Slaves hold the heart of the peninsula, and they hold more than the peninsula itself. Here comes in a fact which bears very distinctly on the politics of the present moment, the fact that the present frontier of the Austrian and Ottoman Empires, a frontier so dear in the eyes of diplomatists, is no natural or historical frontier at all, but simply comes of the wars of the last century. The Slave lives equally on both sides of it; indeed, but for the last set of causes which have affected Eastern Europe, the Slave might have reached uninterruptedly from the Baltic to the Ægæan.

This last set of causes are those which specially distinguish the histories of Eastern and of Western Europe, those which have caused the special difficulties of the last five hundred years. In Western Europe, though we have had plenty of political conquests, we have had no national migrations since the days of the Teutonic settlements —at least, if we may extend these last so as to take in the Scandinavian settlements in Britain and Gaul. The Teuton has pressed to the East at the expense of the Slave and the Old Prussian: the borders between the Romance and the Teutonic nations in the West have fluctuated; but no third set of nations has come in, strange alike to the Roman and the Teuton and to the whole Aryan family. As the Huns of Attila showed themselves in Western Europe as passing ravagers, so did the Magyars at a later day; so did the Ottoman Turks in a day later still, when they besieged Vienna and laid waste the Venetian mainland. But all these Turanian invaders appeared in Western Europe simply as passing invaders; in Eastern Europe their part has been widely different. Besides the temporary dominion of Avars, Patzinaks, Chazars, Cumans, and a crowd of others, three bodies of more abiding settlers, the Bulgarians, the Magyars, and the Mogul conquerors of Russia, have come in by one path; a fourth, the Ottoman Turks, have come in by another path. Among all these invasions we have one case of thorough assimilation, and only one. The original Finnish Bulgarians, like Western conquerors, have been lost among Slavonic subjects and neighbours; the modern Bulgarian is a Slave bearing the Bulgarian name, as the modern French is a Gaul bearing the Frankish name. The geographical function of the Magyar has been to keep the two great groups of Slavonic nations apart. To his coming, more than to any other cause, we may attribute the great historical gap which separates the Slave of the Baltic from his southern kinsfolk. The work of the Ottoman Turk we all know. These later settlers remain alongside of the Slave, just as the Slave remains alongside of the earlier settlers. The Slavonized Bulgarians are the

only instance of assimilation such as we are used to in the West. All the other races, old and new, from the Albanian to the Ottoman, are still there, each keeping its national being and its national speech. And in one part of the ancient Dacia we must add quite a distinct element, the element of Teutonic occupation in a form unlike any in which we see it in the West, in the shape of the Saxons of Transylvania.

We have thus worked out our point in detail. While in each Western country some one of the various races which have settled in it has, speaking roughly, assimilated the others, in the East all the races that have ever settled in the country still abide side by side. And it is important to remark that this phenomenon is not peculiar to the lands which are now under the Turk; it is shared equally with the lands which form the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. We may for the moment set aside those parts of Germany which are so strangely united with the crowns of Hungary and Dalmatia. In those parts of the monarchy which come within our present survey, the Roman and the Rouman—we may so distinguish the Romance-speaking inhabitants of Dalmatia and the Romance-speaking inhabitants of Transylvania—the Slave of the north and of the south, the Magyar conqueror, the Saxon immigrant, all abide as distinct races. That the Ottoman is not to be added to our list in Hungary, while he is to be added in Bulgaria, is simply because he has been driven out of Hungary, while he is allowed to abide in Bulgaria. No point is more important to insist on now than the fact that the Ottoman once held the greater part of Hungary by exactly the same right, the right of the strongest, as that by which he still holds Bosnia and Bulgaria. It is simply the result of a century of warfare, from Sobieski to Joseph the Second, which has fixed the boundary which to diplomatists seems eternal. That boundary has advanced and gone back over and over again. As Buda once was Turkish, Belgrade has more than once been Austrian. In the old days of Austrian intolerance, the persecuted Protestant of Hungary deemed the yoke of the Sultan less heavy than that of the Emperor-king. In days of better rule in the Hungarian kingdom, the Servian rayah welcomed the Emperor-king as his deliverer from the Sultan. The whole of these lands, from the Carpathian Mountains southward, present the same characteristic of permanence and distinctness among the several races which occupy them. The several races may lie, here in large continuous masses, there in small detached settlements; but there they all are in their distinctness. It would be hard to trace out in these lands a state of the same scale as any of the great states of Western Europe which should consist of one race, language, or religion. The point to be specially borne in mind is that this characteristic belongs equally to the Austrian and to the

Turkish Empire, and that the frontier which divides the two is a purely artificial one, the result of several fluctuations during the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Now this lasting and distinct character of races in these lands leads to a geographical feature which is quite unlike anything to which we are now used in Western Europe, but which was familiar enough in ancient times. We may say that, till the establishment of the Roman Empire, it was the rule in the lands round the Mediterranean that the seaboard and the inland part of a country should be held by distinct nations. First Phœnician, then Greek colonies, spread themselves over the greater part of the Mediterranean, Ægæan, and Euxine coasts. But they nowhere went very far inland. Thus the group of Greek cities of which Massalia was the head were scattered along the Mediterranean coast of Gaul and northern Spain; but in the interior of the country they had no influence beyond a purely commercial one. The land was Celtic or Iberian, with a Greek fringe on the coast. The Roman power put an end to this state of things, as far as political dominion was concerned. Throughout the Empire, the sea-coast and the interior, whatever were the race and speech of their inhabitants, were alike Roman in allegiance. But with the great Slavonic movement of the sixth and seventh centuries the older state of things revived in South-eastern Europe, and it has, to a great extent, remained to our day. The sea-coast and the interior of the land have again parted company. A map of Europe in the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, carefully marking the dominions of the Eastern Emperors, brings out this fact in a wonderful way.[1] Like the colonies of Old Greece at an earlier day, like the dominions of Venice at a later day, the dominions of the Eastern Cæsar were cut down to a system of islands, peninsulas, strips of coast, maritime possessions scattered here and there over a large part of Europe. From the coming of the Slaves till the overthrow of the Bulgarian kingdom at the beginning of the eleventh century, there was no great continuous Imperial territory anywhere but in Asia Minor. Things had come back to the days before Roman dominion. The Greek, as for this purpose we may call him, again occupies the Ægæan, Hadriatic, and Euxine coasts. His rule reaches from Venice to Cherson and Trebizond. But the inland part of the wide land between the Hadriatic and the Euxine is again alien, in his eyes barbarian. From the Danube to Olympos—for a while from the Danube to Peloponnêsos—the inland parts are Slavonic or Bulgarian, while the coast remains Greek or, in the northern part of the Hadriatic, Italian—in either case, Imperial. And this state of things in a manner abides still

(1) Some of the maps of the Eastern Empire in the new edition of Spruner-Menke bring this out more clearly than any other which I have yet seen.

The disposition of races remains much the same; the only difference is the political one, that Constantinople in Ottoman hands exercises a power over the inland regions which it did not exercise in Byzantine hands. Now as then, along a vast range of country, the coast is mainly Greek; the inland regions are mainly Slave. And in one corner the older state of things is still more completely brought before our eyes; the coast and the interior are separated, not only by race, but by political allegiance. There is no more instructive lesson in history than that which is taught us by the revolutions of the narrow strip of Dalmatian coast and of the vast mainland to the back of it. For a few centuries, Illyria was one of the most prominent and flourishing parts of the world, renowned above all things as the land which gave the world its rulers. It was so, because, for those few centuries only, the coast and the interior were not divided. Before the establishment of the Roman dominion, Illyria counted for a barbarous and backward land, hard indeed for conquerors to subdue, but where civilization was confined to a few Greek cities on its coasts and islands. Under the Roman Peace, the body and its natural mouths were brought together. Jadera flourished; Pietas Julii flourished; Salona was one of the great cities of the earth; and from Salona came forth Diocletian. But Diocletian was only the greatest of a long line of Illyrian princes before and after him. The border-land of East and West might worthily claim to supply East and West alike with its rulers. With the Slavonic immigrations all this ceased; the body was again cut off from the mouths and the mouths from the body. The interior became barbarian; civilization was again shut up in the coast-cities which still clave to the Empire. Salona fell, and Spalato rose in its place; but, in the changed state of things, Spalato could not be what Salona had been. Tossed to and fro between various masters, Byzantine, Venetian, Hungarian, French, and Austrian, the Dalmatian cities have ever since been cut off from the land behind them. Ragusa, independent within living memory, was, from her very independence, yet more isolated than the rest. We all say, and we say truly, that Montenegro must have a haven. We feel it by simply looking at the map; but we feel it tenfold more keenly when we look down from the Black Mountain itself on Cattaro and her mouths—the *Bocche*, the city and haven of which the men of the Black Mountain were so shamefully robbed—on the narrow rim of land which fences in the *Bocche*, and on the wide Hadriatic beyond. We feel pent up in prison without an outlet. But what is true of Montenegro is true of the whole land; the body is still everywhere cut off from the mouth and the mouth from the body. Those lands will hardly send forth another Aurelian, another Diocletian, another Constantine, as long as two parts of them which is essential to the prosperity of each of the other are thus unnaturally kept asunder.

Here then we come to some of the great difficulties which surround what is called the Eastern Question, difficulties of the present which, like most difficulties of the present, are an inheritance of the events handed on from the past. When the Turk is gone, "bag and baggage"—that is, of course, the gang of official oppressors, not the Mahometan population whom no one wishes to injure, and who may in truth be counted among the victims of the official Turk—when the Turk in this sense is gone, there will still be other difficulties to grapple with, difficulties which were in full force before he came. There will still be that separation between the coast and the interior, which exists more or less everywhere, and which reaches its height in the political separation between the Illyrian coast and the Illyrian mainland. There will still be the difficulty of drawing any frontier which will satisfy the conflicting claims of Greek and Bulgarian. There will still be the difficulty of saying what should be the position of the New Rome herself. But one axiom may be laid down: the New Rome must ever be the New Rome; she must be the head of something, be it empire or federation. Eternal as she is in a far truer sense than the elder Rome, she cannot be the subject, she cannot even be the equal, of any other city, or of any other power. But of what is she to be the head? I need hardly speak my own mind—of a federation, if federation is to be had; of an empire, if federation is not to be had. And the latest experiences of European polity have taught us that federation and empire are not incompatible. The states which already exist, any states which may hereafter be formed, must, whatever be the nature of the tie, still look to Constantinople as the head of all. There are moments in Byzantine history when we are inclined to curse the foundation of the New Rome, and to look on it simply as an hindrance to the national growth of Bulgaria or Servia. But the Imperial city is there, and the Imperial city she must ever be. Shallow indeed are the thoughts, vain are the fears, of those who profess to look for a day when Constantinople shall be a Russian possession. The Russian of our own day may win her, as the Russian of a thousand years back strove to win her; but, if he wins her, he will cease to be Russian. A prince of the house of Romanoff may sit on the Byzantine throne, as a prince of the house of Hohenzollern or of Coburg may sit upon it. But Constantinople can never be a dependency of St. Petersburg, any more than it can be a dependency of Berlin or of London. Alarmists may shriek, sentimental dreamers may chatter; but nature and history are too strong for them.

Constantinople must then be the heart of whatever it has to be, empire or federation or federal empire, which takes the place of the rule of alien intruders and oppressors. But am I, is any one.

called on to try to draw out in detail any scheme for the future? In this matter we are placed on the horns of a cruel dilemma. Frederick the Second was first excommunicated for not going on the Crusade, and when he did go he was excommunicated again for going. The like hard fate falls on him who ventures to say anything about the affairs of Eastern Europe. If he points out evils and does not propose remedies, he is unpractical and "irresponsible." If he does propose remedies, he is still unpractical and "irresponsible," and he is speculative and dreamy to boot. What is practical or unpractical is a question which often admits of two answers. It is often a practical course to take an inch when we cannot get an ell. To leave the Sultan at Constantinople, and to free as large a part as may be of the land which he oppresses from his direct rule, would be a great and practical gain. But such a settlement would be in its own nature temporary. What it does for some provinces will have at some future day to be done for others. Still to take even one step in advance is a gain, and we may be glad to take that one step, if we are not able to take two. But nothing which is in its own nature temporary is practical in the higher sense. The practical view, practical in the higher sense, goes much further. It is not pent up within the geographical bounds of the Ottoman Empire. It takes in all South-eastern Europe, all the lands which share the special characteristics of South-eastern Europe. It takes in the Slaves and the Roumans who are subjects of the Austrian, as well as the Slaves and the Roumans who are subjects or vassals of the Turk. I will not draw out schemes; but I will recall certain memories. In the days of the treaty of Passarowitz, when the Turkish frontier went largely back, men dreamed that the two crowns of East and West might again be united on the brow of Charles the Sixth. The successes of the Imperial arms had been so great since the Ottoman had besieged Vienna that the advance of a Western Emperor to Constantinople hardly seemed a dream. But for Charles the Sixth to have become Eastern Emperor, he must have ceased to be Western Emperor and German King, perhaps even to be Austrian Archduke. The same man could no more reign at once at Constantinople and at Vienna than he could reign at Constantinople and at St. Petersburg. By the peace of Belgrade the Turkish frontier again advanced; in the days of Joseph the Second it again fell back. The same dreams were again cherished then. And, at least as a momentary thought, the same dreams could hardly fail to arise again in the autumn of 1875. It should not be forgotten that the stirring of the Slavonic mind which followed on the visit of Francis Joseph to his Dalmatian realm had not a little to do with all the events which have followed. In that autumn Austria was playing the part of a good neighbour to Bosnia and Herzegovina; patriots were not yet "interned," nor was open sympathy

anywhere expressed for the cause of the barbarian. The thought could not fail to arise that the lord of so many Slavonic lands, the King of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, to say nothing of Bohemia, Galicia, and Lodomeria, might put himself at the head of the Slavonic movement, even that he might possibly exchange his sham Imperial crown for a real one. The wild outburst of Magyar fury has checked all this. Can it be that an ethnical kindred of the most remote and shadowy kind is really a practical element in the case? Can it be that the strange comedy which was lately played at Constantinople, the fraternization of Turk and Magyar, really had a serious meaning? Certain it is that Magyar hatred towards the Slave, the natural hatred of the oppressor towards the oppressed, a hatred which shows itself even to Slavonic refugees fleeing from their Turkish destroyers, is one great difficulty of the moment. But it cannot remain a difficulty for ever. Millions of men of European blood will not endure that a handful of alien intruders, ostentatiously proclaiming themselves as alien intruders, shall for ever hinder the natural settlement of South-eastern Europe. The reunion of Austria, Tyrol, and Salzburg with the German body may not suit the immediate German policy of the moment; there are obvious reasons why it does not. But it must come sooner or later. The separation of those lands from Germany, their union with Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, and the rest, is too unnatural to be abiding. The separation of the Slaves within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy from the Slaves to the south of them is also too unnatural to be abiding. A Byzantine Empire, a Byzantine Confederation, whenever it is fully and finally formed, must reach a good deal further to the north than the artificial limit of 1739. If the Turk stands in the way of a just settlement at one end, his agglutinative ally at Pesth stands in the way at the other. He is a great difficulty, but surely not a difficulty that can last for ever. It is a strange thought that, if the Apostolic Stephen, well nigh nine hundred years back, had got his Christianity from the New Rome instead of from the Old, one great hindrance to a just settlement of South-eastern Europe would in all likelihood not have stood in our way.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

# THREE NEW NOVELS.[1]

## I.

WHAT will posterity think of us, if it judges us by our novels, is a question which people may sometimes ask themselves, not without anxiety. It is consoling to reflect that, as a rule, an epoch is not judged on the evidence of its romances. We do not think of La Princesse de Clèves as much as we should, in forming an opinion of the time of Madame de la Fayette; and, in recalling 1745, the works of Scott somehow dim the impression left by the novels of Fielding. Coming nearer our own day, it is in memoirs rather than in works of imagination that we look for a picture of our grandfathers and grandmothers, and the works of Miss Edgeworth's time are, with some rare exceptions, as if they had never been. In fifty years the stories of 1876 will have vanished, as a rule, in the same fashion; and yet, looking into them for the reflections of the semblance of ourselves, we certainly find in their pages most modern characteristics. If the future world, in forming its indolent judgment, chances to open *Madcap Violet*, a novel which ought to be buoyant enough to float down the stream of time, or to turn over the dusty pages of *Joan*, or of *Thomas Wingfold, Curate*, what will the world have to say of the children of 1876? Children indeed it will call them, full of light excitement, wandering and adventurous, most eager for pleasure, not too reverent, and exceedingly curious. The persons in these tales are sometimes people to whom melancholy has become a habit easily worn, their curiosity about the gravest questions has been wakened so early, and so long unsatisfied, that they acquiesce with a smile or a sigh in doubt and ignorance. In one tale they are not unwilling to talk about the matters of the soul, which have grown so familiar, and then to fly off to some amusement, or to give themselves up, body and soul, to the passion of love. In the story which aims at edification, one sees sentiment that has become an object in itself to the sentimentalist of the romance, a thing which he decorates with what tinsel and imitative flowers of rhetoric he has been able to collect or manufacture. And through all these novels there breathes a real sympathy with outward nature, as, on the whole, a friend and companion, beautiful, perhaps not unfeeling, and certainly a partner with us in the changeful mystery of growth and decay.

It is not often that one would have to take up a novel of Mr. Black's for anything but the enjoyment of good-humoured dialogue, brilliant sketches of scenery, kindly hits at social foibles, and some additions to a now well-filled gallery of portraits of pretty, and pleasant, and natural girls. In *Madcap Violet*, however, there is

(1) *Madcap Violet*. By William Black. (Macmillan.)
*Thomas Wingfold, Curate*. By George Macdonald. (Hurst & Blackett.)
*Joan*. By Rhoda Broughton. (Bentley.)

more of the cast of thought, and the story "does not end well," as novel readers say when they express their dislike of a tragic consummation. We first meet the heroine, Violet North, when she is still a schoolgirl "strikingly handsome in figure, with abundant masses of raven-black hair, dark eyes under darker eyelashes, and proud and well-cut lips." Miss North was the daughter of a baronet, an active railway director; she detested her stepmother, as girls with proud and well-cut lips generally do, and therefore it was found desirable that she should be kept as much as possible at school, in Camberwell. In the first chapter of the story she has driven a maddened German master into the use of profane language. She gives a school-fellow "a ringing slap on the side of the head;" she mixes up the whole establishment in what is popularly called a bear-fight, and she sets off to take a country walk, in a "tight-fitting dress of grey homespun, and a grey hat with a scarlet feather." All this is quite in the dashing manner of a French romance, of the year of grace 1100. When the young childe has knocked down the king's son with a chess-board, slapped the mayor of the palace, and defied authority in every direction, he steps out into the wide world, and finds, like *Madcap Violet*, that adventures are to the adventurous. Miss North's were of the sort most likely to happen to the insubordinate fair. She was barked at by a dog, the dog was beaten by a young man, and the young man "was as near as possible a masculine version of that indolent, beautiful, mystic-eyed woman, whose face one meets in dusky corners of drawing-rooms, or in the full glare of exhibitions." Something very unusual, indeed, might be expected from so extremely rare a type of man; but Mr. George Miller rather disappoints our expectations, or rather Mr. Black has not been the dupe of appearances. The lad followed Violet, as was natural, met her at the Crystal Palace, marvelled at her luncheon, learned her history, and showed a strong desire to make her acquaintance. Now Violet had two friends, a Mr. Drummond and his sister, Mrs. Warrener, who aided and comforted her after escapades like the remarkable one which ended in meeting with Mr. Miller. Drummond "had all the childish fun of a man of genius," and being "cursed by a fatal inheritance of somewhere about £600 a year," had never settled down to anything more serious than the exercise of his powers as "a capricious, whimsical, but altogether delightful conversationalist." Violet used to "sit and mutely listen to his monologues," but she didn't know, any more than we, what he meant when he said, "I fancy I see something in Fawcett of a sort of political Shelley." This is a remark which haunts the present writer with a painful sense of mystery, because the superficial resemblance is so obvious that one cannot understand a person who merely "fancied he saw something," while on the other hand there is a difficulty in finding any subtly essential likeness worth mentioning. Most of Mr. Drummond's sayings are better than the one about

Shelley, but honesty compels us to say that Mr. Black's conception of him and of Violet is not somehow "borne in upon" the reader.

Now we have the chief persons before us—the young man who looks so poetical, and who, like most "comely young men," is so very practical; the girl of high temper, loving nature, and unrestrained caprice; the grave humorist, with a natural bent towards ill-luck. The reader is taken in at first, like Violet, and like Drummond himself, and does not think of that student as a probable lover. When the young lady begins a most amusing schoolgirl's romance, one of those novels that die a natural and easy death in MS., and sets forth, in language worthy of Lord Beaconsfield, her own adventure with Miller, it is natural to expect that *he* will prove the hero. Where is the good of having mystic eyes, if a man is not to be successful in love? So far Miller is successful, that Violet insists upon his driving her to Hampton Court, and then, in a fit of repentance, makes him drive her back again, and confesses this fresh offence to her father. But even a conceited lover would have discovered that she did this very silly thing merely to avenge herself on her schoolmistress, and on the cautious Mrs. Warrener, who naturally objects to meetings with Miller in the shady lanes of Camberwell. It is a relief when Violet takes the shortest way out of the entanglement, and goes to Canada for two years with her railway-directing sire.

Violet returned more beautiful than ever, and a woman, not a schoolgirl. Still, she let Mr. Miller renew his acquaintance with her, and even engaged herself to him, in a kind of way, after a fancy ball in which he was Romeo and she Juliet. "It was only a perhaps;" but the mystic-eyed youth drove away from the dance thinking "How handsome she will look at a dinner-table!" Meanwhile Mr. Drummond was "looking rather sad, worn, and tired," and talking, Heaven knows why, about the Egyptians, who "made the beetle an object of worship."[1] But Violet was communing with herself to this effect: "Have I promised, have I promised?" and then thinking of Drummond, "Don't you know there are some who would give their life, if that would brighten your sad eyes?" For in this way is "the snare for our feet fore-ordered from which we shall never be freed," and modern people do not need, like Sigurd, the magical cup of forgetfulness to confuse their hearts and brains. Violet, however, showed some presence of mind in breaking with Miller, who, when she gave him a flower, "took it from her, threw it on the ground, *and kicked it aside*." Mr. Drummond also displayed a sense of the fitness of things, by getting permission to invite Violet to stay with himself and his sister in the Highlands of Scotland. One is always glad to visit the West Highlands in the company of Mr. Black's characters. His rendering of the beauty of natural scenery

(1) Much, very much, might be said on this really interesting question, which it does Mr. Drummond credit to have raised. Καίτοι πολλοὶ λόγοι πρὸς αὐτὰ καταβέβληνται.

is always admirable, and in the best manner. Here, for example, is a picture which one can really see as distinctly as if it hung on the line in the rooms of the Old Water-Colour Society:—

"The great white mists of the rain had lifted; and all the world behind stood revealed—a strange, new, dreamlike world, colourless, still, in various tints of grey, shining with a suffused and mystic light. The grey sea was like glass; the grey islands had but a faint glimmer of green along their shores; the grey mountains were pale and distant; and in all this vague and phantom-like picture that had been so suddenly disclosed there was but one sharp and definite object—a coasting vessel lying motionless out there on the shining grey sea, its hull as black as jet; its brown sails throwing perfect shadows on the mirror beneath. It was as yet early morning; no one could say whether that luminous glow throughout the grey would turn to clear sunlight, or whether the slow, soft finger of the rain-clouds would again pass over the world-picture, obliterating successively island, and mountain, and sea."

There is surely but one country in the world, where the lovely shapes of clear-cut hills, and of islands receding one beyond another far into the west, have the repose and grace of the Greek landscape, combined with the soft, tremulous, changeful colour of rainy Argyllshire. Certainly, too, there is only one pen that can set forth these unwearying beauties, and we must thank the author of *Madcap Violet* for many a glimpse of the lochs to which it is "a far cry." One feels as if "the mountains of Skye, in their awful age, and silence, and desolation," make too tremendous a background of a story of modern love, albeit the tale is as old, and as sad in its close, as the hills in their lonely gloom. It is a very modern picture, that of Drummond moralizing on "the gentle mother Death, who hushes all that strife of drums and tongues, the quarrelling, and striving, and anxiety—and how the mystery of that strange day and its doings remains unsolved. . . . 'Are ye goin' on, sir?' said Peter, coming up with evident impatience in his face." "Gracious goodness! this man is as intent on killing birds as if he hadn't a soul to be saved!" exclaimed the indolent sportsman. And indeed to think of one's soul on the Twelfth is to be modern indeed, and, on the moors, the Laird of Balmawhapple might be a more serviceable companion than Mr. Drummond.

Happy times are brief, and when George Miller joined himself to the crew of the *Sea Pyot*, and the dwellers in Castle Bandbox, happiness was naturally perturbed. The youth became jealous of Drummond, and showed his mood in the way we expect of him. So, after days of gales, and gleams of sun, he accused Violet of loving Drummond, and "to deny the one highest and holiest feeling that her nature had ever known, that could not be Violet North's first impulse at such a moment." Miller's first impulse naturally was to leave the yacht, after an angry scene in which he told Drummond what the girl had told him. "It was no joy to this man to hear that a young girl had offered him the treasure of her first love. An infinite sadness filled his heart and blinded his eyes; the wild pulsations within his breast seemed so many stabs of remorse; his

imagination was stunned by a gloomy sense of the irrevocable." But this feeling, as of one too long alone in the world, and without hope, did not last long: "long after he had hoped for such a thing, the bright, beautiful time of existence had arrived—the year had yet its spring time in it, the singing season of the birds was not yet over—there were sweet roses yet unblown, and a woman's heart and eyes to grow proud and glad at his approach."

Unfortunately things go wrong too easily, especially between people who are strange and proud. Drummond's sister supposes, as it was likely that she would, that Violet has accepted her brother in a moment of spite against Miller. She suggests this to her brother, and to Violet that Drummond has made a hasty mistake. Violet reasoned within herself, "that he was wretched because he could not return the affection she had offered to him." "To free him from that hasty and mutual pledge was nothing, so long as she remained there to recall it by her presence." So, being very wilful, like Elaine, she determined suddenly to pass beyond the voices of men. Here begins the part of the story most open to unfavourable criticism. Violet would not kill herself, but she did leave her travelling-bag and bathing-dress by the sea, so that she might be supposed to have fallen into the water by accident, and then concealed herself in the best hiding-place—London. To give her lover, and her father and friends, the idea that she was dead, seems cruel enough. But, on the other hand, she fancied that Drummond did not love her at all, she knew that her father had no time to waste on regret and affection, and she had no other ties to life among her own people. How she entered the service of a firm of severely decorative upholsterers, and woke the muse of the poetical junior partner, is told with a great deal of humour and gentle irony. Indeed, the wit and pathos of the book play through each other with a constant flicker of changing light and shade, and the reader hopes that the light will prevail. But Drummond becomes seriously ill, after many of the aimless wanderings through rain and storm to which the restless spirit of grief drives a man, beyond power of resistance. Violet is unaware of his danger, and after a complicated series of movements between her, Miller, whom she meets, and who gives her money for the passage to America, and Mrs. Warrener, the lovers are brought together once more. But "no man may deal with his fate," and the misfortunes that have dogged these unlucky people do not leave them till the end. Mr. Black has had the courage—it needed a great deal—to recognise what our forefathers always took for granted in all their dealings—that there are "unlucky" men and women, marked by fate with almost a visible sign. *Madcap Violet* is the story of two of these, on whom presses a wilful destiny, not born from any ancient curse or sin, but merely from the caprice of fate. It is impossible that the tale should be so pleasing as some of its predecessors, and it will always be a ques-

tion whether the slight details of commonplace life, and the every-day topics introduced, heighten tragic effect by force of contrast; or, on the other hand, give an air of triviality to a story in which the awful stress of an inexplicable will in the world works so powerfully.

## II.

The world of novel readers owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. George Macdonald, for more than one touching picture of Scottish peasant life, for many refined examples of religious thought, and above all for one of the most moving ballads that ever caused a superstitious shudder. It is therefore with pain and diffidence, that one is obliged to admit the very unpleasant impression left after reading *Thomas Wingfold, Curate.* A work more likely to encourage unhealthy feeling, and the taste for the feverish rhetoric of religious sentiment, one has rarely seen. The author loses the sense of humour which in the beginning of the book he displays, and commits himself to passages which it is pitiable to read in cold blood. This impression, it must be said, is entirely an impression in taste, it is entirely the result of reaction against mistaken methods in art, and a want of dignity and fitness in expression. Mr. Macdonald has a perfect right to advocate any religious views—he has often done so before with measure and sobriety—as long as he writes in conformity with the natural moderation and refinement, which we expect even in a three volume novel, offered by a poet and a man of letters. And now to our tale of blood.

*Thomas Wingfold, Curate,* was a young man in a very tragical position. He had gone through some unnamed troubles in early youth. He had not distinguished himself in any way at his university, and when we first meet him, at a dinner in the house of Helen Lingard, he has just been made curate of the parish of Glaston. "He had a certain dull prejudice in favour of honesty, would not have told the shadow of a lie to be made Archbishop of Canterbury," and was suddenly brought face to face with the fact that his whole life might be a lie, and that his belief in the faith he taught was the shadow of an intellectual survival. The person who woke into full-grown and conscious life the half-felt doubt of years was one George Bascombe. This man was, above all things, a large and blustering snob, with a cross-examining manner and prejudices in favour of atheism, which he looked on as ideas. He was cousin of Helen Lingard, the heroine, a young and beautiful lady who had never thought for herself in her life, and who is very well described as looking on Bascombe's talk, as merely the expression of "George's ideas." George, however, was so far in earnest as to attempt to convert Helen to his own notions about religion, a thing which few young men would care to do. By way of a beginning, he sang to his cousin and the curate this boisterous song:—

"Each man has his lampful, his lampful of oil;
He may dull its glimmer with sorrow and toil,
He may leave it unlit, and let it dry,
Or wave it aloft, and hold it high:
For mine, it shall burn with a fearless flame
In the front of the darkness that has no name."

In spite of much more to the same effect, neither old Mrs. Ramshorn, the aunt with whom Helen lived, nor the curate, paid any attention to the verses. Perhaps they did not hear the words, or perhaps held the general opinion, that the words of songs are not worth listening to. But, when the curate was going home, Bascombe roughly challenged him about his faith, and the poor youth passed much of the night sitting on a tomb, in one of the most wretched of mental conflicts. As we are reviewing a novel, which ought not to be a polemical work in theology, we shall leave Wingfold to his doubts and to the society of a scrofulous dwarf named Polwarth, who, with his deformed sister (the pair are meant to contrast with the physical excellence of George and Helen), kept the gates of a neighbouring nobleman's park. Polwarth's advice came to this, that the curate ought to study once more, with purged eyes, the character of Christ, "and if in Him you fail to meet God, then go to your consciousness of the race, your metaphysics, your Plato, your Spinosa."

Helen Lingard was an orphan, the daughter of an officer "who had amassed a considerable fortune, partly by his marriage with a Hindoo lady, by whom he had one child, a boy some three years younger than Helen." For this boy Helen had a half-maternal feeling, which was the strongest passion of her still slumbering nature. It was therefore no small shock to her when this lad, Leopold, supposed to be at Cambridge, tapped at her window late one night and told her that he had committed a murder. His wristband was still red with the blood, and he carried with him the knife, a Scottish dirk, which had been the instrument of the deed. He also had in his pocket a small silver box full of some baleful drug, opium, or bhang, or some such thing. Even people accustomed to Mrs. Henry Wood will allow that here we have a startling situation, though perhaps they may be less surprised than critics to hear that Leopold was "a youth of a lovely nature." Now we entirely protest against being asked to sob over the woes, poignant as was his remorse, of this treacherous young tiger-cub. Men with lovely natures do not pass their time at the university in eating opium and brooding over the charms of a vulgar though pretty flirt. Nor, when the flirt's family—rich manufacturing people in Yorkshire—gave a masked ball, would an amiable undergraduate arm himself with the sort of dagger that Highlanders wear in their garters, and slink in disguise round the house of the beloved. Given a half-Oriental boy, maddened with jealousy and hashish, and armed with a dirk, and given a wanton girl who casts him off without a thought, and it is not unlikely that the half-caste will stab his mistress and

then try to conceal himself from justice. But it is very unlikely that he will evade the police for a week, and go home without being detected, and it is absolutely certain that he is not a youth who, in any circumstances, could have come to good. A man who has debauched his mind and body to this extent at twenty, will have few remains of a lovely nature left at fifty, "if Nature keeps him alive." The fault of Mr. Macdonald's story is the sympathy he asks for Leopold. We are to believe that he stabbed Emmiline in a moment of madness, and that she almost deserved her death, and in Leopold's remorse, and delirious horrors, described with ghastly minuteness, we are to recognise the dreadfulness of sin. As for Emmiline's mother, who has enough of human nature in her to want revenge, she is spoken of as the Bloodhound. This unpleasant woman had been the daughter of a surgeon, and had married a pious draper; then, thinking she had sunk in the social scale, had eloped with a commercial traveller, and had reached a coarse prosperity. When the Bloodhound chanced one morning to meet Leopold sleeping calmly in the park at Glaston, she took it for granted that he had murdered her daughter, and would have given the poor boy up to man's cruel justice, if Wingfold, who was a friend of the draper's, had not threatened to accuse her of bigamy. The admirers of what are called sensational novels will be pleased with this quiet plot, and people who like a sandwich of sermons and sensation will revel in Thomas Wingfold. The curate, to do him justice, had always advised the murderer to deliver himself up to the nearest county magistrate, but Bascombe hood-winked the honest J.P., and Leopold died in his bed. Mr. Macdonald, of course, lays due stress on the fact that confession was his only chance, but allows him at last to evade the full results of confession, because he was physically too ill to give himself up. He might have written a letter, even if he could not walk. But how are we to understand the curate, who had not been eloquent in old days, suddenly asking a country congregation whether "through all the hideous filth of the charnel-house, which the passions had heaped upon her, did the Word recognise the bound, wing-lamed, feather-draggled Psyche, panting in horriblest torture?" Wingfold was an educated gentleman, and was unlikely to say "horriblest," or to bring the terms of St. John and of Apuleius together in a village sermon. Religious convictions, in their earliest growth, do not express themselves in florid and ungrammatical gushing. Apart from rhetoric, and from the passages about masks, murder, *Skian dhus* (if that be the correct Gaelic plural), bigamy, madmen, dwarfs, and drapers, there is a logical thread in *Thomas Wingfold, Curate*. Bascombe is the atheist of the pulpit, and his inconsistencies, as in going to church because he wishes to be well with his aunt, and in concealing Leopold's crime after all his fine talk about justice to the community, are easily exposed. But Bascombe is not so cunning of fence as the modern representative of his opinions ought to be, and he might easily

turn—it is not worth while to show how—Mr. Macdonald's favourite position as to the inferences, theological and moral, to be drawn from the consciousness of sin. At the same time, that position has a strength of which the writer of Thomas Wingfold does not, we think, show himself to be aware. As to the polemical hints of the novel, the friends of Mr. Macdonald's own views will probably say,—

"Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget."

III.

It is not easy to guess whether "Joan" will lessen or add to Miss Broughton's popularity. One thing is certain, namely, that we can scarcely expect her now to "cut a smoother reed," and avoid defects of taste and tone which have often been reproved. The mere outline of the story will show that Miss Broughton has not made love a very noble passion in her last novel. Joan Dering was left almost penniless by the sudden death of her grandfather intestate. An amorous Guardsman, Anthony Wolferstain, tried to comfort her, as far as holding her hands in his makes comfort, but Joan knew that he was *most generous* in this manner of relieving female distress. After leaving her beautiful old house, she had a most amusingly described journey, and at last drove up, in a butcher's cart, to the villa of her Aunt Moberley. Squalid and good-humoured poverty marked the family, and the two girls wore large bunches of hair, and gutta-percha bracelets, and doted on officers. The contrast to this establishment of the golden sea-shore, and the dewy woods round Wolferstain's house, is well expressed, and Joan has the pleasure of a week's flirtation with the Guardsman. At last people come from London, among others the fat, sensual, impossibly vulgar, and, alas, diverting Lalage Beauchamp. Wolferstain told Joan that he had once wished to marry Lalage, and when Joan went back to the Moberleys and discomfort, she also felt all the pangs of jealousy and disappointment. The Guardsman, however, followed and proposed to her, and she accepted him, only to refuse him later, when she learned that her father had committed an undivulged forgery. This was silly, and Wolferstain revenged himself by marrying Lalage, and then lost money, and took to doing his duty as a landlord, and to regretting Joan. The heroine resisted one or two passionate invitations to elope, and her firmness was rewarded, for the epicure Lalage died of apoplexy at twenty-eight. Few people will think that Wolferstain was worth so much constancy, every one will smile at the characteristics of the Moberleys, and most persons will regret the disagreeable allusions which often do duty for wit, and the waste of observation on tiny meannesses. It is strange to note these faults in the work of a writer who shows such tender interest in the sufferings of animals, and in the fading fortunes of the "dynasties of flowers." A. Lang.

# ON THE FORMATION OF SOME CLANS AND CASTES IN INDIA.

THE accounts of the origin of nations generally run back to a period, either of authentic history or accepted tradition, when the people of a country appear to have been grouped and ranked in tribes. The precise constitution of these tribes at the time when history opens has of course varied much in different countries: but almost everywhere the original source and explanation, if not always of the tribe, yet of the interior groups which make up the tribe, is assumed to have been kinship among all the members. The superstructure that is gradually built up on this foundation is shaped by political and social circumstances; the cement of the building is usually religion. Of the best-known tribal periods the general aspect is very similar in all ages and countries; the prevailing feature is a great diversity of forms and usages; and a piecemeal and patchwork distribution of mankind into political and social compartments. These pieces and patches gradually amalgamate and are fused into larger masses of people and better-defined territories; very slowly when they are left to themselves, often very rapidly under the violent compression and levelling forces of great conquests. Rome, itself formed out of a conflux of tribes, was of course the great consolidator of tribal atoms in Europe and Western Asia; and when Rome had declined and fallen, her Western provinces relapsed for a time into their primitive confusion. Their condition is described by Guizot in his Lectures on the Civilisation of France, where he sketches the period before Karl the Great attempted, and for his time accomplished, the task of restoring Imperial unity in the West. Nothing appears settled, nothing definite or uniform, according to modern notions; territorial frontiers are constantly shifting and changing; distinct nations, in the proper sense of the word, exist nowhere; but instead there is a jumble of tribes, races, conquering bands, heaven-born chiefs—of languages, customs, and rites. Out of this confusion Guizot undertakes to extract and exhibit the elements which have been gradually fused into the two or three supreme political ideas and institutions which divide modern civilisation, and one important element is found in tribal manners and usages.

Now, when one passes from those parts of India which have long been under great centralizing governments, down into the midland countries which have never been fairly conquered by Moghals, Marathas, or Englishmen, the transition is probably very much the

same as the change from a well-ordered province of Imperial Rome into lands still under the occupation and dominion of powerful barbarian tribes. In these regions of India—so often invaded and thrown into disorder, but never subdued—the population has remained in a much more elementary and incoherent stage than in the great fertile plains and river-basins of Mahommedan India, where empires and kingdoms have been set up on a large scale, and powerful religious communities have been organised. In fact, the tribal period has here survived, and has preserved some of its very earliest social characteristics, while it still mainly influences the political formation. The surface of the country is marked off into a number of greater and lesser divisions, which we English call Native States, some of these very ancient, others quite modern; most of them mixed up and interlaced in territorial patchwork and irregularity of frontiers, very much as they were left fifty years ago at the end of the stormy time which followed the dissolution of the Moghal Empire. Geographical boundaries, however, have no correspondence at all with distinctive institutions or grouping of the people, and have comparatively slight political significance. Little is gained toward knowing who and what a man is by ascertaining the State he obeys or the territory he dwells in, these being things which of themselves denote no difference of race, institutions, or manners. Even from the point of view of political allegiance, the government under which a man may be living is an accidental arrangement, which the British Viceroy or some other distant irresistible power decided upon yesterday and may alter to-morrow. Nor would such a change be grievous unless it divorced him from a ruler of his own tribe or his own faith; in other respects there is little to choose among governments in central India, which are simple organisms without the complicated functions of later development, being mainly adapted for absorbing revenue by suction. The European observer—accustomed to the massing of people in great territorial groups, and to the ideas (now immemorial in the West) contained in such expressions as fatherland, mother-country, patriotism, domicile, and the like—has here to realise the novelty of finding himself in a strange part of the world, where political citizenship is as yet quite unknown, and territorial sovereignty or even feudalism only just appearing. For a parallel in the history of Western Europe he must go back as far as the Merovingian period, when chiefs of barbaric tribes or bands were converting themselves into kings or counts; or, perhaps, he should carry his retrospect much further, and conceive himself to be looking at some country of Asia Minor lying within the influence of Rome at its zenith, but just outside its jurisdiction. He gradually discerns the population of central India to be distributed, not into

great governments, or nationalities, or religious denominations, not even into widespread races such as those which are still contending for political supremacy in Eastern Europe; but into various and manifold denominations of tribes, clans, septs, castes and sub-castes, religious orders, and devotional brotherhoods. And the peculiarity is that these distinctions are not, as in later forms of society, subordinated to the primary relations of a man to his fatherland, his nation, or his State; but are still maintained as the first and most important facts which unite and isolate the people. We have here a good opportunity of investigating what is obviously the survival of a very rudimentary stage of society, which has existed more or less throughout the world, and which may possibly be turned to account for illustrations of the obscurest and most remote parts of the history of nations.

In attempting to give some very concise and yet tolerably intelligible description of this remarkable stratification of society among the clans and sects of central India, we may say that the whole is traversed by two ideas in unbroken continuity, and that all the predominant institutions arrange themselves upon two lines. The essential characteristics of a man's state of life and position among his people, those which settle who he is and where he belongs, are his kinship and his religion—the one or the other, or sometimes both. Of these two words, the former varies wonderfully (as we shall see hereafter) in its scope. It may sometimes include the whole of a very numerous clan widely dispersed, and sometimes it may mean no more than three or four degrees of agnatic consanguinity. The latter word should always be taken in its primary sense of a tie of common belief or worship, which binds together a set of people; expressing the fact of such a union rather than the reason or devotional sentiment of it. If, now, having laid hold of these two facts, we look around us in central India and try to perceive how they have been worked out, we shall find the simplest and earliest expression of them in two institutions—the pure clan by descent and the religious order; the brotherhood by blood and the spiritual brotherhood; those to whom a common ancestry, and those to whom a common rite or doctrine, is everything. The best examples of the class first named may be found among the petty Rajpút chiefs who live down in the far western States upon the confines of the great salt and sandy plains that stretch from the Aravalli Hills towards the Indus. One of these may come to visit the camp of an English officer, girt with sword and shield, having the usual tail of clansmen, with their whiskers knotted over the top of their heads. The first greeting may probably be made in Homeric style, by inquiring after his name,

parentage, and people; when he will proceed at once to answer after the same fashion, naming his clan, the branch to which he belongs, his family, and lineage, and being as particular about his eponymous ancestor as if he were a Dorian Herakleid. If he be interrogated, according to incongruous modern notions, as to the State which claims him as subject, he will indeed admit that he dwells within the territorial authority of a dominant ruler, whose orders he obeys when there is no help for it. But this ruler is only a powerful chief, who has reached the stage of territorial sovereignty; and if our friend is of the ruler's clan, he may go on to explain that his eponym was elder brother of the chief's eponym, many centuries ago; whence it is obvious that he himself, coming from the elder stock, owes no proper allegiance to a younger branch of the family. Or he may be of a different clan, or his forefathers came in by an earlier tribal invasion; all these being good primitive reasons for asserting, in theory, a kind of privilege against the pretensions of territorial administration, of revenue demands, and meddlesome officials generally. For leagues around the soil is possessed by his brothers, of the same stock with his own, to whom the ultimate source of all ideas upon things political, social, and even religious is that same eponymous ancestor, who is talked of with a certitude that would have impressed Niebuhr. Here, in the head of the main stock of a pure-blooded clan, we have the primeval aristocrat, fairly representing, perhaps, the earliest ancestors of long-haired Merovingian kings; or even the remote forefathers of Highland chiefs now become Scottish dukes, of ancient Armorican nobles in Brittany, and Spanish grandees with Gothic blood in their veins.

Secondly, we may take, as the simplest expression of spiritual brotherhood, a specimen of persons who claim no kindred at all. A boy may be noticed, sitting by the roadside, who can be known at once to belong to a religious order by the large trident painted in a special fashion on his forehead, having for vestments only a light martingale of yellow cloth around the loins. Being questioned as to his circumstances, he explains that he has forgotten his people and his father's house, that his parents both died of cholera a year or so back, whereupon his uncle sold his sister into a respectable family, and presented the boy to a mystic who had had a new revelation, and was developing a religious fraternity thereupon. To that fraternity he now belongs, and all other ties of blood or caste have dropped away from him. Or if one questions in like manner any strange pilgrim that comes wandering across central India from the shrines upon the Indian Ocean towards the head-waters of the Ganges in the Himalayas, he may describe himself simply as the disciple of

some earlier saints or sage, who showed the Way. The point to be remarked is that he undertakes no other definition of himself whatever, and declines all other connections or responsibilities.

It is thus that the exceedingly primitive state of things still surviving in the middle regions of India may enable us to observe and register in their simplest forms two institutions which play a great part in all archaic societies—the grouping of men by their folk and their faith, by kinship and worship. As these institutions are certainly the roots from which society has grown up all over India, we have here the means of tracing up from very low down in their growth the course which they have followed in that country, whereby we may come to understand better how the combination and crossing of two predominant ideas have worked out in India perhaps the most singularly complicated pattern of society that exists anywhere. The inquiry may also have some bearings upon the processes by which, all over the world, the primitive groups of men have been formed, dissolved, or absorbed into larger civilisations.

Taking first, then, kinship or consanguinity, we find that among the Rajpút clans of central India the sentiment still maintains its widest, and what is probably its most primitive, development; for the feeling of kindred evidently dwindles and contracts, through obvious causes, as civilisation brings other ties. In the combination of modern European society it is of little importance even within the narrow sphere of families; and throughout the greater part of India it is merely an important social element; but among the clans it is the supreme consideration. It must be remembered that in all pure Hindu society the law which regulates the degrees within which marriage is interdicted proceeds upon the theory that between agnatic relatives *connubium* is impossible. And as by an equally universal law no legitimate marriage can take place between members of two entirely different castes or tribes, we have thus each member of Hindu society ranged by the law of intermarriage: first, as belonging to an outer group within which he *must* marry; and, secondly, as belonging to an inner group of agnatic kinsfolk among whom he must *not* marry. This is the normal and typical structure of Hindu society; it is distributed primarily into tribes or castes, and secondarily into clans or families. It is with these last-mentioned secondary groups that we are now concerned, since they clearly embody the idea of kinship; and their shape and composition may best be explained by calling each group a circle of affinity, described by the radius of descent from the central point of one common ancestor, real or reputed, so that all persons swept within this circumference are barred from intermarriage. Now of course this formation is of itself no way abnormal, since every table of prohibited degrees places persons within a similar ring-fence and

interdict; but we begin to appreciate the immense influence of the idea of kinship on primitive minds when we perceive that widespread and numerous clans in central India are nothing else but great circles of affinity, including, perhaps, a hundred thousand persons who cannot lawfully intermarry. It becomes worth while to look round and try to make out how these very curious groups formed themselves, and what is their place in the general order of the society to which they belong—what is their connection and relation with other stages of growth.

As to the formation, the accounts preserved among the clans of how they conquered and settled in the lands follow a well-known course of tradition; and their narratives resemble precisely what has been handed down of tribal migrations and expeditions under kings and heroes in the early history of Europe, or in the Old Testament. All that can be gathered regarding the way in which these central Indian clans originated, and the source from which they spread, corroborates the abundant evidence which we already possess upon the beginning and development of such communities. Whereas in modern times great men of action found dynasties or noble families, which transmit the founder's name down along the chain of direct lineage, so in prehistoric ages men of the same calibre founded clans or septs, in which not only the founder's actual kinsfolk who followed his fortunes were enrolled under his name, but also all those who had any share in his enterprises, who took service with him, or got lands by joining his company. Thus was established in central India the stock group of a clan, that organized and maintained itself as a circle of affinity which has gone on widening or contracting under various fortunes, until we find it at its present dimensions. Now although this phenomenon of a whole community associated upon the reputed basis of a common descent is of itself not peculiar, being indeed almost universal among ancient societies, yet the instances of a tribe or clan preserving in full working order a pure genealogic structure are rare in all history, and especially rare is a specimen which has survived in the midst of later formations. It is even more uncommon to find a clan, among which common ancestry actually operates as an impassable bar to intermarriage, realising this kinship of all its members with a strength that withstands political separation. For there is evidence that in other countries and ages separation from the authority of the patriarchal chief dissolved the bond of kinship, as union under one chief had originally produced it. Yet a clan of pure Rajpúts is often scattered abroad under half-a-dozen different rulers, of its own tribe or of alien race, but nevertheless continues to hold marriage between any two persons of the clan to be incest. Moreover, each pure-blooded

Rajpút clan now acts strictly upon its assumption of affinity, and employs none of the devices which must necessarily have been allowed in the earlier stages of its growth for recruiting its body from outside. It is impossible to suppose that all the members of a large clan are really descended all from one stock; but whatever fictions were formerly permitted in order to keep up the strength, none are now tolerated, and the clan relies for reproduction entirely upon the marriage of males with the women of cognate clans, never bringing in or adopting any one that has not been actually born within the circle. On the other hand, a certain depletion goes on through the occasional cutting off of blemished families or individuals, who have not kept up their pedigree without flaw, who contract irregular marriages, or who in any way suffer a custom to creep in which is condemned by the strict law of the clan. For example, the custom of marrying a deceased brother's wife, which is an absolute duty among some Indian tribes, but is contrary to the law of the clans, has crept in among one at least of them; and the effect has been to detach a sept from the rest of its brotherhood.

Here, then, in the pure genealogic clans of central India, we have a very perfect specimen of the circle of affinity in large type, containing a whole multitude of people tightly bound together as brethren by the tradition of lineage. We may assume this to be a very early phase of the tribal institution, since almost all the tribes of which history gives any particulars appear to have taken actual kinship and a common descent as the basis for their superstructure, religious or political, and all tradition recurs to this as the original type. Nevertheless a little reflection upon and observation of the constitution of the pure clan will convince one that it is by no means the most primitive form. These rigid rules of kinship and intermarriage are excellent for preserving a clan's purity when it has reached its grand climacteric, and is on the road towards transmuting itself into a patrician *gens*, or into an aristocracy. But they are far too stiff and cramping to be endured while the group is struggling for predominance and territory; they would certainly hinder more than help; nor, as has been said above, is it possible to believe any great clan to have really and literally descended from a few families. What, then, were the actual forces and circumstances which produced the pure clan as it now exists? If we are to search for traces of the process of the gathering together of the group before it becomes a clan of descent, we must examine the still more primitive societies which exist below and around the clans in the same region.

Let us move our camp from the north-western plains, where we met our Herakleid, toward the low hill-tracts and endless jungles of scrubby woodland which run for hundreds of miles across the

centre of India, on the south of the more open country settled by the great Aryan clans. Here is the place of meeting of what is called a Border *Punchdyat*, which means a meeting of arbitrators upon the marches of two or three native States to inquire into and settle cases of raids, and to award compensation for injuries and losses, among the half-savage tribes along these borders. The tract is mainly peopled by the aboriginal tribe of Bheels, and the headman of a Bheel village is being examined touching a recent foray. A very black little man, with a wisp of cloth around his long ragged hair, stands forth, bow and quiver in hand, swears by the dog, and speaks out sturdily: "Here is the herd we lifted; we render back all but three cows, of which two we roasted and eat on the spot after harrying the village, and the third we sold for a keg of liquor to wash down the flesh. As for the Brahman we shot in the scuffle, we will pay the proper blood-money." A slight shudder runs through the high-caste Hindu officials who record this candid statement; and it is clear that we have got into a stratum of society far below Aryan or Brahmanic prejudices. The pure clansman, the descendant of heroes and demigods, now looks down with patrician disgust upon the wild Bheel, who is very rough in his practical views upon the subject of marriage and ritual generally; yet there still exists in this outlying country the clue, elsewhere entirely lost, of a remote connection between the two societies. If we analyse the population of the wilder tracts in central India, we discover that it is largely composed of an intricate medley of tribal groups, all strongly dashed with a strain of non-Aryan blood, and perceptibly differentiated in their form or stage of growth. These differences appear to be due mainly to the variety of the needs and distractions of predatory life among the wolds, where cultivation is scarce and communication difficult; but they also imply distinctions of descent and origin, though something may also be ascribed to the peculiarities naturally produced by segregation among separate hill ranges. All these tribes subdivide into manifold sections, and even the lowest have a loose formation of clan; but the chief whom the pure Bheel really acknowledges is merely the most powerful person in his neighbourhood, whether the headman of a strong village or a petty territorial lord of many villages. The Bheels proper are the aborigines, the relics of tribes who undoubtedly held all this country before the migrations into central India of the Aryan Rajpúts. They represent the lowest and oldest stratum of the population, and may be taken to represent generally the barbarian type before the earliest civilisations had brought in ideas and prejudices about food, worship, and *connubium*. Next above these in the social scale come the tribes of the half-blood, claiming paternal descent, more or less irregular and distant, from the Aryan clans, and having their society framed on a

rather less indistinct outline of the real clan; and again above the half-bloods come predatory clans, of a very mixed and obscure origin by descent, which rank in the order by which they gradually approximate more and more to the customs and ritual of the pure clan. So that we might make out roughly, in central India, a graduated social scale, starting from the simple aboriginal horde at the bottom, and culminating with the pure Aryan clan at the top; nor would it be difficult to show that all these classes are really connected, and have something of a common origin. The most valuable, to the observer, of the intermediate communities are groups of which it is not easy to say whether they are degradations from the upper ranks or promotions from the lower ranks. They usually assert themselves to be fallen patricians, but they are probably derived from both sources. A very little observation will show that such degradations and promotions still go on constantly. If a lower group multiplies and acquires wealth, it begins at once to ape the fashions of the group immediately above it, precisely after the manner of English society; if a family belonging to the higher groups has ill-luck, or shocks public opinion irremediably, it subsides perforce and herds with its inferiors. Now these composite groups are very useful as links in the chain of sociologic evolution. They appear to be formed out of the fortuitous association of people banded together under the combining effects of various accidents and interests—of some common misfortune, peculiar object, custom, or pressing necessity—and their mode of life is usually predatory; they are the roving species, not yet extirpated in half-civilised countries, which prey upon their settled and peaceable fellow-creatures.

If we place one of these groups under analysis, we find that it has already attained the normal formation of very numerous inner circles of affinity within a tribal circle. But these inner circles, which at a later stage have hardened into the clear-cut ring of pure clanship, are in their intermediate state such loose coalitions that the progress of building the separate cells of the social honeycomb under the outer hive of a tribal designation can be actually watched going on. One of the most widespread and formidable of these impure groups in central India is that of the Meenas, who are famous robbers and caterans; and an opportunity has been taken of examining it closely. This name represents four great sections of one tribe, which inhabit four different and distant tracts, and are evidently fast separating off into alien clans by reason of distinct habitation. Each section is of course distributed off into manifold circles of affinity, and these circles being in various phases of growth and consistency, can mostly be traced back by the clue of their names or other characteristics to their real distinction of origin. Some of them preserve the name of

the higher clan or caste from which the founder of the circle emigrated and joined the Meenas, some names denote only the founder's original habitation, while other circles bear the names of notorious ancestors. We can perceive plainly that the whole tribe is nothing else but a cave of Adullam which has stood open for centuries, and has sheltered generation after generation of adventurers, outlaws, outcasts, and refugees generally. It is well known from history, and on a small scale from experience of the present day, how famines, wide desolating invasions, pestilences, and all great social catastrophes, shatter to pieces the framework of Oriental societies, and disperse the fragments abroad like seeds, to take root elsewhere. Not only have these robber tribes received bands of recruits during such periods of confusion, so common in Indian history, but there goes on a steady enlistment of individuals or families whom a variety of accidents or offences, public opinion or private feuds, drives out of the pale of settled life, and beyond their orthodox circles. Upon this dissolute collection of masterless men the idea of kinship begins immediately to operate afresh, and to rearrange them systematically into groups. Each new immigrant becomes one of the Meena tribe, but he nevertheless adheres so far to his origin and his custom as to insist on setting up a separate circle under the name of his lost clan, caste, family, or lands. Where an Englishman, settling perforce at Botany Bay or spontaneously in Western America, kept up familiar local associations by naming his homestead after the county town in his old country, a Rajpút driven into the jungles tries to perpetuate the more primitive recollection of race. Several fresh groups have been formed by the Meenas within the last few years, under stress of the frightful famine which desolated Rajpútána in 1868, when starving families were compelled to abandon scruples of caste and honesty, to steal cattle and to eat them.

Another fact worth notice is that the state of the wife-market and the facilities for the supply of brides have a direct influence upon the rate at which the circles of affinity, thus formed upon the basis of origin, again subdivide and reunite within the tribe-circle. This phenomenon was expounded with much candour to the present writer by a leading Meena. In times of misrule, when the country-side is disordered, women are easily captured by the robber clans. From what caste or class a girl may have been ravished is of no consequence at all to a clan of this sort (though to a Rajpút this would make all the difference), for she is solemnly put through a form of adoption into one circle of affinity in order that she may be lawfully married into another—a fiction that would now be quite inadmissible among the pure clans, though it is good enough law for the Meenas, who split heads more neatly than hairs. Nevertheless this fiction

looks very like the survival of a custom that may once have been universal among all clans at a more elastic stage of their growth, for it enables the circles of affinity within a tribe to increase and multiply their numbers without a break, while at the same time it satisfies the conditions of lawful intermarriage. But in these latter days of orderly government in central India under British supervision the raiding grounds of the Meenas have been sadly curtailed, and women are not so easily captured or retained after capture. Hence the Meenas are being forced back upon the resources of their own tribe for the supply of wives; and as one circle may have too many girls while another has too few, the theologians of the tribe are called in to discover orthodox reasons why two members of the same circle may intermarry. The device, however, by which this is effected is always by breaking up one circle of affinity upon some plausible ground of distinct ancestry, and re-forming it into two separate circles, with pedigrees properly disjoined, whereby is contrived a more convenient and productive distribution of marriageable females.

The present writer has carefully examined the ingredients and composition, in different parts of India, of several of these irregular tribes, which are neither pure clans of descent nor castes, but seem to be in a state of transition. They have all the same character of aggregation from miscellaneous stocks, with inner circles of affinity more or less numerous and orthodox. Upon the evidence gathered it may not be too rash to hazard the theory that in the conflux and consolidation of these groups we can trace the working of the regular processes by which tribes and clans are first formed, and of the circumstances which favour and oppose growth. Let any cause drive together a collection of stray families which have been cut off from different stocks, the law of attraction groups them into a tribe, banded together by force of circumstances, by living in the same place and in the same way; while the law of exogamy, or marriage outside kinship, immediately begins to work each family into a separate circle of affinity, and at the same time strings together all these circles upon the tribal band of union, like rings on a curtain-rod. If one of these circles has a great run of success, if the group happens to produce a man of remarkable luck and capacity, it may widen and develop to any extent, and may become a clan. The prestige of a famous leader, especially if he be a broken man out of a patrician clan of descent, brings to his standard all the roving blades of the country; his kinsmen may leave their villages to join him upon the rumours of his success; and the hardy Bheel, ambitious to shine in the company of a noble Aryan captain, invaluable as a scout and a guide in the forests, attaches himself to the association. David, son of Jesse, in his cave, a valiant man of the pure clans,

with his gathering of men in debt and distress, and his hard-fighting kinsmen, the sons of Zeruiah, is the type of the personages who first create a group, and then push forward their particular circle of affinity until it expands into a clan. We know that David did become an eponymous ancestor of the first order, supplanting to a great degree the original tribal founder; but he did not develop a group of his own because he fought his way back to the chiefship of his own tribe. And the Semitic clan of descent is of a different variety from that which is now being described. From companionship in war and venture the band soon closes up into the idea of kinship, assuming the name and entering the circle of its leader, who after death becomes the eponymous ancestor, while his repute keeps the circle together by preserving a common name and pride of descent. So long as these advantages give predominance in war this circle commands the market for wives, and is less tempted to split up into sections or otherwise to break the strict rule which prohibits marriage within itself. And, lastly, its prosperity soon brings it under the patronage of Brahmans and of the strict canon law, whereby it gradually acquires the dignity of orthodox prejudices, and its loose customs are stereotyped by divine sanction. Thus in the incessant struggle for existence among barbarous races certain conditions of origin and environment have favoured the predominance of selected groups; so that the perfect clan may represent the great oak of a forest, which is the fortunate survivor of a thousand acorns, saplings, and trees, which have succumbed to various misfortunes at various stages of growth. A vast number of rudimentary clans must have been cut off or disqualified early in their formation by one or another of the innumerable calamities which beset primitive mankind, or by some impediment or accident which broke the circle of affinity or fatally reduced its strength. War, famine, and pestilence are great disintegrating powers—the blood is corrupted, the genealogy is lost, the brethren are scattered abroad to take to new habits of life and unauthorised means of subsistence, to strange gods and maimed rites. These broken groups re-form again like a fissiparous species; the leading emigrant, exile, or outcast may become the starting point for a fresh circle of affinity; but they are lost to the clan, and lose way in the struggle. And as the great majority of these circles fade away in outline, or break up again into atoms before they can consolidate, there goes on a constant decomposition and reproduction of groups at different stages, whence we get at the extraordinary multitude of circles of affinity, all alike in type and structure, but differing widely as to their radius of prohibited degrees, which make up the miscellany of Indian society. Within the outer circle of castes, as distinguished from

tribes, all the affinity circles are necessarily smaller, for reasons that will be touched upon presently.

It must be explained that this theory of the growth and decay of clans is drawn from a good deal of actual minute observation of what is still going on in the wilder regions of India. There is, of course, good historic evidence for believing that some of the Aryan clans were full grown when they first entered India, though the fact is hardly demonstrable; but the theory is supposed to apply to the beginning of a clan anywhere. What can be still noted of this process of aggregation of diverse families into circles of affinity does at any rate throw some light upon a question which is raised both by Maine in his "Ancient Law," and by Mr. McLennan in his "Primitive Marriage." How, it is asked, has it come to pass that in those primitive societies which assume as their basis a common descent from one original stock one so constantly finds traces of alien descent? How came a variety of alien groups to coalesce into a local tribe? The fiction of male adoption is suggested as the answer, but such adoption from alien stocks is quite unknown throughout India, where the adoption of a son is always made within the circle of affinity, ordinarily from the nearest kindred. The real explanation may, perhaps, be indicated by what we see in the hills and wolds of central India, where the different stocks congregate by force of circumstances, and tend to form a tribe, and clans within a tribe, under the name and prevailing influence of the most successful groups.

It has already been suggested that a group in its earlier stages pushes itself forward among and above other groups by the great advantage of possessing a vigorous leader who becomes a famous ancestor. So great is this advantage, that there is probability in the surmise that all the pure clans now existing in central India have been formed around the nucleus of a successful chief. Certainly that is the source to which all the clans themselves attribute their rise; and this view fits with an analogy that runs through all ancient tradition and authentic history of the first gathering and amalgamation, whether of men into a tribe, or of tribes into a kingdom or empire. To borrow Carlyle's words, the perplexed jungle of primitive society springs out of many roots, but the hero is the taproot from which in a great degree all the rest were nourished and grown. In Europe, where the landmarks of nationalities are fixed, and the fabric of civilisation firmly entrenched, people are often inclined to treat as legendary the enormous part in the foundation of their race or their institutions attributed by primitive races to their heroic ancestor. Yet it may be difficult to overrate the impression that must have been produced by far-sounding action upon the primitive world, where the free impulsive play of a man's forces is little

controlled by artificial barriers or solid breakwaters, and the earth in its youth lies spread out before him, where to choose. In such times, whether a group which is formed upon the open surface of society shall spread out into a clan or a tribe, or break up prematurely, seems to depend very much on the strength and energy of its founder. It is like throwing stones into a lake, which make small or great circles according to the stone's size. Throw in a big stone, and you start a vigorous widening circle with sharp outline, just as the splash made in the early world by a mighty man of valour created a powerful expanding circle of affinity. Throw in a pebble, and you have a circle faintly outlined and soon exhausted, like the kinship of an obscure ancestor. Then we can conceive how disruption and combination would both be constantly at work. Half-a-dozen minor groups or circles of affinity might be quietly developing into tribes or clans, when a big boulder like Cyrus, or Alexander, or Jinghiz Khan comes crushing into the middle of the lake, overwhelming or absorbing all of them, only to be formed again when these great waves of world-conquest shall have again begun to subside. The captivities of the Jews are examples of the way in which many a tribe of descent must have been shattered. Ezra on his return to Jerusalem mourns over the unlawful intermarriages of the people of Israel, the priests, and even the Levites, with the alien tribes, "so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of those lands;" and the genealogies of those who came up out of the captivity were carefully overhauled. Certain families could not show their father's house, and their seed, whether they were of Israel; these were probably the children of the captivity, born in exile, and they seem to have been excluded from the brotherhood; while in other cases the true Israelites were readmitted into the tribes on putting away their strange wives. This careful inquiry into the genealogy of a clansman whose family has been long settled at a distance is constantly practised among the Rajpúts; though if the Pathan emperors had transported a clan into central Asia it is doubtful if any would have ever got back into their circle of affinity after an absence of nearly a century. But a tribe of Israel intermarried within its own circle, and could therefore settle its own marriage questions; whereas a Rajpút has to satisfy the genealogic scruples of a different clan. Ten of the tribes of Israel thus disappeared for ever; and there are traces all over India of tribes lost or extinct, many of them cut off by the pitiless sweep of some Pathan adventurer's scimitar. But then again, in the confusion and anarchy of the dilapidation of these huge top-heavy Asiatic empires, some daring chief of just such a loose predatory tribe as we now see gathered in the central Indian hills, issues out with his kindred band and gets a name and a territory; so that in the

incessant flux and change of Asiatic institutions the whole history of the ascent from the cave of Adullam to the chiefship of a clan, to the rulership over tribes, and sometimes to empire over a great territory, is constantly repeating itself.

I have said already that the strict rules of intermarriage which distinguish the pure central Indian clan of descent are too rigid for a good working institution; and indeed they seem to have been modified, on social or political grounds, all over the world by the clans which have developed further. The Israelites clearly modified some custom of marriage beyond the clan, and permitted intermarriage with the clan, in order that the inheritance of daughters should not go out of the clan by exogamy.[1] The Rajpút never gives lands with his daughters, except possibly a life interest in the revenue; and he adheres to his genealogies with a stringency that is politically and socially unhealthy. Looking to the actual condition and relative strength at this moment of the pure and impure clans, some good judges are inclined to believe the pure Rajpúts to be an exhausted tribe which has reached its term, and that impure clans like the Meenas, which up to very lately were adding to their number and strength by enlisting all the hardy outlaws and venturous men of the country, would, if the tribes were left to fight it out among themselves, gradually push forward and subdue or expel the Rajpúts, who are now dominant over the Meenas. The impure clans are rough and unscrupulous; the pure clans are shackled by all kinds of jealousies and punctilio, by luxurious vices and the pride of race. These things not only touch the spirit and physique of a clan; they tend directly to diminish its number. The very poor clansmen cannot marry their daughters; while the rich clansman has too many wives, being incessantly importuned to take a portionless daughter, if only for the name of the thing, off the hands of a poor and proud neighbour. Hence the deplorable rarity of heirs among the leading Rajpút families, and the direct encouragement to two ruinous social practices, female infanticide and polygamy. There is probably a natural tendency in the pure clan of descent, as in the exclusive aristocracies, to become enervated after passing its grand climacteric, when the tie of blood which united the early conquering bands becomes too tight for the free spread of a settled community, until it is overthrown and superseded by a more vigorous group in its earlier and therefore more elastic stages, with prejudices and prohibitions not yet stereotyped. If some such revolution were even now to bring an impure clan into predominance in central India, it is pretty certain that the new lords of

(1) See Numbers xxxvi. The divisions of the Israelites appear to have belonged to the species of genealogic clans, though in compliance with usage they are sometimes called tribes in this paper.

the dominion would at once proceed to set up as patricians, to cluster round eponyms, to lay down the straitest rules about purity of blood, and to settle down under Brahmanic direction on the lines of a pure-blooded race. For the predilection of all these rough clans towards becoming particular and orthodox as they rise in the Indian world is very marked; being due, of course, to the increasing pressure of the Brahmanic atmosphere as they ascend.

After this manner, in prehistoric days, the impure clan may have been constantly developing into the pure clan, drawing closer the lines of patrician kinship and of religion as it worked its way upward; while again the pure clan, having reached its full as an institution, begins to decline and give place to younger groups under more capable leaders than the effete descendants of ancient heroes. But the time for such tribal revolutions has gone by in India, because the surrounding world has advanced too far ahead of these primitive peoples cooped up in the central regions. The only political speculation now worth making regarding the clans, is how these antique groups will manage to melt themselves down in the crucible of civilisation, and to join the general association of modern India. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the clans showed symptoms of feudalising, under the influence of events similar to those which transformed Europe during the break-up of the Carlovingian Empire. At the end of that century the Rana of Oodipoor, whose ancestor had the leadership of all the clans, was reduced to the condition of the last of the Merovingians. All the clans would have been broken up politically if the English had not interfered; and it is now very hard to guess whether the ruling chiefs will preserve separate political States, when the clan may merge into an aristocracy of the general population; or whether the great old families will filter through the Fergus McIvor phase of cultured chieftainship into an hereditary nobility of the empire.

Thus far we have been tracing the development and the operation upon primitive society of the unmixed idea of kinship. Undoubtedly, as has been suggested already, kinship as an institution in India has been fostered and cemented by the influence of a powerful religion. Perhaps only in India have the religious notions common to all early polytheisms been concentrated in the hands of a great Levitic tribe—the Brahmans—who have for centuries undertaken to interpret the divine rules and provide the sanctions upon which every Asiatic society necessarily rests. And as the marriage law lies at the foundation of society, this of course has fallen specially under Brahmanic jurisdiction, so that the prevailing customs and sentiments of a tribe, which may have been originally formed according to practical needs and experiments at a level below the Brahmanic atmosphere, become hardened into sacred laws as they emerge into

orthodox latitudes. Yet Brahmanism chiefly registers and confirms; being itself an inorganic sort of religion, it has never attempted any sweeping reforms of the rude tribal customs, such as are introduced everywhere by Christianity or Islam. It is remarkable how completely, from Bosnia to Rajpútána, religious antipathy exterminates the sympathy of race, whenever the two principles come into collision. And Islam in India has a very distinctive effect upon early institutions, it crushes out the innumerable sects and rituals of heatherdom, and abolishes among its proselytes their Gentile marriage laws. Some of the primitive tribes of Central India, which were converted by the Mussulman emperors, have struggled hard against this process; and up to this day they have clung in a most curious way to their ideas of kinship, though they are now being rapidly absorbed under one uniform canon.

But although Brahmanism, so far as it is systematically administered, operates as a cement to the rude edifice of primitive kinship, yet the working of religious ideas among the population is a mighty agent in what Sir H. Maine has called the "trituration" of Hindu society. We know that the word Hindu denotes no common religious denomination, but comprises a vast multitude of Indians who have for ages been absorbed, beyond all other people upon earth, in attempting to decipher the way of the gods with mankind and the tokens of divinity; and who still continue, everywhere

"Errare, atque viam palantes quaerere vitae."

While the higher intellects, like Buddha, are disgusted equally with the ways of gods and of men, and only desire to escape out of sensation into the silence, the crowd still stands gazing at the heavens. Among a people with this turn of mind new worships and new sects have incessantly arisen. Now it appears that a religious body with some distinctive object of worship or singular rule of devotion has usually (though not invariably) come to split off into a separate group, which, though based upon a common religion, constructs itself upon the plan of a tribe. The common faith or worship forms the outer circle, which has gradually shut off a sect not only from intermarriage but even from eating with outsiders; while inside this circumference the regular circles of affinity have established themselves independently, just as families settle and expand within the pale of a half-grown tribe. Each body of proselytes from different tribes and castes has preserved its identity as a distinct stock, keeping up the fundamental prohibition against marriage within the particular group of common descent. But with some other group of the sect it is essential to marry; and thus in the course of time has been reproduced upon a basis of common belief or worship the original circle of a tribe, beyond which it is impos-

sible to contract a legitimate marriage. Where the sect has hardened into a caste, it is quite impossible for any one to marry beyond it; but where the sect is of recent formation, difference of religious belief is not so absolute a bar; and under the jurisdiction of English law there is a growing tendency toward disregarding the impediment, at any rate the courts are inclined to discourage it. It seems certain, for example, that two or three generations ago the Sikhs, who are a religious sect by origin, only intermarried with Sikhs; but they are now known to marry often with others who, though not of their rite, are of their original tribe. On the other hand, several instances could be given of sects having gradually rounded themselves off into complete castes, neither eating nor marrying with any beyond the pale.

We can thus make out an analogy between the process of the formation of a tribe and that of some of the religious castes. It has been already said that a wild tribe seems to grow out of a collection of recruits from the settled communities, who either from necessity or a love of adventure join together under some notable leader. So likewise in the spiritual world a sect often begins with a gathering of venturesome thinkers or enthusiasts, who leave the trodden paths of religion and set up for themselves with a few followers; to whom sometimes repair outcastes, persons excommunicate, publicans and sinners, and other such who have good reasons for quitting the caste-circle in which they were born. In Northern India there are several of these purely sectarian castes whose origin can be historically traced back to a famous personage, often a good fighter as well as preacher, who is now the semi-divine head-centre of the caste. Within at least one of these castes the idea of affinity has woven during the last three or four centuries a wonderful network of separate groups, deriving from the various clans, castes, or families of the proselytes who at sundry times and in divers places have joined the sect. These perfect specimens of the development of a caste from a sect are not common; there are many petty sects which, although more or less insulated by their peculiar doctrine, never attain the scale of a caste, and which seem to owe their low development to the obscurity of their founder, probably some casual outcaste. It will be understood that a Hindu who, having broken the rules of his caste, is dismissed beyond the rim of his outer circle, finds himself altogether at sea, with no social anchorage whatever. He has neither nationality, tribe, clan, caste, or family; he is literally in an indescribable condition. The best resource for a religious outsider of this sort, who does not take to "the hills of the robbers," is to start a religion of his own, and to get others to join him. If he be of the mystic turn of mind, he can have a call, and can turn the Brahmanic High Church flank by

opening out direct intercourse with a god; he can show a new light which in the dim religious twilight of India attracts restless souls as a lantern brings moths out of the summer darkness. If, as often happens, he is rather crazy and fanatic, he may do precisely what mad Thom did forty years ago in the Kentish woods within sight of Canterbury Cathedral—proclaim himself an incarnation, lead a body of wild rustics into some brawl, and get himself killed. He may then become a local saint, with a petty group of distinctive worshippers. But it needs a great spiritualist to found a caste; a very great one may go near to founding a nationality, as is shown by the example of the Sikhs; and the greatest of all these Indian freethinkers, Sakya Gotama, changed the religion of Eastern Asia.

It will be understood that this paper only touches upon the subject of castes which seem to originate out of peculiarities of worship and belief, and has nothing to say about that very large class of castes which are formed out of association in professions, trades, or crafts. One thing worth noticing, however, is that the Brahmans, whom most people would assume to be a religious caste *par excellence*, betray symptoms of being by origin a caste by profession or calling. For though the Brahman caste is now a vast circle inclosing a number of separate Levitic tribes, which again are subdivided into numberless family groups, yet several of these tribes appear to have developed out of literary and sacerdotal guilds. Indeed, one distinctive tenet of the Hindu Broad Church, which rests (I am told) upon passages quoted from the Vedas, affirms that Brahmanism does not properly come by caste or descent, but by learning and devotional exercises. This is now laid down as an ethical truth; it was probably at first a simple fact. There is fair evidence that several of these Brahmanic tribes have at different periods been promoted into the caste circle by virtue of having acquired in some outlying province or kingdom (where Brahmans proper could not be had) a monopoly of the study and interpretation of the sacred books; and having devoted themselves for generations to this profession, at last graduated as full Brahmans, though of a different tribe from the earlier schools. Some glimpse of the very lowest rudimentary stage of a Levitic caste (that is, a caste with a speciality for ritual and interpretation of the sacred books) may still be obtained in the most backward parts of India. The Meena tribe, which has already been mentioned, is as to its religion in the ordinary state of slow transition toward Brahmanism; the superior section, which lives northward toward Delhi, being under the ministry of accommodating Brahmans, while the clans of the remote south-west are beef-eating and utterly excommunicate. These last-mentioned clans have got attached to them a Levitic tribe of their own, as Robin Hood had his Friar

Tuck, who perform the essential social rites and expound the caprices of divinity. The story of this tribe's origin, according to the Meenas, is that most of these families are descended from pure Brahmans who have from time to time been persuaded or forced by some wild chief or captain of the pure clans to officiate in a human sacrifice; and that, having thereby quite forfeited their pure caste, they became degraded, and were driven forth to minister into the tribes beyond the pale. This story must not hastily be set aside as improbable, for the tradition of human sacrifice is still so powerful in that part of India, that within the last two years a whole tribe of Bheels has fled to the hills upon the rumour that a Rajpût chief intended to celebrate his accession as ruler by sacrificing one of them; and human sacrifice was undoubtedly practised in the backwoods of India up to the end of the last century by others beside the aboriginal tribes. These Meena Levites appear to be a collection of all kinds of waifs and cuttings from the upper religious castes; they may possibly rise in respectability as their clients get on in the world; and one might almost hazard the speculation, though it will be received with horror in certain quarters, that they are something like a Brahmanic tribe in faint embryo.

The attempt has now been made to describe what may be observed, by looking at Indian society in a very primitive and unsophisticated state, of two processes of social growth—the formation of tribes and clans under the working of the simple idea of kinship, and the formation of sectarian castes, with interior kindred groups, under the more complicated working of the ideas of kinship and religion combined. It would seem to be a reasonable theory that the caste, as an institution, is of a later formation than the tribe. For, so far as the actual course of things can be watched, in early and wild times a tribe or clan regularly throws off another tribe or clan after its own kind, as swarms come out of a wild bees' nest, the state of the world being favourable to the existence of such groups. But there comes a later period when the pressure of powerful dynasties and the rise of industrial bodies render tribal formations no longer possible, driving men into peaceful pursuits, and swallowing up petty warlike independencies. In the western world these agencies rapidly obliterated the tribes, and gradually produced the modern populations, pounded up and measured out into nationalities, with their circles of affinity narrowed down to the immediate family. In India, religion seems to have stepped in as the tribal institutions dissolved, and to have strung all the kindred groups upon the circle which we call caste. Within a caste the inner circles of affinity survive, but in a stunted condition as compared with a clan within a tribe, it being obviously impossible that in this altered phase of society the kindred groups should continue to hold together by descent from a common stock.

The folk take to various occupations, inhabit different places, contract strange marriages, worship other gods; the ups and downs of a more complicated life break short the pedigree, sever the kinship, and rub off the patronymic; the distant branches of a family fall out of sight, and the long genealogies of the clan give place to the comparatively narrow tables of prohibited degrees which prevail among castes. Then the trade, or the profession, or the common ritual becomes the bond of union instead of descent or political association; and thus the mixed population of India may have rearranged itself into castes, propelled into those grooves by the archaic and inveterate exclusiveness of primitive Asiatics regarding marriage and food. You must not marry one of your own blood, but neither must you marry a stranger of unknown descent and foreign habits; your caste means those with whom you may safely intermarry and share food, without risk of incurring some unlucky taint which may give you much trouble in this existence and the next.

Whether the new ideas encouraged (if not generated) everywhere by English rule in India are not dissolving, in their turn, the castes as well as the tribes, may be a remote speculation worth hinting at. The spread of what we may call mysticism in certain parts of India has been much noticed by the natives themselves, and by very competent observers among the missionaries. One of these last (Mr. Shoolbred, of Ajmere) writes, in a valuable paper upon religious and social movements, that "the surface-drifting of the semi-Hinduized classes toward orthodoxy is nothing in comparison with the current which is setting in among the people toward sects and secret societies that disown caste prejudices about bodily purity and distinctive ceremonial." This tendency of religious enthusiasm to shake off the restraints of traditional external forms, and to prefer the vague disorderly suggestions of spiritual freemasonry and inward grace, is a known symptom of the decline of priestly influence, and of the rise of a kind of democracy in religion, which, if it spreads, will soon disintegrate the Indian caste.

This very condensed account of the condition and tendencies of social matters in an outlying part of India may possibly be useful to those who are working by the comparative method at the foundations of history and sociology generally. It may have some bearings upon much that has recently been written about early institutions in Europe. Here in India, for instance, can still be seen primitive sets of people who never came under the arbitrary despotism of a single man, and among whom no written law has ever been made since the making of the world. Yet these people are not loose incoherent assemblages of savages, but are very ancient societies, restrained and stringently directed by custom and usage, by rules

and rites irresistible. "The Greeks," writes Mr. Freeman, "were the first people who made free commonwealths, and who put the power of the law instead of mere force and the arbitrary will of a single man;" and others beside the students for whom this passage was written might infer from it that in the ancient world men were all lawless or under despotisms until the Greeks invented free institutions. Perhaps it may be suggested that what the Greeks did invent is political citizenship and rules of conduct under State sanction. Between the clans and the commonwealths the difference is not so much between lawlessness and free institutions, as between the primitive man, whose social and political customs are as much part of his species as the inherited habits of an animal, and the highly civilised man, who consciously chooses his own laws and form of government according to expediency and logic. Politically speaking, the extremes of two systems may be seen by contrasting those tribal States of Central India which are presided over each by a chief of the eldest family of the oldest stock in the clan, with the United States of America, founded upon and held together by a written constitution setting forth abstract rights. In the Indian State we have the rigid circle of affinity hedging in the political privileges of a dominant clan, and resting upon close marriage rules; in the American State we see citizenship open to any foreigner who applies for it, and often a most liberal law of divorce. Whether across the wide interval which separates the earliest and latest phases of Aryan institutions may still be traced any connected filiation of ideas is a speculation not to be entered upon here; possibly the theory that the peculiar demise of the French kingship followed a rule of the law of inheritance among the Salian tribe, is the most notable European instance of the distorted survival of a tribal custom.

"The forms of the Juden Gasse, rousing the sense of union with what is remote, set him musing on the two elements of our historic life which that sense raises into the same region of poetry—the faint beginnings of ancient faiths and institutions, and their obscure lingering decay." This is what was suggested to Daniel Deronda by the scene in the synagogue at Frankfort; and the passage touches the way of thought into which Englishmen are led in India, by looking around them at the actual institutions and worships of a primitive people, and endeavouring to see clearly among what manner of men they find themselves. One seems to be catching at the beginnings of European nations, and to discern a little less dimly what the ancient generations of one's own folk were thinking about in the foretime, and what motives or conceptions, now extinct in Western Europe, presided over the infancy of some of the ideas and institutions which lie at the roots of European society.

A. C. Lyall.

# CONSTANTINOPLE AND OUR ROAD TO INDIA.

Of the great controversy that is dividing England into two camps at this moment, it has been truly said, "the last word is, Who shall have Constantinople?" Perhaps never before, certainly not in the last twenty years, has any question arisen on which the two sides, though diametrically opposed to each other in all else, as to the merits of the case itself as well as those of the principal actors in it, were so entirely agreed on one point, namely, that the whole interest centres in the possession of a narrow strip of land not more than twenty-five miles long by fifteen broad, the peninsula on which stands the old imperial city of Byzantium.

Mr. Bright has argued, with more oratorical fervour, perhaps, than strict logical accuracy, that England can have no possible concern in a matter "three thousand miles away" from our shores; and that to stand in the way of the improvement and good government of several millions of people, the Christian populations of Turkey in Europe, for the sake of the supposed disadvantages that may accrue to us from this position falling into hostile hands is as short-sighted and fatuous as it is coldly selfish and absurd.

On the other hand, there are those—a minority I believe distinctly in the nation, but an educated and influential minority—who think the whole question of the government of Turkey has for us but one bearing—the safety and security of the Dardanelles; and that those Englishmen who allow themselves to be diverted from this main and pregnant issue by a just but ill-timed indignation against the authors of the late terrible cruelties in Bulgaria and Roumelia are kind-hearted but empty-headed fanatics, deceived by the trail purposely and skilfully drawn across their path by Russia, traitors to the best interests of their country, and deliberately playing into the hands of her enemies. As usual, the truth will be probably found to lie somewhere between these two extremes.

Concerned, as one who devoutly believes that Liberalism, "the greatest good of the greatest number," is the safest guide always, in showing that those with whom I act are neither fanatics nor traitors, nor less keen-sighted than the coldest-hearted of their critics, let me examine the question for a little from the strategic point of view. For strategy, being an exact science, cannot deceive; its principles are immutable, however the applications of the details may vary with changing circumstances; and thus, instead of being merely a minor branch of the military art, strategy enters into great questions of policy far more deeply than those who despise it would be disposed to allow.

What, then, makes the great importance of Constantinople? Is it true that being three thousand miles from our shores it does not concern us one rush into whose hands it may fall? Does it follow, therefore, that our apprehensions as to Russia are all idle phantoms? That we may safely stand aside and let her settle the Eastern question as she will, secure in our road to India by the possession of our dearly bought shares in the Suez Canal? Probably no greater fallacy than this was ever uttered—no more erroneous induction ever drawn from premises inaccurate in themselves.

I shall endeavour to show that whatever it may be geographically, Constantinople is not commercially three thousand miles off, but in that sense lies at our very doors, as much a part of British commercial territory as the British Channel itself. That, so far from the security of our road to India beginning and ending with the purchase of the famous Canal shares, that purchase, in itself alone, instead of securing our highway, has only involved us in immensely increased liabilities, without any corresponding security, unless that security be obtained from an uncompromising determination, unflinchingly carried out, to keep the power of commanding at least one bank of the Dardanelles in our own or in unmistakably friendly hands.

To begin, then, with the strategical position of Constantinople. Seated on the west bank of the Bosphorus with a vast inland sea on either hand, the imperial city is unrivalled in situation—the true mistress of the East. West of Constantinople nature has designed perhaps the most splendid defensive position in the world. Two ranges of natural heights, one about twenty-five miles west of the city, the other about nine miles nearer—the outer or more distant called Buyuk (or great) Chekmedjé, the nearer, Kuchuk (or little) Chekmedjé—run nearly from sea to sea, looking towards the west. On the south, the backwater of Buyuk Chekmedjé, extending about four miles inland, and the Kara-Sou river running into the head of it, together with the small river of Kara-Burun on the north, still further narrow the width to be defended down to about thirteen miles of front. Swamps and low ground still further facilitate the defence. Two lines of redoubts, thrown up to occupy the crests of these natural positions, and armed with the heavy artillery of this day, would sweep the whole front; while our fleet of ironclads, divided on both flanks, and crossing their fire with the redoubts, would make approach all but impossible. As regards the Dardanelles, 120 miles further south-west, whoever possesses the forts on the western bank at Kilid-Bahr and Sedil-Bahr, and at Chanak-Kilessi on the east bank, has therefore the power of hermetically sealing this magnificent water-way at will. The fleet under Admiral Duckworth forced the passage, and that under sail only, without the aid of steam. But that was opposed to the inferior

artillery of that day—guns which, though throwing a stone shot of enormous diameter, could not be relied upon for straight shooting at fifteen hundred yards, and which were so badly mounted and traversed, that their range once lost by the rapid passage of a vessel, the aim could never be regained. The damage they inflicted during the brief rush of the fleet was thus comparatively harmless.

But it would be a totally different thing now with modern artillery. Hundreds of guns throwing if necessary an eighty-ton shot, and capable by modern appliances of being all simultaneously trained and discharged by electricity at one object, place the passage absolutely in the hands of those who hold the works. In the narrower part of the channel also, which in three places comes down to fourteen hundred yards, the destructive power of torpedoes could be applied most effectively, and would close the passage at pleasure, as with a vice, to any fleet in the world. The sovereign, therefore, who possess these straits, all other things being equal, rules in the East. It was this natural position of command that gave the Turkish sultans for four centuries that sway which a later civilisation of their neighbours and the stationary nature of their Asiatic barbarism seem now about to deprive them of. But it will be asked, How does this affect us English? The Dardanelles will always presumably be free to ships of trade of all countries; what does it matter to us who possesses them for purposes of war? Our gate to India is Port Said, the entrance of the Suez Canal. True; but it is equally true that all our commerce (and six eighths of all the tonnage to the East are now English shipping) has to traverse the nine hundred miles of open sea between Malta and Port Said before entering the Suez Canal at all. The free passage of that canal is of no use to us, if our ships are liable to capture on the high seas in the nine hundred miles stretch before they get there; and their liability to, or security from, such capture depends entirely upon two things—whether a friendly or a hostile power holds the Dardanelles, and whether, in the second case, that power enjoys also a naval preponderance in the Eastern Mediterranean. Here is where the possession of the Dardanelles becomes all-important to us, and a matter of life and death to our commerce. Russia possesses in the Black Sea an inland lake on which, at Nicolaieff, at Taganrog, and at Sebastopol, she can build as many iron-clads as she pleases. If by getting the free passage of the Dardanelles also, she can secure the power of uniting them when she likes with her Mediterranean fleet, brought round from the Baltic, and thus secure the naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, she may be mistress of the East. At present she has no temptation to build a great Black Sea fleet. By the treaty of 1856, confirmed in this respect by its later readjustment in 1870, she is debarred from passing her ships

of war through the Dardanelles; consequently she has no inducement to build in the Black Sea more than are of use to her on that sea itself. But remove this restriction; give her not only the power of reinforcing her Mediterranean squadron at pleasure, but also the command of those straits by the possession of one bank of the Dardanelles, and you at once throw in her way the inducement to double and treble her Black Sea fleet. Supposing her to be also in possession of Constantinople. Then she at once holds the key of our commerce in her hands, for, secure behind those impassable straits, she can increase her naval power as much as she pleases, and then, in the event of any difference with us—a difference one of the first symptoms of which would be discontent and excitement all over India—she can at once issue forth and capture our reinforcements of troops on the high seas before they enter the canal, and not a single ton of English goods could pass through that canal, except either by her sufferance or by being escorted and protected by a superior British fleet. The cession of the west bank of the Dardanelles to Russia, therefore, means either naval estimates permanently increased by three or four millions a year for all future time, so as to keep permanently a superior British fleet near Besika Bay, in addition to that which other complications might require for our protection in other parts of the world; or else the loss of the bulk of our commerce—the very stay and prop of our national prosperity—whenever Russia chooses to seize it. Once astride on the Dardanelles, instead of being "nothing to us," Russia has us by the throat, and it only requires the pressure of her iron fingers in a tightened grip of the windpipe to strangle our commerce in three months.

So far from being a security, the possession of the Suez Canal, if unaccompanied by naval supremacy, or in case of our fleet being diverted elsewhere, becomes, therefore, our greatest danger. There is, of course, another alternative open to us. That is, to wash our hands altogether of European Turkey and the Dardanelles, and negotiate with her for the cession of Candia (Crete) by purchase. There, on that island, three hundred miles long, placed, as it were, by nature as a breakwater to watch the exit of the Dardanelles and to cover the entrance of the Suez Canal, with the magnificent harbour of Suda on its north aspect, capable of being made another Cherbourg, we might consolidate our naval power, establish a half-way house of refuge for our ships between Malta and Port Said, and equably await the naval development of Russia in the Mediterranean. But this would not get over the difficulty above spoken of, that in future we should have to keep two fleets afoot: one to protect our commerce with the East through Egypt; the other, equally large, to meet our general purposes all over the globe, or any

naval combination that may arise. And be it recollected that Germany is fast becoming a first-class naval power, and France will resume her rivalry with us on the seas in process of time. So that, in any case, the possession of Crete and a permanent Mediterranean fleet still means doubled naval estimates hereafter, and is not, after all, so good a safeguard of our commerce as the power of closing the Dardanelles at will.

Having looked at the strategic question (only half of it, the European side, as yet; the Indian side shall follow), let us examine for a moment the question of Russia's moral right to send ships of war through the Dardanelles. What does this supposed moral right rest upon? More than one staunch Liberal has permitted himself to say that he considers Russia has, and will have, a just grievance till she has the privilege *enjoyed by all other Powers* of sending her war ships into all her own ports. This looks undeniable at first sight, but as soon as it is examined its apparent soundness falls to pieces. First, this disability on the part of Russia is not our doing, it is the act of Providence; it is a part of her geographical conformation, and we are no more responsible for it than we are for her climate.

Second, it is mainly an imaginary grievance; to prove which let us go back, first, to the primary object and intention of ships of war. They are for two purposes legitimately—for the defence of commerce, or the protective use: secondly, for purposes of war, or aggressive use. What is Russia's position on each of these points? As regards the Black Sea, half the coast-line of which is hers, she has a large commerce, and she has, therefore, also the right to build as many war ships as she likes to protect it against the Turk. Then as regards the Mediterranean. Here she has also a commerce, not very considerable, certainly not one-tenth of what we have; but here also she has the power of protecting that commerce by building as many ships of war as she chooses in the Baltic, and sending them round. As a matter of fact, not only had she a squadron in the Mediterranean till a few days ago (when she thought it advisable to send them into Atlantic waters out of harm's way), but there was even talk, only three weeks ago, of sending her new and gigantic iron-clad the *Peter the Great* there. Who hinders her protection of her commerce, then? No one. This proves that, so far as regards the legitimate use of navies for protective purposes of commerce, Russia is, in spite of her geographical disadvantage, as free and unrestricted as any other power. What, then, is it she lacks as regards her fleet? Just this; having, as has been shown, all legitimate facilities for guarding her commerce, she has *not*, through, first, her geographical position, and, secondly, through the neutralisation of the Dardanelles by the concert of all Europe, the one thing that could enable her to hurt, first, Turkey

and then ourselves—viz., the power of uniting her Baltic and Black Sea fleets, either in the Eastern Mediterranean or in the Bosphorus under the Seraglio windows, and thus obtaining an undeniable naval superiority at a stroke. But what can this be wanted for, except for purposes of aggression? Is it not most salutary and wholesome that she should still remain without that power? And in what sense can this be said to be a grievance imposed by us? We might just as well complain of the existence of the British Channel, because it prevents our invading France, or Belgium, or Germany dry-foot.

Moreover, on another ground she has no moral right to the passage of the Dardanelles for her war ships. The territorial waters of a state have been defined from ancient times to extend three miles from its shores. But the Dardanelles, for at least thirty-five miles of its length is less than six miles, or double of three, from shore to shore; in several miles of its length it is less than one mile across. Consequently all that way it is in the territorial waters of the people bordering its banks; and if the passage be kept free for commerce, no power on earth except Turkey has a right to complain of its ships of war being debarred from passing through that channel.

Then look at Russia's military policy for the last twenty years, since 1856. The end of the Crimean war left her with restricted territory, crippled resources, an impoverished exchequer. Her pretensions to be the sole guardian of the Christian population of Turkey had been justly and sternly set aside by all Europe. Her powers of naval aggression had been limited by the prohibition to have ships of war on the Black Sea and by the neutralisation of the Dardanelles.

Every motive of prudence and of necessity equally pointed out to her one course as the only wise one to follow, that of a temporary renunciation of her ambitious views of conquest, strict retrenchment in military expenditure, and a steady and modest development of her great and almost unparalleled internal commercial and industrial resources. A cutting down of her military and naval force, for now as then no one threatens her, her position for defence is unassailable by position and by climate: the restriction of public works to the means of communication wholly and solely required for commercial purposes — these were evidently her best policy, and should have been steadily adhered to. Instead of this, what did she do? Her military forces have increased steadily day by day. This and their military supplement, a complete and wholly unnecessary network of railways, not one of which ever could pay or has paid, simply because they do not connect points of supply and demand, but are dictated solely by strategical considerations, have brought her finance to the verge of bankruptcy. Not only do these lines, commercially speaking, run nowhere, but they are not,

as any student of war may see, dictated mainly by defensive considerations; they are based mainly if not entirely upon the aim of concentrating the greatest possible number of troops in the least possible space of time on her frontier. And that even not on points most vulnerable to attack, but on those points where an aggressive policy towards her two weak neighbours, Turkey and Persia (or indirectly but unmistakably through them against England) calls for the power of rapid concentration.

Again it may be said, "But how does all this concern us? We are not a military continental power; we have, almost formally, renounced competition with the great armed monarchies of Europe. What is this to us?" Nothing to us? Why, rightly understood, it will be seen that no nation on earth, not even Germany, has so keen, so immediate, and so absorbing an interest in the aggressive capabilities of Russia as ourselves. What about India? If we look at the matter either from the point of view of the road to India or the tranquil possession of India, Russia's future views and future designs—her military power is undeniable, and none but an idiot will gainsay it—affect us vitally.

At the time of the Crimean War Russia could dispose of about 800,000 men, field army and home defence (her reserves) combined. She can now dispose of about 1,200,000, or half as many again as in 1854. Of these, about 400,000 could be left to secure her home defence, while no less that 800,000 are available for exterior purposes, in fact, for aggressive war.

Moreover, in 1853, there existed in Russia but one imperfect line of rail, that from St. Petersburg to Moscow. The consequence was that when war broke out, and when France and England united chose the Crimea, the very extremity of her dominions, as the seat of war, they put her under the greatest possible disadvantage as to concentration, and thereby greatly neutralised her superior numbers. She had men in abundance, but they had to be conveyed in some way to Sebastopol before they could help her. Thus the question of transport became of paramount importance. They had 900 miles from Moscow, and from Kazan 1,000 miles, and from St. Petersburg 1,400, to march over winter roads, with defective and corrupt supply administration. The consequence was that her soldiers died like rotten sheep by the wayside. It is calculated that she lost 277,000 men by death and sickness in the Crimean War, to say nothing of the thousands disabled temporarily. Of these only some 97,000 fell by sword and shot. Disease, distance, and mismanagement —defective transport in fact—slew the remainder before ever they drew a trigger.

Now all this is altered. Let any one consult a railway map of Russia now, and he will see that from Moscow, as a heart and centre, six lines radiate to every point of the compass. Three broad belts

of cross-lines connect them: one from Riga on the Baltic to Tzaritza on the Volga, 1,100 miles; the second from Wilna in West Russia, *viâ* Kursk, to Taganrog on the Sea of Azov, 1,000 miles; the third from Bialostock, on the Polish frontier, *viâ* Balta, to Odessa on the Black Sea, 700 miles—these transverse lines forming a complete network for strategic purposes. These make her gigantic military force, if not as movable as that of the German empire, still equal to double its former numerical strength for aggression, in consequence of its mobility.

It is the old mechanical dictum carried out into practical strategy: "Momentum or striking power is composed of mass multiplied by velocity." When the present mobilization of four army corps, or about 160,000 men, upon the Pruth comes to be studied in detail hereafter, it will be found that whereas in 1853 it took nearly eighteen months of hurried preparation to get half that number of men into the Danubian principalities (now called Roumania), and that with great discomfort, privation, and loss by disease, now about eight weeks have completely sufficed to bring that number of men, fairly fed, well clothed, fresh, well supplied, and in good heart, to Kischenew and Skulcni in 1876, and the Roumanian railway system will carry them if necessary to Rustchuk and Silistria on the Danube.

Similarly, to look in another direction.

In 1853 the Caucasus was still a thorn in Russia's side. Schamyl and his brave tribes were resisting firmly, contesting the ground inch by inch, and inflicting great loss in the stubborn defence of their mountain fortresses.

Now that also is all changed. The Caucasus, no longer an obstacle to Russia, is the stronghold of her military power, and her best base of operations for future designs on Persia and the far East. For the last ten years 150,000 men have been kept constantly massed there, in the highest state of efficiency, the only part of the Russian army, in fact, that has remained permanently mobilized in time of peace. An imperial duke commands this army; no trouble or expense has been spared on its perfection, so as to make it a tremendous engine of war, at all times ready either to overrun Asia Minor, proceeding by Kars, Erzeroom, and Sivas, either to Broussa or to Scanderoon, as circumstances may dictate, or to threaten Persia either by the Caspian to Asterabad, or by Erivan, and thence upon Tabreez and Teheran.

A railway now runs the whole length of the Caucasus, from Poti on the Black Sea to Baku on the Caspian. There a steam flotilla takes up the communication. It is but forty-eight hours' steam from Baku to Ashurada, at the south-eastern angle of the Caspian. Thence to Teheran is but thirty-five marches; and, *viâ* Mashed,

*Herat itself, the heart and key of Central Asia, is but 560 miles*, a seventy days' march further on, over a country which the most recent explorers have declared to be open, easy, well supplied, and perfectly accessible to a large army.[1]

It may be said that I am an alarmist. But these data which I give are ascertained facts of contemporary military history, well known to the student of war, however despicable and insignificant they may appear to the peace-at-any price man who sees only his own side of the question. The world is not yet *all* ruled by moral force, nor has the Millennium yet put strategy into abeyance. Soon may it be so; but the time is not yet. Meanwhile let us not despise physical facts.

The movements I have sketched are not only possibilities, but easy military possibilities. Let anybody read how Peroffsky's army perished miserably in the snows of Khiva in 1839, and then how Kauffman brought the Russian arms triumphantly, nay comfortably, to that capital in 1873, and then say whether there is anything but sober practical truth in all this as to the future. Great empires are not maintained and secured by ignoring physical facts, but by looking far ahead—weighing existing circumstances rightly, and then acting with circumspection and courage. Once arrived at Herat, a Russian army would be in clover. The fertile plains round that city afford everything in abundance that the largest force can desire. A few weeks' labour of European engineers would make Herat itself impregnable, and the power that held it would command, in subtle, widespread, and overwhelming influence, more potent even than actual armed occupation, the dominion of all Central Asia. I am no Russophobist. I have always said the world is, and ought to be, wide enough for both England and Russia. With good management they need never come into collision. But the diplomacy of England for the last fifteen months has been emphatically *not* good management. Whatever Russia's designs may be—be they honest and unaggressive for the present (as I sincerely believe), or be they dictated by Machiavellian subtlety as well as by unscrupulous greed and falsehood (as the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Standard* would have us think)—this at all events is undeniable: that at a diplomatic game played against us since July, 1875, when

(1) Moreover, in another direction, Russia is now within 480 miles of Herat. The treaty that left her in 1873 posted astride of the Oxus at Charjoui, leaves the outposts only 180 miles from Merve; from Merve to Herat is but 300 miles more. It is significant, as showing how Russia's double position in Asia and in Europe enables her to act simultaneously or alternately at one end or the other on points sensitive to British influence, that at the same time that her armies are gathering behind the Pruth, come rumours from Central Asia of collection of troops and stores at Charjoui. Russia's outposts are now but 480 miles from Herat; our nearest force is 900 miles from it.

the rebellion in Herzegovina began, she has won every point, and we are nowhere. *To this sad dilemma has the much-boasted spirited* foreign policy of Mr. Disraeli come at last: that we, coveting no accession of territory, desiring none of our neighbours' goods, actuated as a nation by the purest motives, are driven by bungling and incapacity to this lamentable strait, that we *must* either defend Constantinople, and thus appear as the ally of the foullest and cruellest despotism upon earth, or stand aside, and let Russia, triumphant in her better diplomacy, parade herself to all Europe as the champion of the right, and the principal if not sole protector of the Turkish Christians!

But all has not been said as to how Russia's military power and its future development affects us in India. We have shown that in 1876 she is half as strong again in armed men as she was in 1853, and about treble as strong as regards railways and consequent mobility. But this rate of progression has not by any means reached its limit; it is in fact only beginning.

Since November, 1870, taking warning by the fate of France in that war, Russia has brought her whole population, without exemption, under the action of the law of conscription. This organisation is still in course of being worked out; but there is every reason to suppose that in about six years time she will be able to dispose of not 1,200,000 soldiers as now, but of over *two millions and a quarter* of armed men. By that time her railroad system, which now extends eastward only as far as Orenburg, or 1,400 miles from Moscow, will probably be completed, either to or near to Kokand, the capital of her newly acquired military district of Namangan or Ferghana, in Central Asia. If not in six years more, then in twelve, or perhaps in twenty: it is a mere question of time. Well then, suppose this railway extension only takes the innocent and laudable shape of increased development of her overland commerce with China; well and good. But it all depends likewise upon what stage the Eastern question of that day may have reached. The present Czar may not then be on the throne, nor his successor as pacific or as enlightened as he. It all depends upon these three conditions whether or not this gigantic military power, and its adjunct, an equally gigantic capacity for military movement, do or do not begin to tell with crushing force on the neighbouring country of Affghanistan, on the very borders of our North-Western frontier.

What Servia was in 1876, Affghanistan and Cashmere may be in 1896, the seat of "unofficial war." Those know very little of India, or have studied to very little purpose the recent books of Schuyler, of MacGahan, of Sir Frederick Goldsmid, of Burnaby, who suppose that this proximity will be a matter of indifference to either

rulers or ruled in India, or will not exercise a most significant, it may be a most disturbing influence on the ignorant and excitable native mind of our 240,000,000 of subject races. And be it borne in mind on the other hand that our power of increasing our defensive force in India does not, and cannot, multiply in any such proportion as that of Russia. In fact this force is, both from the increased demands of civil industrial life in England upon recruiting, and from the existing heavy drain on the exchequer of India itself, nearly at its utmost limits as to numbers already. Any great expansion means, in the East, a terrible strain on the overburdened finances of India, already shaken by an expensive and mistaken military system, and at home a vast increase of taxation: an income-tax probably at 8*d.* or higher in the pound. We can raise as many additional native soldiers as we please, but where are the officers to come from? Already, in consequence of a bad system, the effective British officers of the native army are not more numerous than would suffice to put about one-third of its regiments on an effective war footing. Where then is the increase to come from? It takes years to form a corps of officers, especially where each must be not only a linguist, but habituated to serve with Asiatics. And without numerous officers a native army is merely an encumbrance.

When our system of reserves is further advanced we shall be able to put 50,000 additional British infantry into India at three months' notice, but not if we are engaged simultaneously in a military occupation of the lines before Constantinople.

I am no alarmist; I have a thorough confidence in England's ability to hold her own against any power on earth, if only we are wise in time, see our situation, understand it, and act accordingly with prudence and foresight; but not if we are led away with such shallow fallacies as that Constantinople does not concern us "because it is three thousand miles from our doors."

We have been told lately that the invasion of India is "impossible." I am very glad to hear it, and only hope those who say so may long continue in that belief, if indeed they really entertain it now. But that the day will come, and that within the next fifty years, when Russia will have the power, if she has the will, of bringing two or even three hundred thousand troops, all of European blood, face to face with over 55,000 British and 126,000 native troops in India (the latter all but neutralised by a false system of officering), I have no shadow of a doubt. Looked at, therefore, in whichever way we like, in Europe or in Asia, as regards the safe passage of our commerce to the East or our tranquil tenure of India, the one cardinal fact remains—that if Russia is to have the free passage of the Dardanelles for her ships of war, we must have and hold as an equivalent the possession of one bank of that strait.

To act otherwise is to put the key of our commercial prosperity—nay, it may be of our very stability and existence as a nation—into foreign hands, without inquiring whether they be friendly or not. Do we do this in private life? Is there any Quaker in the kingdom who lies down in his bed without first bolting his front and back doors, and rejoicing that a punctually paid police-rate makes his goods and chattels safe? Why, then, should we be asked, in public affairs, to commit an act of culpable blindness to facts, which in private life would be considered folly ineffable?

My Conservative friends who do me the honour to read thus far, will say: "Why, you think just as we do; why, then, do you join the 'atrocity cry,' and hamper the action of Government on platforms all over the country?" The answer is not difficult. I reply: Our premises are to a certain extent the same, because they rest upon immutable physical facts. Our conclusions, as to the right course for England to pursue, are totally different; because they are based upon totally different views of the motives that ought to guide public as well as private morality and policy. Does it follow that because I see, quite as plainly as you do, that the command of the Dardanelles is at present essential to England, therefore I must do violence to my conscience by being conveniently blind to the facts that frightful barbarities have been committed by Turkey, and that we, who placed her in the position so to abuse her power, are morally responsible for them, unless we not only indignantly repudiate all participation in her acts, but also take effective measures that she shall have no such power in the future! This is our solemn duty; we assumed it in the face of the whole civilised world in 1856. The barbarities that we deplore, you and I alike, have brought to light a lapse of duty on the part of Whig and Tory governments during the last twenty years. Keep the key of the Dardanelles in your hands as much as you like, but go to Constantinople, if you go at all, in a right cause, and not in a wrong one.

Which is more worthy of England, to be at Constantinople as the acknowledged protector and benefactor of fourteen millions of Christians, who would owe you eternal gratitude, because by your efforts you have persuaded or obliged—and I do not care which—Turkey to give them that good government, those equal rights, that security for life and for property and for female honour which in 1856 she solemnly pledged herself to do, or to be forced to go there in selfish self-defence. To be placed, some months hence, in the humiliating posture of being obliged to stand by and see Russia, after the loss of scores of thousands of lives on both sides, break down Turkey's resistance, cross the Balkan, and exact the same terms from her once again under the walls of Adrianople

as she did in 1829—is this a dignified or a worthy part for England to play? With what eyes will these Sclavonic Christians, of whom Lord Derby rightly said fourteen years ago that "they must inevitably be the dominant race in these provinces some day," look upon England in the future, after the miserable part you have played towards them in the past twelve months?

England might have been their champion, their deliverer, and they would henceforth have formed from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, and from the Pruth to the Balkan, over seven hundred miles of length, by three hundred miles of depth, your best, surest, and most permanent safeguard against Russian aggression on Constantinople —the advanced guard of your moral influence on the Danube. Your commerce and your road to India would have been guarded, not as they may have to be now, by 25,000 Englishmen ignominously cooped up behind earthworks under the walls of Constantinople, or, still worse, besieged within the lines of Bulair, while Russian influence reigns paramount elsewhere throughout Turkey, but by fourteen millions of flourishing, prosperous, grateful Christians, not one of whom, if you had stood by them, had the slightest desire to pass under the Russian yoke. Look at Roumania as an illustration. In the last twenty years her people have tasted enough of the blessings of free government to appreciate it. Throughout this past trying year they have shown not the slightest sympathy with Russia, or desire to throw off the nominal suzerainty of the Porte. Only now, when their territory is about to be entered by force, after vainly making their protest in the face of all Europe, they yield to pressure which they cannot resist, and submit to, rather than acquiesce in, the action of Russia.

Had Lord Derby thrown his weight unhesitatingly on the right side in April or May last, what is now true of Roumania might, a few months hence, have been the feeling towards us of Bosnia, of Herzegovina, of Montenegro, of Servia, and of all Bulgaria, without in the slightest degree alienating the friendship of the Porte itself, whose territorial integrity we should have secured by the very means that removed the intolerable grievances of the Christians. Be it remembered also that Servia appealed repeatedly, pathetically, almost imploringly, to England before in despair she threw herself into the arms of Russia.

To talk of the independence of the Ottoman empire, as Lord Beaconsfield did no later than the 9th of November, is childish. When a nation has got to that state that its tutelage by armed occupation comes to be discussed by all its neighbours in its own capital, its independence is a chimera. Territorial integrity is another thing. Who can foresee whether that can even be preserved in the events that may follow the Conference? But the best chance for its pre-

servation was that proposed by Mr. Gladstone in his pamphlet—virtual self-government for the Christian provinces, together with a nominal and tributary suzerainty of the Porte over all.

It is absurd to plead the miserable "non possumus" that this would have been a breach of the treaty of 1856. The Turks themselves were the first to break that treaty. They solemnly contracted in 1856 with us, as the other party to the contract, to give justice and equal rights to the Christians. The brutal massacres of Batak and Outluk-keni, massacres totally distinct from any measure of necessary suppression of a revolt, were an infringement of that compact. They tore it to pieces. The Porte had no longer a *locus standi* in resisting our demands to intervene, if only those demands had been pressed with energy and vigour.

That the Porte would have yielded to sufficient pressure from us there can be no reasonable doubt. She always *has* yielded when it was inevitable, at Navarino as at Adrianople; it is part of the religion of fatalists. The presence of our fleet was an argument that might have been made irresistible. On the spot, under the Seraglio windows, it would have been a visible and tangible power, far more effectual than Russian armies slowly gathering on the Pruth, over 300 miles away. No, it was not the means of coercion but the will that was wanting on our part. No armed intervention by troops in any force was necessary. Even a few English Commissioners of Indian experience, guarded by Turkish troops alone, would undoubtedly have sufficed to disarm the Turkish population of Bulgaria, if we had been in earnest. No one would have dared to lift a finger against them, with the *Devastation* and her sister giants threatening the Seraglio.

Supposing we had seen our way to proposing to assume the pacification of Bulgaria ourselves in May or June last, before the untoward events and unguarded language of the last few weeks had made its acceptance by Russia next to impossible, is there any reason to suppose that Russia would have objected? Why, as late as the 21st June, Prince Gortschakoff repeatedly pressed on us to "do something." Nay, this very proposition, to coerce the Turks by our fleet, is in the Czar's dispatch conversation with Lord Augustus Loftus on the 2nd November! Let any one turn to the dispatch and judge for himself. Nor was Russia alone in begging us to act with her. Austria asked it repeatedly. Italy on the 18th of May; Germany on the same date; France on the 17th of May. Nay, even Turkey herself begged us to interfere. The only answer she got from Lord Derby was—what? An intimation that the cruelties committed in Bulgaria were abominable, and could no longer be tolerated? A solemn warning that the evasion of immediate redress,

so far as it lay in her power, would be followed by strong measures of coercion? No—but an injunction to "make haste and put down the rebellion by her own means, as soon as possible!"

Is there any wonder that the Czar, after repeatedly asking us to interpose, after offering, as he did distinctly in his conversation of the 2nd of November with Lord A. Loftus—after the battle of Djunis, be it remarked—to waive occupation himself, if we would bring our fleet up into the Bosphorus, or take any other measures that we might consider likely to be effectual—is it strange that, stirred by the universal enthusiasm of his people—partly sympathy for a kindred race, partly religious fanaticism, if you will, against the hereditary enemies of their creed—he should at last lose patience and act for himself? What should we have done under similar circumstances?

Let twenty years more pass over her head, and who can say but that Russia, with the increasing enlightenment of her people, will renounce aggressive war, as we have done as a nation not so very many years ago. It is not fifty years since we thought annexation of territory a sacred duty in India. It is too much to expect that Russia, not two hundred years emerged from barbarism, the bulk of whose people were serfs till the present reign, should have an educated public opinion, or a national hatred of war, such as higher civilisation and higher advantages have only gradually implanted in the breasts of Englishmen themselves.

It may be that peace may yet be secured. God grant it may! But if it is it will be through concessions made by the Porte. By concessions gained mainly by the fact that the Liberals, through good report and evil report, undeterred by the parrot cry of "want of patriotism," have persistently hammered on their theme, so that it has at last penetrated even the dullest Turkish ears at Stamboul, that England will not fight to sustain their gross misrule.

This happy result will be due, if it be attained, more to Mr. Gladstone's courageous outspoken language—even where that outspokenness bordered on excess—than to any urgency on the part of Lord Derby, or to any conciliatory frankness of Lord Beaconsfield. And to this Liberal firmness, to those men who have been howled at as fanatics and decried as traitors, will it be due that the Porte is undeceived at last, and a peaceful solution secured. She has calculated all along, and the belief is plainly visible in every step she has taken, that England might say what she pleased, but could not and dare not desert her; because in self-defence she must hold to Constantinople in the end. How could she indeed think otherwise when English engineer officers have been hard at work, for the past six weeks, surveying the ground for the redoubts of the proposed line of Buyuk Chekmedgè and examining

the defences of Bulair.[1] But it is to be hoped that the voice of the English people, who have, and will keep, the ultimate decision of the question in their own hands, has now sounded unmistakably, telling Turkey that if through her obstinacy and self-will we are obliged to go to Constantinople, it will not be as their active allies, but to seize and hold it in our own interests only, and sternly to exact from them all that Russia may fail to exact. That though we hold their capital, we hold it in pledge for the interests of the Christians, and as the surest guarantee that her promises in their behalf shall not this time be evaded as in 1866. That if she shall prove recalcitrant, after Bulgaria is overrun by Russia, her armies may, with our full permission, pursue them to the walls of Constantinople, and exact peace under the very guns of our ironclads, who may have to help to bring them to reason, but will never draw lanyard in their defence.

I end this paper with the same terms with which I began it. It is true that the last word in the Eastern question, for Russia as for England, is, "Who shall have Constantinople?" But it is equally true that there is a first word in the discussion now pending, which contains and involves the last. For England rather than for Russia, we hope it is,—Who shall earn the best right to hold her position there, by moral influence, by the consent and suffrages of the surrounding people most concerned, by showing the widest, the deepest, and the least selfish interest in the welfare of all the races that inhabit Turkey, Christian as well as Mahomedan?

H. M. HAVELOCK.

(1) The lines of Bulair (in Turkish Plajar) defend the narrow neck of land—not more than three miles wide—which forms the most restricted part of the Isthmus of Gallipoli. A glance at the map will show that the possession of this point, with a corresponding one on the Asiatic shore, renders the entrance into the Dardanelles from the Sea of Marmora impossible. This defensive position was first taken up by the French, and subsequently by the English, when they landed in Turkey in April, 1854. It has again been examined by our engineers within the last few weeks.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

It has been rather a relief in the overcharged state of the political atmosphere, where so many tremendous issues hang unsettled, to have seen one battle well fought and won by the right side. There has been no domestic event of the month nearly so important as the election for the London School Board (November 30). The interest which has been taken in the proceedings goes a little way towards justifying those who believe that if London had the same decent and sensible sort of municipal government as other cities, its great council would be a formidable rival in the popular repute to the more august council at Westminster. In several of the districts there was a heavier poll for the Board candidates than there had been for the House of Commons candidates at the elections of three years ago, and in no district was the poll very appreciably lighter. There could not be a more satisfactory sign than this; it shows that though a member of the London Board is a less important person than a member of the imperial legislature, yet people are sufficiently affected by the sincerity or reality of the issues represented by Board candidates, compared with the formal professions and hollow shams of the average parliamentary candidate, to consider the first as at least as important as the last, and at least as well worth taking the trouble of voting for. This enlarged interest has been set down by the *Spectator* to the influence of the cumulative vote, which is supposed to give hope and encouragement to sets of people who would otherwise abstain, in the consciousness that they would inevitably be swamped by the majority. If this, however, were the true explanation, the same phenomenon—of an excess of educational over parliamentary voters—would have been observed in other places besides London, where the cumulative vote is equally the rule.

Apart, however, from this and other indirect aspects of the election, it was a proceeding of the highest value on its merits. The issue was stated by the organs of the ecclesiastical party before the decision, to be whether fair play was to be given to the Sectarian schools, or whether they were to be crushed out at the expense of the ratepayers. We should put it rather differently, as a decision that the work of popular instruction is being more satisfactorily conducted by a body of responsible representatives of the people, than it can be by knots of private and irresponsible persons acting under the clergy; and that if it is inevitable that the Sectarian schools must disappear, the ratepayers will endure that loss, rather than check the good work. The result has been a Board in which the Sectarian partisans will number about 20, as against 30 of the defenders of the popular schools. The church newspapers may well talk of the Roman defeat of Lake Trasimenus, though we may perhaps hope that Trasimenus will never be followed by a Zama. It makes the continued supply of instruction for the people of London secure for the

next three years to come. The attempt to stop the building of good municipal schools and the possession of good teachers, in favour of bad sectarian schools and indifferent teachers, has been thoroughly defeated. It is true that hardly any candidate—with perhaps a couple of exceptions—boldly took up the line that the Board, so far from spending too much, has not spent enough: that our best London schools, our standards, and the whole educational machinery, are still deplorably below the level of Germany. We believe that one meaning of the election was that this bold demand for still ampler and better instruction would have been popular. However, if there was no energetic pushing forward in this direction, it is a great thing to have escaped that ugly rush backwards, with which we have been so long menaced by the sectarian partisans. It is clear now that the ratepayers value popular instruction at its true worth, and that the old assertion about the impossibility of bringing the common Englishman to care about education is a great blunder. Another thing is clear, and it is as important and as satisfactory as the point we have just talked about. It is that the cry of a Low Rate, raised by the clerical party to protect their own sinister interests, ceases to bring ratepayers to the poll, as soon as ever they have really good reasons for believing that their money is honestly spent for great public institutions, of which they themselves have the control, and which they and their neighbours are to gain by and to enjoy. People may point to the refusal of so many districts to avail themselves of the Free Libraries Act. The answer to this is that we cannot expect Free Libraries to be universal—and they *are* very common, as it is—until the progress of popular instruction has multiplied the number of persons able to profit by them. Meanwhile, it is plain that the old cry against local self-government, drawn from the blind stinginess imputed to the ratepayers, is no longer worth listening to. So long as the ratepayers have confidence in the integrity and skill of the representatives they have chosen, and so long as they remain persuaded that the instruction of the common people is wise, beneficent, and in the long-run truly economical, their Boards may spend as much as they choose.

One other point remains to be noticed. The voters have read a useful lesson to the clerical party. The Englishman's intolerance of ecclesiastical dictation is, in some of its manifestations, not without vulgarity. But when ecclesiastics take up the position that they would rather see the children badly instructed, or not instructed at all, unless ecclesiastics are to have the control of the machinery, then our resentment is as wholesome an emotion as men can feel. The clerical party resorted to their usual devices. One of their most prominent leaders was publicly convicted of describing the candidate who afterwards headed the poll at Chelsea as an infidel and an atheist, though, as it happened, the candidate was really a member of the Society of Friends. Instead of retracting and apologising for his misrepresentation, Canon Cromwell endeavoured to escape by pretending that he did not mean any candidate in particular. It was then shown that, from the words he used, he could not possibly have meant any one except the candidate in question.

Yet the dignitary who has been guilty of this deplorable conduct—first of a reckless piece of electioneering misrepresentation, and then of an *attempt to evade what he had said—is the Principal of a College for training teachers!* How much more sensible it would have been if he had frankly and genially taken Admiral Maxse into his confidence:—"It is true I called Mr. Firth an infidel and an atheist. But that, dear sir, is notoriously mere *façon de parler*. It is only our clerical way of saying that we do not quite agree with him, that we should be glad if people would do him any small ill turn that comes in their way. We always call a man an infidel and an atheist who goes for giving parents some control over schools into which the law drives their children. What, you think it slightly irrelevant? It may seem so. But such language is the good old common form of the pulpit, sanctified by many centuries of venerable tradition. You cannot really suppose it injurious to Mr. Firth? Let me assure you that people take a large discount off our invective, just as they do off the expletives of one of your own sailors. However, as Mr. Firth is a Quaker, after all, and not an infidel and an atheist, as a gentleman and an honest man I feel bound to say openly from the pulpit next Sunday that I have done him a gross wrong, and that I am very sorry for it. For the future, I promise you to reserve my random vituperation for Mr. Darwin and the men of science; they, at any rate, allow us to say whatever we like, knowing, like sensible men of science as they are, that while invective is for us a cheap substitute for argument, it does not hurt them or their opinions the least in the world."

Perhaps this repulse of the clerical firebrands and their methods may make them wiser, as it has certainly made them sadder men. We venture to quote from that sensible and excellently conducted newspaper, the *Guardian*—sensible, we mean from its own point of view—what strikes the calmer observers among the clerical party as matter of "serious significance" about the recent election. "These elections," the *Guardian* says, "disclose a state of feeling in the working classes, in which they are prepared to believe any bold misstatement against the Church and the clergy, however unsupported by facts in the present, however signally contradicted by facts in the past. If we are inclined to think that some colour has been given to calumny on the present occasion by errors of policy, we yet must add that the colour would hardly have deceived any but jaundiced eyes. The significance of this fact goes far beyond the educational question. It will be undoubtedly increased, if the cause of the Church be identified with political conservatism. Feeling, as we do, convinced that the working classes are under a fatal delusion as to the power which should be their best friend—believing that only to the anti-Christian element of society, whether high or low, ought the Church to be an enemy—we commend this consideration, painful as it is, to every thoughful Churchman."

Meanwhile it is worth noticing, as against a certain consequence prophesied by Mr. Bright and others as sure to follow from the admission of women to the franchise, that the most emphatic rebuff received by the clergy for many years has taken place at an election in which women have a share. The clergy

have hitherto acquired their influence over women by treating them seriously. A good many women have now found out for the first time, that laymen too know how to treat them seriously, when their votes are wanted and can only be secured by rational argument. Many women now thoroughly understand the merits of the education controversy, who if they had not had votes would never have understood anything about it. To deny that this is a gain to their intelligence and public spirit, and therefore indirectly to the intelligence and public spirit of all within the sphere of such women, is to repudiate one of the great foundations of popular, as distinguished from arbitrary government.

From this refreshing domestic interlude, we have once more to turn our eyes to the gloomy perplexities of affairs in the East. Prince Bismarck, after silently allowing the European crisis to become sufficiently marked, at length broke silence. He made two speeches—one of them (December 2) informally at a parliamentary dinner; the other three days later in the Reichsrath. They throw that strong light upon the situation that might be expected from the authority, the keen sight, the full knowledge, and the verve and directness of the speaker. England, above all other countries, sees more clearly than the government allowed her to see before Prince Bismarck's speech, exactly where she stands, and what aid her Turcophil policy is likely to find from the other governments in Europe. That is to say, she can at this moment count upon no aid at all. In all belligerent aims she is isolated. Austria is still true to the Triple Alliance. So is Germany. France will not stir, nor will Italy. If England chooses to push things to an extremity against Russia, she will do so alone. This was the upshot of Prince Bismarck's criticism, so far as we are concerned. And his criticism may be said to sum up the result of Lord Salisbury's circuit of the European courts—a circuit that all the world followed with so much interest, and that reminded some persons of the celebrated travels of M. Thiers in the winter of 1870, in search of an ally for France.

Prince Bismarck's words, however, state the whole problem. A member of the Advanced Liberal party asked the Minister what action he proposed to take against the new measure of the Russian government, requiring all Customs duties to be paid in gold? This change is equivalent to an additional 80 per cent. of protective duty, and amounts to all but total prohibition. Prince Bismarck, in replying to this question, went at large into the position of Russia and the whole European prospect. In saying that he went at large into it, we do not mean that he poured out one of those discourses of five newspaper columns, to which we are accustomed in some of the statesmen of this country. What he did was to go to the centre and key of the matter in some two-thirds of a column. The master of so many legions can afford to be laconic. What Prince Bismarck said comes to something like the following:—

1. We cannot persuade Russia, any more than we can persuade the United States, to abandon a policy that shuts out all foreign manufactures. We could, in retaliation, impose a tax on the corn, hemp, tallow

(270,000,000 marks) that Russia sends to Germany. But that is a doubtful proposal at present.

2. We shall not retaliate by hindering Russian policy at Constantinople, because Russia might "take a note of it, and remember it to our disadvantage"—*i.e.* if ever we should be in trouble with France.

3. There is no ground to fear that Russia is going to annex new territory, to be injured by the same mischievous protective tariff. If this were otherwise, "the policy of all Europe would be changed."

4. In supporting Russia at the Conference, we are only furthering an aim which we recognise as no more her aim than it is our own—namely, the security of decent government for the Turkish provinces.

5. If war breaks out between Russia and Turkey, we shall be neutral.

6. As England and Russia are not in a geographical position to coerce one another, they will be unwise to go to war.

And there is a 7th point, made in the speech of Dec. 2; It is not England, but Austria, whose interests are vitally involved: "should Austria be seriously injured by the progress of events, then Germany would possibly deem it incumbent on her to offer to assist Austria." Or we may put it in another way:—If Austria ever seriously needs an ally against Russia, she will find one nearer home than England.

Germany, in short, cannot afford to quarrel with Russia, even if she wished, because then France would join Russia against her. On the other hand Germany cannot safely permit Russia to grow stronger, because she may any day become a bad neighbour instead of a good one. Therefore Austria must be energetically protected and invigorated, as an ally, if need be, to act on the south Russian flank. Here, then, in the latent suspicions and conditional antagonism between Russia and Germany is the heart of the situation.

The chief thesis of our unwise little war-party in England here is that the Cossack is the great danger to western civilization. If this be so, and exactly in so far as it is so, Germany is the power in whose strength, prosperity, and vigorous government, Europe has the most vital interest, because she is the Power best able from her position to deal with the alleged enemy of the West. The one gain of the Crimean war was that it kept Russia weak, until Germany had time to grow strong. So again in the greater war of six years ago. "Divided Germany," the present writer said in these pages in September 1870, "means preponderating Russia. What can be more desirable in the interests of the highest civilisation than the interposition in the heart of the European state-system of a powerful, industrious, intelligent, and progressive people, between the western nations and the Russian swarms."[1] Everybody to-day sees how just that was. Yet the same people who are now frothing at the mouth against Russia, were then frothing at the mouth against Germany. In 1870 and 1871 the same journalists who are now almost forgetting ordinary self-respect in their unbridled fury on behalf of the Turk, were most ardent for the success of France, most furious at the stern conditions of the peace, and

(1) *France and Germany.* Fortnightly Review, viii. 371.

most irritated against the English government of the day for not interfering against Germany—that is to say, against the very Power who is obviously our only natural ally against the one Power alleged to be our natural enemy. We merely refer to this as an illustration of the political incoherency of those men of the sword and men of the pen, who whenever there is trouble in Europe instantly become as quarrelsome, as mischievous, and as irrational as drunken brawlers at a fair. Such men are mistaken in taking for granted that weak sympathies are a guarantee for a strong judgment, or that because they have cold hearts they must therefore have good heads.

It is clear that Germany has more to fear from Russia than we can possibly have. This would be so, even if France were as good a friend to Germany as she is a bad friend. How much more, with that country watching her with sombre eye from over the western border. It is only with Germany, then, that England can co-operate permanently, if Russia be the danger which some suppose. There is no other Power. France will certainly not work against Russia, of whom she one day has many hopes. "Russia is our evil genius, our sinister temptress," cried a Frenchwoman not long ago; "we know that she is the most backward government in Europe; yet we are every day hankering after an alliance with her at all costs, for the sake of revenge on Germany."

It has often been said, and truly, that it is impossible for a country governed by popular constituencies, and where a shifting popular Chamber insists more and more steadily on controlling the executive, to have a settled system of alliances, or any other instrument of a longsighted and far-reaching foreign policy. In the sense of a formal system embodied in old-fashioned treaties, this is undeniably true. But in the sense of a definite conception of the general and continuous drift of our interests, there can be no reason why the leaders of opinion in the press and elsewhere should not keep the constituencies tolerably firm and straight over a long period of time. The task may be difficult, and just because it is so, England ought to hold as fast as she rightly can to non-intervention. But non-intervention, tempered by a close friendly understanding with Germany, is not impossible, nor is it a contradiction in terms. The alternative, which is intervention by zig-zags, is pure mischief. And so is a foreign policy, as Mr. Grant Duff is so wisely preaching to unwilling hearers, that not based upon knowledge, upon good information, upon the freshest and fullest details of what is going on, not only in the places where we happen to be interested to-day, but where we may be interested the day after to-morrow.

Upon the matters which absorb political interest at the present moment, English opinion is daily becoming more definitely settled at the point we described last month. That is to say, if there can be no guarantee of improved government in the provinces, save on condition of Russian occupation, then it is for us to welcome that occupation. If—as, on the other hand, is not in the least to be expected—Russia should be drawn in the course of a war with Turkey, too near to Constantinople, then England

should in company with the other Powers protest in whatever effective form they might agree upon. You say that the occupation of Bulgaria will be a permanent thing in spite of Russian promises; that to have Russia once planted south of the great defensive line of the Danube and the fortresses is to leave Constantinople open; that the Balkan, though not contemptible, is still not strong enough to make a tenable frontier for the possessor of Constantinople. Then, in that case, it is for statesmanship to find a combination, to construct a plan, that will solve the difficulty. That is what statesmen are meant for. You need some one to do for the Danubian provinces what Cavour did for Italy, and Bismarck did for Germany. Meanwhile, and in default of such an one, anything is more tolerable than the deliberate handing back of these people to the tender mercies of the Turks.

That seems to us, without prejudice or passion, to be the real mind of the constituencies at this moment, and to be likely to remain so. The malign efforts of the Prime Minister and part of the press to stir up the old jealousies of 1854, have signally failed; and by the way, it is to the honour of the Prime Minister's more respectable colleagues like the Duke of Richmond and Sir Stafford Northcote (Dec. 18), that they have not echoed his reckless talk. The popular conclusion is distinctly this; Russia is in the right in her demands that the Turkish subjects of her own race and creed shall have a certain measure of decent and humane government secured to them by solid and stringent guarantees. If Russia demands something else and more than this, which will put her in the wrong, then the case will be altered, and we shall change face accordingly.

Mr. Bright, in one of his most powerful speeches, made at Birmingham this month (Dec. 4), went further than this. He affirmed that the exclusion of Russian war vessels from free access between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean is unjust, and cannot be expected to endure. And as to English interests? "Italy, Austria, Turkey, France, all have fleets in the Mediterranean. Would the sky fall if half-a-dozen, or ten, or two or three Russian ships of war were permitted to navigate these Straits? Surely it is a very curious thing, that we who have the biggest fleet in the world—a rather bigger fleet than all the rest of the world put together—that we are the only alarmists in this matter. Yet this is the secret of our anxiety about Constantinople. Otherwise Constantinople matters nothing to us. It will only weaken Russia. Every acquisition of territory for the last fifty years has weakened her. Every soldier she has in Central Asia is so much a weakness to her now when she comes to have a struggle with Constantinople." All this is excellent sense, and it is impossible really to answer it, and more and more people are steadily beginning to feel that this is so. But that has not been the question immediately before the English constituencies. The question was, and probably is, whether we are to interfere, diplomatically or by force, to prevent Russia from coercing the Turks to concede the guarantees without which the whole turmoil, anxiety, bloodshed, misery, and ruin of the last twelve months will end in a humiliating farce. No man with a cool head, and proper knowledge of the state of the

constituencies, can seriously doubt how our people intend to answer this question. The remarkable gathering of peers, politicians, men of letters, clergymen of all the sects, which took place at St. James's Hall (Dec. 8),—whatever else way be said of it—was in perfect harmony with the feeling of the people of the provincial towns. No public meeting could be held in one of these towns on the other side. That in itself is significant. If it is said that the steady part of a constituency never go to meetings, then we point to the provincial press. Even the most moderate Liberal newspapers are as firm as their more strenuous contemporaries. Let us see an end, they say, of this infernal misrule in the Turkish provinces: as soon as the Anglo-Russian-Constantinople question comes in, then we will deal with it; but we are no longer going to be active parties to the perpetuation of Turkish cruelty and anarchy, even if we have, as the cost of Russian advance, to pay for a large addition to our Mediterranean fleet.

An important contribution to the great issue of our road to India, which underlies all discussion of the Eastern question in England, and colours all popular feeling about it, has been made by Sir George Campbell in his new volume.[1]

His argument is of this kind :—

"Granted that it may be possible that any one of several Powers, or two or three Powers combined, might, in the case of war, interrupt the traffic by the Suez Canal; we should not be ruined by that after all, nor would our hold of India be very seriously endangered. The Suez Canal is not the only route to India. There is the Cape route, which we have used, and which we may well use again. I don't think it is quite understood what the difference between the two routes really is. I believe that, taking Bombay as the nearest point, it is a question between a distance of 7,000 and 11,000 miles—a difference of say 4,000 miles. Certainly not by any calculation can the difference be made more than 5,000 miles, or twenty days' run by a good steamer. Three weeks' steaming then may be set down as the extreme difference between the route by the Cape and the route by Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. I put it so, but really the difference is not quite so much. No doubt it might cost something more to send our troops by the Cape route; but we have a very great abundance of fine ocean steamers, quite enough to carry all the troops that we should ever have available to send to India, if on occasion there should be a necessity to send them. And if now and again in extreme necessity we have to pay a little more for transport, and to use a route three weeks longer, what then? India is not a petty colony to be taken by a *coup-de-main*; it is a great military empire, with large resources in itself, and with the means of providing almost all military material in itself. If we cannot hold out for an additional three weeks while troops are coming round the Cape, our hold of the empire must be so weak that we had better give it up. How long does it take Russia to send troops into the heart of Turkistan? I take it, a period compared to which the voyage of our troops round the Cape would be a trifle."

(1) "Handy Book on the Eastern Question." Murray, 1876.

If such reasoning prevails, and acquires a firm hold on public opinion, the occupation of our war faction will be gone for years to come.

It is fairly to be hoped that the Ministry, in spite of its chief, now really understands the mind of the people, and that Lord Salisbury, while working with all skill and energy for the maintenance of peace, is prepared to stretch his notion of an adequate guarantee to the oppressed populations, beyond anything that Lord Derby seems hitherto to have sanctioned. So far as present reports go, it would seem that this is the case. After reaching Constantinople, Lord Salisbury took part in a series of preliminary conversations with General Ignatieff, as well as with the ministers of the Sultan. The result of these appears to have been an all-important concession on the subject of the guarantee. The English government assents to being a party to proposing to the Turk a superintendence of the execution of the reforms in the provinces, by a force from some small and unsuspected power, such as Belgium, Holland, Switzerland. To concede this is to concede all. Occupation by any foreign power whatever, by Belgium or by Russia, means that Lord Beaconsfield's talk about the independence of the Ottoman Empire is eviscerated and hollow. Considering what the past theory of the English government has been, occupation could only be accepted now as the very last remedy where every other had failed, even if it could be accepted at all. In this case, supposing all the small unsuspected Powers to decline the task which the Conference wishes to impose upon them, and supposing Russia to be the only available force for the purpose, what position can be taken against her,—the necessity of foreign supervision having once been definitely conceded?

If then occupation is necessary, and if, as is most overwhelmingly probable, the Porte will resist occupation, how can the sittings of the full Conference end in peace? It is true that there is said to be a certain reaction at work in Russia in the direction of peace. On the other hand, the Grand Vizier has been displaced in favour of Midhat Pasha, and Midhat represents not only whatever is enlightened and aspiring in Turkey, but whatever is most vigorous and confident. The optimistic theory that Turkey will yield to pressure at the last moment is in fact an unsupported assumption. The very decline of the war feeling in Russia—if it be a fact—is all the more likely to strengthen Turkish stubbornness or self-reliance. On the whole, therefore, the sanguine anticipations that followed Lord Salisbury's arrival at Constantinople, natural as they were, look at the present moment as if they were destined to be decisively falsified. And they may be so at any moment.

The French Republic has safely passed through another of those parliamentary crises which must be constantly recurrent where the structure of the government is so curiously and elaborately artificial. We see what the system of checks and balances comes to, in a country where it has not grown, but has been invented and imposed for the very purpose of preventing constant dead lock. The President is a soldier, and cannot believe that any one is so fit as himself to judge who shall be at the head of the military

administration. He looks upon himself, moreover, as in some way pledged in honour to the conservative side of things, and thus is not the neutral centre required for the working of a scheme imitated from our own monarchy. The Senate, again, is vitally unlike our Upper House in one all-important respect. The House of Lords in England represents a certain conservatism of ideas, but still more the conservatism of property. It is the latter that makes the smooth working of the machine the supreme consideration with them. They have so much to lose, that the notion of any disturbance in the government is appalling to them. The French Senate on the other hand represents Conservative ideas, rather than property and material interests, and is therefore not kept back by such considerations as affect the English peers, from thwarting the Lower House. Then again our Lower House is as much a representative of material interests as the Upper; this gives each body an immense common ground with the other, and the stake of material interests is what steadies politics. The French Deputies—rightly enough—study ideas as well as interests, and as their ideas in the present Assembly are markedly progressive, that they should come into collision with a Conservative Senate and a Conservative President is neither more nor less than inevitable. They cannot understand that the nation should have returned an enormous majority of liberals, and yet that they should be treated and should be expected to govern themselves as if they were not the great majority, but a very humble minority. Why, they asked, are we sent here merely to acquiesce in the timorous and inactive policy of M. Dufaure? Why are we, who represent the direct wish and voice of the nation, to conceal our aims and spoil our measures, lest we fall out with the prejudice of the Senate, an artifically constructed body, representing nothing beyond manipulation and intrigue?

We cannot wonder that the history of the new Assembly has been a history of fret and embarrassment, nor can we venture to hope that the new Ministry will be much more stable than the old. The fall of the Dufaure cabinet seems to have been due to curious want both of tact and of vigour. They were beaten on the proposal of a partial Amnesty in the Senate (Dec. 1), but the issue was a hollow issue, inasmuch as the President can do, and is willing to do, by his prerogative, what the ministerial proposal superfluously was to enable him to do by Act of Parliament. The next day—a date of ill savour in French history—the Chamber of Deputies voted by an immense majority an order of the day, practically to the effect that a member of the Legion of Honour, who should have chosen to be buried without the rites of the Church, is as much entitled to the usual compliment of a military escort as if he were buried with the rites of the Church. There can be no doubt that on all principles of freedom of conscience and religious equality the majority of the Deputies was perfectly in the right: the policy of General Berthaut, the War Minister, who decides the question of the escort, clearly inflicts a social penalty upon a conscientious scruple. And it is, by the way, a circumstance worth noting that in respect of religious honesty and plain-speaking the French are in advance

of us. There are at least as many free-thinkers in the English House of Commons as in the French Assembly, yet we can hardly suppose a majority of the House of Commons going out of its way to protest in favour of men being buried without ecclesiastical rites if they should think fit; nor can we imagine the English House of Commons suffering a leader to do as M. Gambetta did the other day, when he avowed himself a Free-thinker, though he was speaking in favour of the mission to the Pope. It is on this account, because the French treat religious courage and absolute religious equity seriously, that they were right in making a protest against the infliction of any slight upon the religious convictions of the minority.

The result of the fate of the Amnesty Bill in the Senate and the Military Honours Bill in the Chamber was that M. Dufaure considered himself snubbed and checked, and he resigned, to the great perplexity of the President, who has no taste for the nice refinements of a ministerial conscience. The President did his best to induce M. Dufaure to withdraw his resignation, and M. Dufaure was not unwilling. But it was too late. The Left were tired of M. Dufaure, and they were justified in letting it be understood that they resisted his return. The President was at his wits end. All kinds of modifications and combinations were proposed, but were hardly proposed before they were dismissed. M. Buffet advised him to dissolve. Another counsellor was for the formation of a Fourton, or strong conservative ministry, to be followed by an appeal to the country. The Duc de Broglie, from motives which are somewhat obscure, was for still keeping authority in the hands of the Left. Human nature is not seen at its best during a change of ministry, and France for nearly a fortnight saw the spectacle of intrigue, self-seeking, and meanness, which is a familiar feature in parliamentary crises. The end of it was the elevation of M. Jules Simon to the post from which M. Dufaure had fallen. This is much as if the late Mr. Mill had been made Prime Minister in succession, say, to Mr. Roebuck. We do not mean to compare Mr. Mill with Jules Simon in the more important intellectual and moral points. But M. Simon is a sort of thinker, and he is a thorough-going Liberal. Personal considerations, connected with the events of February, 1871, make him disagreeable to M. Gambetta, but Gambetta is shrewd enough and patriotic enough not to let personal considerations draw him out of the courses of wise policy. M. Simon made a declaration which has been favourably received. He announced himself as profoundly Republican, yet profoundly Conservative; as devoted to liberty of conscience, while sincerely respectful to religion. This is excellent, no doubt; such verbal antithesis exactly reproduces the real antithesis of the position, and is the true formula of conciliation. But M. Simon is too clever, too plausible, too dexterous, to make people take him for *un homme sérieux*. There are circumstances, however, in which consummate tact goes further than moral authority, and such appear to be the political circumstances of France at the present moment. The difficulties of the situation are immense. All that can be said is that the appointment of a minister who is

in accord with the robustly liberal sentiment of the majority seems to be a distinct step towards lessening these difficulties.

To turn to the other great Republic. The electoral colleges met on the first Wednesday of the month, gave their votes, sealed them and sent the certificates to the President of the Senate, who will open them on the 14th of February. Mr. Tilden is known to have 184 undisputed votes; Mr. Hayes has 185, but his number is only made up by counting 22 votes whose legality is disputed on the ground of disqualification of the electors from one state, and of invalid return from Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. The question turns on the authority and method of deciding the legality of these 22 votes. The Constitution provides no machinery to meet the case that has arisen. For a moment there was some excitement in the country, though, considering the importance of the issue, both sides showed remarkable temper and self-control. After a good many other proposals had been made for settling the difficulty,—including one of most equivocal expediency for transferring the matter from the Legislative to the Supreme Court—it has been decided that a Joint Committee of the two Houses shall frame a measure for settling the difficulty. The result with which the best men of both parties are willing to be content, if it can be reached by some just and convenient means, is the return of Mr. Tilden as President, with Mr. Wheeler, the Republican candidate, for Vice-President. The chief object of human interest underneath all this party agitation is the effect that a transfer of power to the Democrats will have upon the negro population of the rebel states. If the Democratic government should prove to be what there is too much reason to expect, a silent accomplice in a system of terrorism of the Blacks by the Whites, then the election of Mr. Tilden will be a great misfortune. At the same time, it cannot be said that the Republicans have been so successful in dealing with the new society in the South, as to make it unreasonable in the American people to wish to try the experiment of the rival party.

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THE

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## MUNICIPAL PUBLIC-HOUSES.

THE trenchant criticism with which in the last number of this Review Mr. Lowe has assailed what he has termed the Birmingham plan of public-house reform will be welcomed by the friends of the new movement for two reasons:—firstly, because it is a distinct gain to any cause that an opponent of Mr. Lowe's position, ability, and acuteness should deem it worthy of serious examination, and should submit it to the test of his searching analysis before it has taken final and definite shape; and, secondly, because his argument in this instance, if accepted and carried to its logical conclusion, must lead to an alternative, which the majority of people would consider a *reductio ad absurdum*, that is to say, to free trade in drink. Mr. Lowe himself is, of course, fully aware of the result to which his reasoning tends, and does not shrink from it; exhibiting in this respect a courage of his opinions which merits more than the ironical praise awarded by him to the Birmingham "Six hundred," for their daring acceptance of the proposals which he condemns.

Mr. Lowe, however, has not apparently contemplated the full consequences of his own proposition. If free trade principles are, as he contends, as properly applicable to the supply of strong drink as to that of any other article of consumption, he must be prepared to sweep away the restrictions which now exist in the shape of enormous duties levied by the excise and customs, and in the shape of licences. And further, it is even doubtful if the stringent police regulations, which the Committee of 1854 were willing to concede, could be enforced consistently with Mr. Lowe's present views. All such restrictions, which it must be assumed would be of the same nature as those which now exist, tend to limit the supply and to act in restraint of trade.

They are not applied in the case of the other articles, free and unrestricted competition in which, we are rightly told, is the charter of the poor. The baker is not compelled to close at certain prescribed

times; the butcher is not specially prohibited from selling meat to children of tender years, nor from harbouring bad characters; and the grocer is not required to pay a licence fee, nor to live in a house rated at a statutory minimum to the relief of the poor.

These exceptional conditions surely point to an exceptional trade, and we may be permitted to doubt whether the economical results of freedom are exactly the objects at which the community should aim in dealing with a traffic whose existence is the undisputed cause of a great proportion of the pauperism, lunacy, and crime with which the country is afflicted. Let it be granted that free trade will secure the largest possible development in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks, as it has already promoted this result in other branches of our commerce: we have still to be convinced that the knowledge of what is to follow will justify the course suggested. It is, however, curious to couple with the statement of this economical truth, Mr. Lowe's observation that drunkenness "does not at all depend on the number or paucity of public-houses as compared with the population." If this were capable of proof it would be inconsistent with the general argument, and would lend some colour to what Mr. Lowe calls "the monstrous delusion" that monopoly is the life and soul of commerce; for it would show that freedom of trade and consequent competition do not, as is commonly assumed, promote consumption. Some advocates of free licensing have gone farther than Mr. Lowe, and have roundly asserted that the multiplication of public-houses has a tendency to diminish intemperance. They have been misled by some selected statistics, published in the *Times* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* some time ago, which compared the state of things, as regards drunkenness and the proportion of public-houses, in different towns; but it will be easy to show that such figures are entirely misleading.

The accompanying diagram will exhibit, at a glance, the condition of matters in every town in England and Wales with more than 20,000 population. They are arranged in the order of the number of public-houses to population, decreasing from one in 100 in the case of Cambridge, to one in 340 in the case of Plymouth. The black line shows the rate of decrease in its inclination from the left to the right hand of the page. The red line marks the proportion of persons proceeded against for drunkenness to population, which varies from one in 500 in Cambridge and Maidstone, to one in 20 in Tynemouth, Liverpool, and South Shields. It will be observed that these proportions are not absolutely exact, as the squares represent variations of one in 10 in the population, and all odd figures are omitted. It must be evident that if the paradox of the supporters of free trade in drink were sustainable by these statistics, the red line would incline throughout from right to left in the opposite direction

to the black line; but it will be seen that it crosses backwards and forwards, with no approach to any order of law. The absence of uniformity in the results is, of course, only negative evidence, but it leaves the question to be determined by reference to other facts and considerations than those based on judicial statistics. What is needed is a comparison between two towns similar in all their circumstances; in the number, habits, rate of wages, and occupations of their population; in their climate and situation; in the character of the licensed houses; and, above all, in the nature of their police arrangements, the stringency with which they are enforced, and the general feeling on the subject of the magistracy and local authorities.

In the absence of any such elements of fair comparison, some weight must be attached to the opinion of the magistrates of Liverpool, who, although they did not try the experiment of free trade long enough to satisfy Mr. Lowe, were nevertheless so thoroughly alarmed at the results of some years' experience that they reverted to the old system, and cannot now be persuaded to risk a further assertion of strict economical principles. Their view is confirmed by the almost unanimous testimony of magistrates, local authorities, and superintendents of police, that the inordinate multiplication of beershops, under the free system, has been the direct cause of much of the prevailing intemperance. In connection with this part of the subject, it may be well to point out that though the unlimited creation of beer licenses has led to a large increase of consumption, Mr. Lowe's infallible law has failed to provide the "absolute guarantee" of lowest price and best quality; for it is unfortunately the fact that the liquor supplied by these houses is frequently adulterated, and is almost always unwholesome and unduly charged with intoxicating elements.

There is one other objection to free trade which will be felt by Mr. Lowe, although it will not be raised by the temperance party. He strongly denounces the tyranny involved in destroying the property of the publican by legislation, and without compensation, yet favours a proposal which would mulct the owners of licensed houses and their tenants of many millions sterling. This class of property is changing hands every day, and under the present system of restriction the value of a freehold is increased by fifty per cent. when a licence is attached to it. This premium would disappear in a day if Parliament were to decide to open the business to all comers; and the publicans may be excused if they think that while Solomon chastised them with whips, Rehoboam would chastise them with scorpions.

Passing now from Mr. Lowe's alternative to the plan which he condemns, it will be well to say at the outset that he is mistaken in

supposing that it has grown bolder, or changed in any way, as the discussion has progressed. In the limits of a speech or an article, it has been impossible to repeat all the details of such a scheme, but the principles suggested for adoption are and always have been, first, that Parliament should be asked to give the necessary power to local authorities to buy up existing rights on fair terms—such power to be permissive, and not compulsory; and, secondly, that after having exercised this power, local authorities should be authorised to deal with the property as they may think best in the interests of the community they represent, subject to provisions excluding the possibility of individual interest in the sale of liquor, and to any other conditions which Parliament might think it necessary to require, in order to prevent the possibility of a misuse of the power conferred. It will be seen that this plan will lend itself to varied experiment: a corporation might buy up a portion of the licenses only and extinguish them, as Mr. Lowe suggests, though it would be very foolish if it did anything of the sort, thus subsidising the remaining publicans at the expense of the ratepayers. But it might buy up all, and, after extinguishing one-half, let the remainder to individuals for short terms under stringent conditions; or it might grant the whole of the number which it retained to a company formed on the model of the Gothenburg Bolag; and, lastly, it might boldly take the whole responsibility on itself, and carry on the trade for the convenience of the inhabitants. As the last of these possibilities is the one which presents the greatest promise of success and advantage, it is to this that the argument has hitherto been chiefly directed, but this does not exclude the alternatives mentioned.

It is of this proposal that Mr. Lowe says that "it is most probable that Parliament would submit to almost anything rather than establish so violent and dangerous a precedent." And the *Times* newspaper, in an able article on the subject, asserts in positive terms that it is simply impossible that such a scheme should become law in England. These confident predictions are very much to be regretted, for there is no doubt that they tend strongly to secure their own accomplishment. The prejudice against novelty in this country is very ready to shelter itself behind the authority of the *Times*, but it is to be hoped that its decree is not irreversible, and that a larger acquaintance with the exact nature of proposals which, we may admit, have hitherto been imperfectly explained and appreciated, will secure the friendly advocacy of a reform which, after all, was originally suggested by the *Times* itself. In a leading article, published on September 2, 1875, we read:—

"If the municipality itself had the monopoly of the sale of liquors, it could gradually substitute for the public-houses now existing, a smaller number, at

convenient distances from each other, furnished so as to supply every legitimate want, and leased under terms of strict supervision. The profits made of the rental of such places would enable the municipality to build places of amusement that might be leased in a similar way, and the experiment would be at once financially and socially successful. We are not, indeed, persuaded that the experiment would be at once begun at Liverpool even if power were given to try it; but there are localities where the example of Gothenburg would be followed if the law gave facilities for such a policy, and it is a strained timidity that shrinks from permitting municipalities to make experiments which, whether successful or not, would be equally instructive to the Legislature and to the country."[1]

In giving the authority which this article suggests, Parliament would not be creating any novel or exceptional precedent. When Mr. Lowe says that "the forcible suppression of a lawful trade is a proceeding which no English Parliament has ever been asked to venture on," he forgets the suppression of the slave trade, and of lotteries and gambling-houses, which were considered lawful, and even, in the first case, of divine ordination, until the legislature prohibited them; and he overlooks the more recent and more analogous suppression of the private trade in coining, letter carrying, and telegraphy. Besides these instances in Imperial legislation, we may appeal to the constant practice and inclination of Parliament to enable corporations to obtain control of the trade in gas and water in their respective districts; and, only last session, a private bill was passed, which conferred on the corporation of Middlesborough compulsory powers of purchase of the undertakings of the private companies till then entrusted with this supply. The Artisans' Dwellings Act of 1875 is another case in point, and under its provisions the corporation of Birmingham are now engaged in acquiring nearly one hundred and twenty of the licensed houses in the Borough, besides the premises and occupation of many other trades. The foundation of this legislation is, the supreme interest of the community in the objects of the acquisition; and if, as Mr Lowe concedes, the people have a dormant joint interest with the proprietor of land, it is equally certain that they have an active interest in the conduct and regulation of a trade which, as now carried on, lowers the morality, injures the health, and destroys the lives of thousands of their number, and enormously increases the burdens on the temperate portion of the community.

There is no fear that the application of this principle will be pressed too far. It is limited by the consideration that only where

(1) Since the above lines were put into type, the *Times* has reverted to its earlier and better mind. "In the experience of Gothenburg," says the *Times* of January 20, 1877, "we have facts to which appeal can be made, and they make it plain that where public houses are diminished, drunkenness is diminished also. It does not necessarily follow that what has happened there would happen here also, but we cannot help saying, with the Bishop of Manchester, that we should like to see it tried. Why should not a municipality make the experiment if it wishes?"

any trade is of such a character that its monopoly must be conceded to individuals, or restriction and regulations imposed, in the interests of the inhabitants, that the corporations, as representing the whole population, are entitled to claim possession and control. Those who think that the liquor trade may safely be left to the unrestrained operation of the ordinary laws of supply and demand are perfectly justified in resisting any attempt to place it in the hands of local authorities: those who believe that it must be confined to selected persons, under exceptional conditions, will do well to consider whether municipal management will not best secure the observance of these conditions, while retaining for the benefit of the whole body the profits of the monopoly which it is found necessary to create in the interests of public order and morality.

But even if Parliament should be willing to concede the powers asked for, the town council of Birmingham, or of any other town, Mr. Lowe thinks, would be "very foolish to exercise them. The town council of Birmingham thinks otherwise. By a majority of forty-six to ten they have adopted the resolution which had previously received the unanimous approval of the Board of Guardians. The opinion of these local authorities is entitled to consideration. They number together about one hundred and twenty gentlemen, many of whom have the management of large trading mercantile concerns, and all of whom are eminently well versed in the administration of local affairs. They administer a total annual public revenue from all sources of nearly one million sterling; they employ thousands of persons on the public works of the town and in the management of the public institutions; and they are directly representative of nearly four hundred thousand persons whose interests they serve and whose confidence they possess. Is it not at least possible that these practical and experienced men of business, who have successfully conducted such vast operations, may be in as good a position to judge of the advantage of a system of municipal control as any man or set of men in the world? It is, of course, conceivable that, as was suggested by the chairman of a Licensed Victuallers' dinner the other day, all Birmingham has gone mad; but there is method in this madness, and matter for serious consideration.

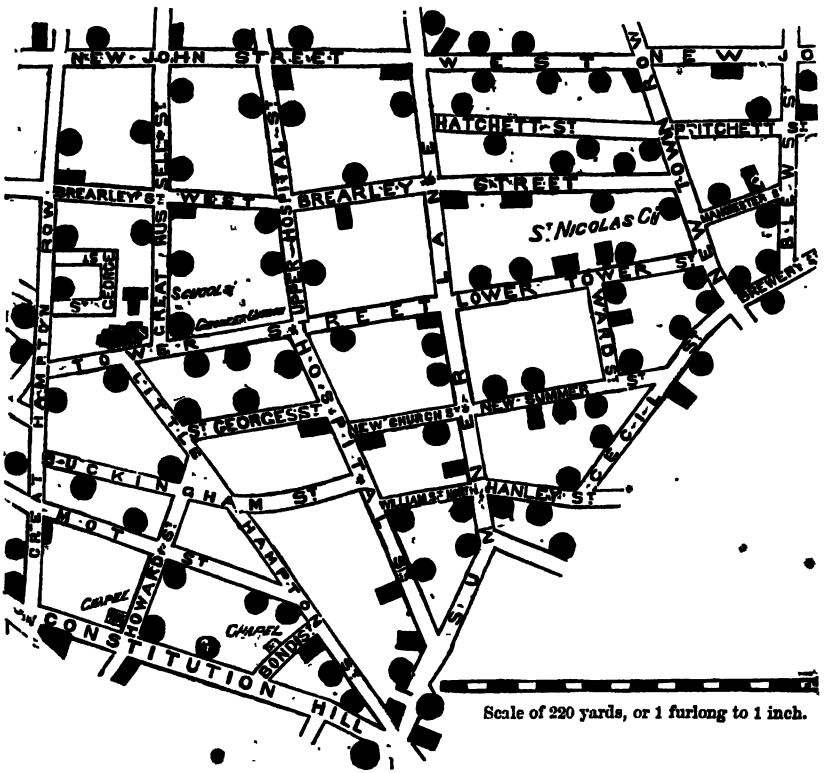
The governing bodies of Birmingham expect two results from the adoption of the proposed reforms: 1. A diminution of intemperance and a reduction in crime and disorder; and 2. A considerable profit on the sale of liquor, which may be devoted to educational purposes and to the relief of the poor. These anticipations are based on the hope that Parliament will grant powers, as in the case of the Artisans' Dwellings Act, for the acquisition of the existing interests on reasonable and not exorbitant terms. Failing this condition,

there is not the least probability that any corporation would avail itself of authority to purchase; but if, in view of the enormous evils which attend the private sale, and having regard to the exceptional character of the property which has been in great part the creation of past legislation and is still subject to all the incidents of future regulation, restriction, and even extinction, should either Mr. Lowe's proposals or Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Bill become law, the legislature should be willing to promote the public acquisition of this undertaking at something like the present market value, then it may safely be assumed that the experiment will be made on a large scale and with every assurance of satisfactory results. At the present value of licensed property, private individuals, of no special capacity, and with all the disadvantage of limited capital and excessive competition, make large profits. The community, acting through its representatives, has the command of unlimited means at the lowest rate of interest; it would buy wholesale and at the lowest prices, and it would have the immense advantage of being able to carry on the business in less than half the present number of houses, and with a consequent saving in rent, taxes, gas, management, and sundries. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in criticizing this argument, erroneously assumes that to close superfluous houses is to abandon the trade carried on in them; whereas all legitimate business would simply be transferred and not extinguished. Mr. Lowe, on the other hand, argues that the reduction in the number of houses is not likely to reduce consumption, and it will be seen that these contentions are mutually destructive. The truth lies between them; there will be a reduction in drinking, but not so large as to involve a loss. To show how this may be accomplished it is only necessary to point to the accompanying plan on p. 154, which exhibits the present arrangement of licensed houses in a part of Birmingham. It should be stated that the condition of things here shown is not exceptional, and that there are many parts of the town where the houses are even more closely packed; while a reference to the table, facing p. 148, will prove that there are forty-three large towns in England and Wales which have more licences to population than Birmingham. But even in the district selected for illustration, it will be found that there is one licence for every sixty-five yards square, and that the average distance of one house from the other is therefore less than two hundred feet.

Now will any sensible man contend that a provision of this kind is necessary for the legitimate accommodation of the people? Taking the principal articles of consumption in which freedom of trade prevails, it appears that there are in Birmingham one grocer to every three publicans, two bakers to seven publicans, and one butcher to four publicans; and it may be reasonably assumed that the whole

of the trade in drink might be conveniently undertaken in one-third of the existing premises. This would interpose no serious interval in time or space, and Mr. Lowe has shown by very cogent reasoning that the ordinary workman is not likely, under such circumstances, to be deterred from his ordinary consumption. It is not any part of

THIS MAP REPRESENTS PORTIONS OF ST. PAUL'S AND ST. STEPHEN'S WARDS BIRMINGHAM, WITH A WORKING-CLASS POPULATION, AND SHOWS THE NUMBER OF PUBLIC-HOUSES AND BEER-SHOPS.




| Houses with Spirit Licenses.

Houses with Beer Licenses.

the plan that he should be, and the objects of the promoters would be fully answered by such a moderate reduction in the amount of drinking as would eliminate the cases of excess and put a stop to those worst results of drinking which alone justify the interference

of the State. To take away from the purveyors of drink all temptation to extend the sale; to stop the competition which forces the least respectable and successful members of the trade to resort to all kinds of meretricious attraction, and continually to devise new stimulants to a depraved habit; to offer to all the enjoyment of warmth and light and company, without even the tacit obligation to drink for the good of the house; and, in a word, to turn the gin palaces and drinking saloons of our large towns into comfortable and orderly working men's clubs, such as that recently described by Messrs. H. R. Williams & Co., in the columns of the *Times*, would surely result in a social and moral improvement of incalculable benefit to the whole community.

The supposition that the respectable consumer would suffer from the incivility or indifference of the manager, is grounded on an insufficient acquaintance with the plan, one prominent feature of which is the restoration of the houses to their original trade of victuallers, and the inclusion of food and non-intoxicating drinks in the articles of sale. The profit of the manager would be wholly, or in part, dependent on this portion of the business, and he could not therefore afford to be uncivil to those who were, or might be, contributors to his income.

Mr. Lowe, I think, has passed over far too lightly the effect of the plan in connection with the observance of police regulations. The Birmingham town council could give much practical information as to the possibility, under existing conditions, of securing this observance, and as to the utter hopelessness of enforcing any more stringent control, such as the Committee of 1854 appears to have contemplated. In Liverpool, in 1874, there were twenty-three thousand arrests for drunkenness, and only three convictions of publicans for supplying drunken persons with drink. Similar returns may be obtained from every large town, and it will be apparent that if the publican is interested in breaking the law and willing to do so, he cannot be brought to justice except by the evidence of hired witnesses in plain clothes, whose testimony is naturally received with suspicion, and whose employment is open to the gravest objections.

The prevention of adulteration is another important gain which Mr. Lowe seems inclined to dispute. Relying on the terminology of political economy, he inclines to the belief that the corporations of England, being invested with what he calls a monopoly, will proceed, in the interest of some persons unknown, to adulterate the beer and spirits they supply. Apart from indifference to the experience of local self-government, as practised in the provincial towns, this supposition involves a certain misuse of the word "monopoly" with which Mr. Lowe brands the whole system of municipal control throughout his argument.

Monopolies are unpopular in English ears because of their historical origin and meaning. In past times they were the exclusive grant by the crown to some court sycophant of the sole right of trade in a particular commodity; and in all these cases they were an extortion from the community for the benefit of individuals, and the interest of the consumer was distinct from and antagonistic to the interest of the monopolist. But a municipal monopoly is not monopoly at all, but, as has been well said, a "demopoly" in which the whole people co-operate for the common convenience and advantage. In place of the one thousand eight hundred private individuals who now pocket the gains of the liquor traffic in Birmingham, it is proposed to substitute a company with three hundred and eighty thousand share-holders, and with a board of directors, called the town council, who are removable at the pleasure of the constituency.

The idea that one of our provincial councils is in any way distinct from, or has interests opposed to, the community from which it derives its authority, is contrary to the principle of popular representation, and is altogether unfounded on facts and experience. A board of guardians, elected under Sturges Bourne's Act, and representing property rather than persons, a school board, elected under the cumulative vote, and representing sectarian jealousy rather than the will of the people, a House of Commons returned by a fraction of the male inhabitants of the country, with electoral weight capriciously distributed—these may have interests and inclinations opposed to those of the community, but not a body like the town councils of our large towns, elected under the Municipal Acts by the votes of all the ratepayers, and subject to the direct influence and control of public opinion.

It might be argued that, although these considerations dispose of the question of monopoly, they only add force to Mr. Lowe's fears that popular control is in itself an evil, and will lead to agitation either, on the one hand, for cheap liquor and increased drinking, or, on the other, for increased facilities to drink in order to secure a reduction in the rates out of larger profits. The constituencies are not so simple. The drunkards and heavy drinkers, who alone would advocate an unfairly diminished charge for drink, are everywhere in a hopeless minority; and the mass of the population is perfectly well aware of the indirect cost of intemperance, and would not, under any circumstances, commit the fatal mistake of striving to increase consumption by any artificial means. An agitation with such an object would be ridiculous and fruitless, and those who best know the feelings and instincts of the constituencies will feel most assured that in such a controversy—

"The common sense of most will wrap a fretful realm in awe."

Hardly less unpractical is Mr. Lowe's apprehension that the patronage which the plan would place in the hands of town councils might turn the boroughs into hotbeds of corruption, and the still more curious suspicion that these bodies would adopt the American precedent. What possible foundation is there for this assumption? Town councils, in places where the gas and water are managed by the corporation, have already a much larger number of offices in their gift than would be bestowed upon them by the control of the liquor traffic. Yet it may be confidently asserted that there is not a single case in the history of local self-government since the passing of the Municipal Acts, in which the tenure of stipendiary corporate offices has been made dependent on party changes. In most cases the salaried servants of our local authorities are elected independently of political opinion, and in all cases they hold their posts for life, and during good behaviour. And even if, as sometimes happens, the party in power fills any casual vacancies with men of its own political opinions, there is nothing in such a practice to cause alarm, when we remember that almost all the judicial appointments in this country, the selection of members of the episcopal bench, and of the permanent officers of State departments, have been made under similar conditions, without any serious injury to the administration of justice, the cause of religion, or the service of the nation on this account. And no one has alleged that the acquisition of the telegraphs and the management of the Post Office have introduced corruption into public life or led to the adoption of the American precedent.

On the other hand, Mr. Lowe forgets the grave evils which attend the present influence of the drink sellers on political questions;—the serious degradation of public life and the lowered tone of political morality. The country has only recently escaped (if indeed the danger be wholly past) the shame and humiliation of an unjust war in support of a barbarous power and cruel tyranny; and the risk which we have run is directly due to the interference of the publicans in the last general election and the consequent defeat of the Liberal party. Is it not right to set the certain gain of excluding this baneful influence from our national politics against the exceedingly improbable contingency of a possible local corruption, which, if it ever existed, would sooner or later be put down with a strong hand by the good feeling and common sense of the majority of the constituency?

The *Economist* newspaper, in an article dated January 13, has not only adopted Mr. Lowe's anticipations of municipal jobbery, but has invented a new bugbear of its own, and gravely asserts that "it is quite certain that the brewers and distillers would, under the

Gothenburg system, buy up the town councils, as they now buy up the public-houses." *It is most disheartening to all believers in* progress to find that so many public men, our journalists and politicians, are so completely "up in a balloon," and so ignorant of the conditions of our local life. The assertion of the *Golos*, that Lord Beaconsfield's policy was the consequence of stock-jobbing transactions with Baron Rothschild, is not one whit more absurd than this kind of libel on our municipal institutions. It is passing strange that the shrewd writers who could read so useful a lesson to continental *gobemouches* on their avidity for such scandalous gossip, should yet be ready to swallow, open-mouthed, a calumny which is falsified by the whole of our local history. There are nearly three hundred corporations in this country, and, during the forty years which have followed the passing of the Municipal Acts, it is probable that at least 50,000 persons have filled honorary corporate offices. Yet there is no case on record of anything like organized corruption or abuse of powers; and, with very few individual exceptions, local work has been performed with singular efficiency, discretion, and purity. Charges are frequently brought against local authorities of neglect of sanitary work, but it must be recollected that sanitary science itself is the creation of the last few years, and that even now its principles are not unanimously accepted. When doctors disagree it may well happen that those who are entrusted with the public purse should hesitate to incur the certain evils of large expenditure to secure results which are more than doubtful; but, speaking generally, the practice of our local authorities is always in advance of the average intelligence of the population, and there is no parallel in the instance of any private company, or of any government department, of so much work achieved with so little alloy of interested and unworthy motive. The attacks which are thus so thoughtlessly made on those who unselfishly devote themselves to a most useful and important, if not glorious work, and who are doing their best to promote the political education of the nation and to leave the world a little better than they found it by adding to the comfort, happiness, and security of the people amongst whom they live, are as unwise as they are unjust. They tend to lessen the estimation in which the performance of local duty is held by those engaged in the work, as well as by the constituencies; they deter the best and ablest of our citizens from taking their share of responsibility; and, while lowering the character of the representatives, they react on the work which they are called upon to discharge.

If the writer in the *Economist* would sit down calmly to draw up a scheme of operations for big brewers immoral enough to desire to buy up a corporation, and would submit his plan to any member of a town council, he would find that the difficulties in the way of a

"ring" for such a purpose would render the speculation very unattractive. After all, the temptation to such a course is not very great. The trade of the brewers will not be destroyed; their customers will be less numerous but more responsible, and the absence of bad debts will enable them to make larger profits or to quote lower prices. It is not pretended that the owners of collieries have found it necessary to buy up corporations in order to secure the supply of coal and slack to the gas works; and there is no reason to suppose that town councils would be less honest in their purchases of beer than in their contracts for other articles of which they are now very large consumers.

In conclusion, a protest must be made against the too convenient optimism with which Mr. Lowe regards existing evils. We must be gifted with extraordinary power of closing our eyes to all that is disagreeable, and with some indifference to our individual responsibilities, if we can "be content if we see causes at work which tend to the ultimate eradication" of the evils of intemperance. There are, doubtless, causes at work which tend to the ultimate eradication of everything, but to ask the present generation to wear contentedly the Devil's Chain, to endure with patience the misery, disease, and sin which existing arrangements involve, to acknowledge the utter fruitlessness of well-directed efforts for the betterment of the condition of the race, undermined as they are by the effects of the traffic, and to do all this in the vague expectation of ultimate improvement, is to appeal to a selfishness which fortunately does not exist, and which would be destructive of the hope and promise of brighter days.

It is no consolation to the families whose happiness has been wrecked, and whose homes have been rendered desolate by the intemperance of one or more of their number—it is no compensation to those whose means are straitened, and whose opportunities of recreation and improvement are cut off by the pressure of rates swollen by the direct consequences of the traffic in drink—to be told that a century or two hence the millennium is expected, and that causes are at work which may ultimately relieve their remote descendants from the penalties which the present generation is required to pay.

"It had not much
Consoled the race of mastodons to know,
Before they went to fossil, that anon,
Their place should quicken with the elephant;
They were not elephants, but mastodons:
And I, a man as men are now, and not
As men may be hereafter, feel with men
In the agonising present."

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

# SHALL WE CREATE A NEW UNIVERSITY?

For some months a paper has been in circulation signed by several professors of Owens College, Manchester, inviting opinions as to the expediency of soliciting for the college a Royal Charter, raising it to the position of an university. Of twenty-five answers which have been received, sixteen may be regarded as distinctly favourable, the rest state doubts and difficulties, or dissents. One point in favour of Owens College we are happy to see is admitted on all hands; all agree that Owen's College is an excellent institution, of great and increasing value to the important district in which it is situated, and worthy of all encouragement that can fairly be given to it.

The question which we wish to consider is, whether, as seems to be assumed by many persons, this alone is sufficient; or whether there are not other considerations, which must be carefully weighed, before an assent can be given to the proposal to grant the status of an university to this or any equally meritorious institution. What, then, does Owens College need, when it is already a teaching institution, with suitable buildings and a staff of professors capable of giving instruction in a great variety of subjects, to students who have left school and are qualified to enter on the higher branches of study?

There can we think be no doubt, that, in the British Isles at any rate, the distinctive mark of an university is a grant from the Crown of the power of conferring degrees. We have the London University which does not teach, and Scotch and Irish Universities which do not possess affiliated colleges. Teaching and affiliation therefore cannot be the distinguishing mark. But we have no university which has not the power of conferring degrees. Owens College could easily incorporate itself under the Joint Stock Companies Act. The only thing it cannot do without the aid and favour of the State is to confer degrees.

These degrees were not originally given to students as such. They were the certificates given by the society of teachers, that their recipients were competent to teach. As the degree was conferred by the teachers themselves, we may feel quite sure that in those times the degree was not knowingly or intentionally degraded. The teachers had their own dignity to support in supporting the dignity of their order. We may feel sure that in those days, according to the standard of the time, the bachelors were not *baculo potius quam laurea digni*, nor the *magistri artium sine artibus*.

But in an evil hour it seems to have occurred to our universities that these degrees might be turned to better account than by confining them to teachers, and that by conferring them on students on their leaving the university an additional inducement to go there might

be created. These degrees were given without examination, and the practice, at least in the University of Oxford, lasted up to the beginning of the present century.

It is very necessary, in order to have a clear understanding of this subject, to distinguish between degrees of which we hear little, and honours of which we hear a great deal: between the first-rate article that flaunts in the shop window and the very inferior commodity that is sold inside. Like the tradesmen to whom we have been so irreverent as to compare them, the real business of the universities is not with the show goods which they put forward, but with the actual article in which they deal. The reputation of our two great universities must ultimately stand or fall, whenever there is created a public opinion sufficiently enlightened to examine the subject, by the manner in which they shall appear to have taught and dealt with the great mass of the students whom they undertake to educate. It is very instructive to watch the conduct of the two universities as regards honours and degrees. Honours, such as the title of wrangler or senior optime at Cambridge, or first or second class at Oxford, were the mere creation of the two universities, while degrees were titles of honour which the universities bestow by the favour of the Crown. With regard to the honours, the universities have been on the whole laudably anxious to maintain the standard. Complaints are certainly made that the Oxford first class is not so difficult to obtain as it was; but these complaints, as far as they are well founded, arise, we believe, rather from the introduction of a third examination, called "moderations," and from a greater subdivision of subjects, than from any deliberate wish to lower the standard of merit.

But with the degrees it is entirely different; in their abuse of these signal marks of royal favour the two ancient English universities cordially agree; the improving and investigating spirit of the times in which we live has in this direction had no effect whatever. Two royal commissions have swept over the universities, but have produced no improvement. The amount of knowledge required to entitle a student to receive a degree of Bachelor of Arts, is admitted on all hands to be utterly inadequate; and so notorious is the fact, that, discreditable as it is to the two universities, we may safely challenge any contradiction of it. The degree, we believe, still abridges the number of dinners that must be eaten before a student can be called to the bar; it also is an ingredient in a title to orders; and yet we believe there is no literary or scholastic avocation so humble, that a person would be admitted to it merely because he had obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts at either of our two ancient and famous universities.

"Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli."

This state of things is all the more discreditable because it is

intensified by the most striking contrast. What the universities can do we see in the examinations for honours. What they can tolerate without a murmur we see in the ordinary examinations for degrees: the shadows would not be so dark if the lights were not so brilliant. There can, of course, be no doubt that the obtaining a high place in the tripos at Cambridge or the class list at Oxford is twice blessed. It blesses him that gives and him that takes. As to the successful student, it is always remembered and quoted to his credit, and often marks him out for future eminence; on the other hand, alma mater is not slow to recognise and take credit for the success of her children. There is a considerable fallacy in all this; the universities deserve no particular credit for the select body of young men of first-rate ability who are to be found among their very numerous students. That is the law of nature; and as to teaching them, the praiseworthy attempt to do so, which is now making at Oxford, has all the charm of novelty. Hitherto the Professors have done little in the direction of teaching for honours, and, with the exception above alluded to, the best the tutors have been able to do has been to excuse their best pupils from attendance at lectures, which being intended for less advanced students, would be to them a serious waste of time. Still, as we have said, the universities deserve credit for maintaining a really respectable standard of merit in the distribution of university honours.

But this, after all, is not the real business of an university. The real business of the university is with the great mass of its students. It must stand or fall, just as it does or does not do its duty to them. We are not now speaking of the particular subjects of study. What we are now complaining of is, that of what the universities profess to teach, they hardly teach anything. Their teaching is regulated by the examination for a degree, and that is so deplorably low, that when we remember that these students, as they are called, have spent several years at school, it is perfectly wonderful that it should have been found possible to waste three years of the most active part of life in learning the difference between what knowledge they brought and what they take away.

Two things still remain to be considered before we can be said to have given a full and fair account of this extraordinary phenomenon. How has it been possible to maintain such a system so long, against the general cry for an improved education; and what is the machinery by which the standard is kept down?

The answer to the first question is, that young men are sent to Oxford and Cambridge for many other reasons besides the acquisition of knowledge of any kind. The good-will of these ancient and venerable establishments, using the word in its legal sense, is enormous. Young men are sent to these universities because they want a title to orders, because their parents do not know what to do

with them, because it is a respectable thing to do, because it is hoped they may make good acquaintance, because people are overawed by venerable names and traditions, and, finally, because they have no idea how little is really taught.

Now it is a melancholy fact that teaching, though a highly honourable, is also a highly irksome kind of labour. There is, perhaps, no employment, to which the ordinary doctrine of political economy, which treats all labour as an evil of which every one wants to have as little as possible, more strictly applies. If you want a really good and efficient teacher, you should put him in a position in which he must depend principally on his teaching. Every favourable circumstance, every thing that gives the teacher an advantage over his competitors, enables him with impunity to retrench some part of the labour which he would have been obliged to bestow in the case of the ordinary student. This impunity is, it seems, at our universities, strained to the utmost. The tendency to indolence in teaching is increased by the absence of any opinion able or anxious to control it. The audience are the pupils, and they are not unnaturally lenient judges of a practice of remissness which tends so obviously to their own ease and comfort. There is not even the vulgar stimulus of pecuniary interest to prompt exertion on the part of the teacher. A certain sum is paid by every student for tuition, and no exertion on the part of the teacher can increase, and no remissness can diminish it. The tutor is paid for those whom he teaches remissly, and he is paid for those candidates for high honours whom he excuses from attendance at his lecture.

But it may reasonably be asked, how can such things be? Is there not an examination for the degree, and how can persons educated as you describe be able to pass it? Because the same causes which keep the teaching of the passman so low have a similar effect on the examination for the degree. Of course it is obvious that if the examination for the degree was maintained at a proper standard, the teaching must rise in proportion. How, then, does it happen that the university, whose duty and office it above all things is to maintain the credit and honour of its own degree, can suffer it to be so degraded? The answer is, that the colleges are the teaching element in the university, whose interest it is to keep the colleges full; that the way to do this is, or is believed to be, to make the degrees as easy of attainment as possible, and that the university, which should be the check on these abuses, is really in the power of the colleges, and adapts its examinations to the amount of instruction which the colleges see fit to give to their pupils. Thus the teachers of the two great universities are virtually the judges of their own work, and treat it with an amount of tenderness and consideration which cannot but be extremely gratifying to their pupils, as well as agreeable to themselves.

We have said that teaching is, after all, only a kind of labour, and that, like all other labour, it will be the best done where the work of the teacher is well tested, and where his success depends as much as possible on the efficiency of his instruction. We may now add that the examination of candidates for honours, degrees, and situations in the public service is a judicial act, and ought to be encircled with all the safeguards that are required in judicial proceedings. It is from the want of the most ordinary precautions to insure a proper standard, it is because the teachers are really judges in their own cause, that the teaching of the passmen of the two great universities has become a serious scandal and a great public mischief.

And now we would ask the gentlemen who are heading the movement on behalf of Owens College, carefully to consider these things, and to ask themselves whether what they seek would be a blessing or a curse? Are they quite sure that it would be a serious misfortune to Oxford or Cambridge, or, what is after all of more consequence, to the cause of learning and culture, if the power of examining for the degrees they confer were taken away from Oxford and Cambridge, and given, we will not say to the London University, but to some committee of learned and independent persons, totally free from the influences which have so long made the teaching of the vast majority of the students of Oxford and Cambridge a shame and a reproach?

Is it not quite clear that such a change would breathe a new life into these old institutions, and go far towards enabling them to renew their youth? Do they really think that it is of small consequence to a place of education, especially to a place of education intended for the instruction of young men of the middle class, in what estimation the degree which is conferred upon them is held? It may not matter so very much to intending country clergymen, to noblemen, to country gentlemen, or rich bankers and merchants, what precise estimation their degree may confer, but to others it is a cruel and wanton waste of the power of stimulating and rewarding modest merit, to deny to them the start in life which is conferred by obtaining a fairly awarded and well-earned degree. The utmost that Owens College can aspire to, if she succeeds to the full in the course which well-meaning but, as it seems to us, mistaken friends are marking out for her, is, that she may be even as the Scotch universities, and confer degrees which give no higher title than theirs.

It is the choice of Hercules. An university may either obtain—if, after all that experience has taught, the Government is weak enough to grant it—the franchise of conferring degrees, that is, of putting their own value on their own work, and thus obtain possession of a saleable commodity which has a certain value in the market, just as the title of a Tuscan count had a certain value; or they may submit to the disagreeable but salutary discipline of having their work

examined and estimated by persons whose only wish is to award to them and their students exactly as much credit as they deserve.

We think that we are now sufficiently acquainted with the general bearing of the question to be able to examine the arguments by which the claim of Owens College to become an university is supported. We have already shown what it is that a teaching institution asks for when it requests to be made an university; it is not incorporation, for that it can obtain with very little cost or trouble by means of the Joint Stock Companies Act. It is simply and solely the power of conferring degrees, neither more nor less. Mr. Huxley, indeed, defines an university to be a corporation which has charge of the interests of knowledge as such, and the business of which is to represent knowledge as such by the acquirements of the members, to increase knowledge by their investigations, to diffuse knowledge by their teaching, and to create a respect for knowledge among their fellow-men by their personal example and influence. We hope that, according to this definition, Owens College is something of an university already; but if it be not, we feel perfectly assured that it is not in the power of the Crown to make it into one. We have been careful to define the sense in which we use the term. We have, of course, no right to impose our definition on any one, except that it happens to be the only definition that has any bearing on the matter in question, which is simply and solely, whether the Queen ought to be advised to devolve on Owens College the power of conferring degrees.

The simple nature of the demand is disguised in the paper circulated on behalf of Owens College under all sorts of ambiguous phrases. Thus we are told of the want of "academical teaching," of the "self-government" of Oxford and Cambridge, of "the advantages of academical training," of "the highest kind of instruction," of "university training," and so forth. Now we should like very much to know what all these fine words mean with reference to the subject before us. We know what the self-government of Oxford and Cambridge means. It means the lowering of the standard of knowledge and the reduction of the labour of teaching which are created by what the advocates of Owens College call "self-government," but what we prefer to call by its proper name—the allowing teachers to put their own value on their own work. We are not aware that there is any "training" peculiar to universities, and if there be, it must be the teaching and training, not for degrees, but for honours, with which the universities as such have nothing to do. We are told that Owens College has never failed to supply instruction of an "university character." If, as we believe, this means the instruction now given to the great mass of their students by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, all we can say is, that we are sorry to hear it; we had hoped and believed that the instruction given by Owens College

was something far better. At any rate we are quite certain that the instruction given to the students who pass the University of London Examination from Owens College must be as much better than that given to the passmen at Oxford and Cambridge, as the examination of the one exceeds in difficulty those of the other two. The difference, we need not say, is enormous.

We lay no stress on the objection that the multiplication of universities is in itself an evil. Any university which allows its own teachers actually or virtually to examine their own pupils is in that respect an evil, inasmuch as it palms off upon the public a biassed for an unbiassed tribunal. In a State that really gave attention to the subject such a practice would not be allowed, at least in the distribution of degrees given by the Crown. But as far as relates to teaching, and the honours that may be conferred by the university itself, we can see no objection to the multiplication of universities till the supply equals the demand. Teaching, like everything else, will be the better done the keener the competition; and titles of honour invented by the teaching establishments themselves will soon find their level, and produce no more effect than Mr. Squeers's intimation that a Master of Arts would be preferred. Only let the Government stand aloof, and fair competition will decide the merits of teachers as it already does of everything else. Let this be done, and we should soon see the exact reverse of what is now going on. Instead of petitions to Government where the object is more or less adroitly veiled, but the real meaning of which is, "Give us, as Queen Elizabeth used to say, the right to tar our own sheep," we should have petitions to Government to appoint somebody in whom the public at large might have confidence, to examine their students and to certify the quality and quantity of the teaching they had received. When this is the state of education, we shall have no reason to object to any number of colleges or universities.

Let us now consider the advantages which the advocates of Owens College expect to derive from the change they desire. They expect "a general elevation in tone and spirit in students and teachers." The "national stamp would be set upon the college." "It would assume a new and improved position in the public eye;" there would be a "cessation of the question as to what position the college really has." We are sorry to say that all this is really no more, when translated into plain English, than saying that the name of university will be an excellent puff for the institution. The question is, whether the giving titles of honour to such institutions, with a view to give them a higher position than they have won for themselves, is a legitimate use of royal patronage? Were this power of puffing infinite, it might still be a question whether it is not better to let institutions work their own way, than to force them into notice by royal favour. But it is a power which, if not used with great moderation, is very soon

exhausted. Queen Elizabeth thought, and induced her subjects to think, that knighthood was a sufficient reward for the most brilliant service, because it was only for such services that she conferred it. Had Columbus been an Englishman, she would probably have bestowed it on him. But now we have many knights, and the honour is valued accordingly.

We wish to distinguish between rewards and stimulants. It is quite right to reward persons for great public services already performed, though even this should be done very sparingly if we wish our rewards to retain any solid and appreciable value; but we cannot represent to ourselves any case in which it can be wise to bestow a reward on an institution for past services; and least of all can we see the propriety of bestowing anticipatory rewards on either institutions or individuals as a stimulus to do their duty in future. The very fact that they require such a stimulus shows that they are unworthy to receive it. Take the very maxim quoted on behalf of Owens College, *Noblesse Oblige*. The nobility of ante-revolutionary France were paid beforehand for all the good they were to do. They were exempted from taxation; they had absolute power in their own domains; they had the right to form part of the most brilliant court the world ever beheld; they were paid beforehand to do all that the most devoted zeal of a great aristocracy could do for the State and for their own immediate dependants. We need not stop to inquire what were the fruits of the plan of prepayment in this instance.

But then we are told that "the possession of greater rights will bring with it the sense of higher duties." The "greater rights," as we have shown, consist entirely in the privilege of examining for their own degrees, which has not in other cases had quite as much elevating influence as might be desired, and we are not told why that which has degraded education in the universities of the south must raise it in the university of the north. We are sorry also to be informed that the devotion of the teachers is of such a nature that it is capable of being raised by the addition of a title which adds nothing to the duties to be performed, and ought to add nothing therefore to the willingness to perform them. A more solid advantage, which is put forward with much simplicity, is, that the change of title will increase the number of students. Such an increase is, of course, desirable, if it arises from good and faithful teaching, and a thorough appreciation of the merits of such teaching by the public at large. But an increase of pupils which has its origin, not in any recognition of especial merit in the institution, but only because the institution has received a more ambitious title, is by no means so clear an advantage, or indeed any advantage at all. In so far as the mere name brings pupils, it dispenses with a certain amount of labour, and is injurious to the cause of education.

We have still to consider by far the most important argument in favour of the request of Owens College, of which we can truly say, what we cannot concede with regard to the other arguments which we have been considering, that it really merits careful and respectful consideration. We will state it in the words of those who adduce it:—

"A more direct gain, and one having reference in the first instance to the character of the institution rather than to the numbers of students attending it, though as a necessary consequence these could hardly fail to be increased, would accrue to Owens College by its becoming entitled to direct its own courses of study, to furnish or appoint a fixed proportion of its own examiners, to determine the character of its own examinations and to grant its own degrees. The college, if enabled to arrange its own courses of study without reference to the requirements of any external degree, would be able to set some definite aim before all its students, and, as occasion presented itself, to improve the arrangement of its courses in common with its own wants. A considerably greater number of students might then be expected to take continuous courses of study, whereas at present the proportion of students taking the regular three years' course of the college accommodated to the demands of the University of London examinations is comparatively small, and exhibits a tendency still further to diminish. Our college needs the power of organizing and controlling its own system of examinations so as to make them a test of its teaching, while at the same time of course seeking to maintain in the latter the highest possible standard. In the opinion of many members of the Senate, the examiners for the ordinary degrees of the University of London are unable, in consequence of the number of subjects included, to insist upon a sufficient accuracy and fulness of knowledge in some of these subjects, while in others a fair general knowledge is imperfectly tested. As the candidates come from all parts of the country, it has been necessary for the Senate of the university to draw up regulations intended to impose definite limits on the examiners (who have no consultative *locus standi*) in their choice of questions."

"Owens College being wholly unrepresented on the governing body of the London University, is without the means of maintaining that *rapport* between teaching and examining which is necessary to a thoroughly efficient system of instruction. Some of the evils indicated might be remedied by changes in the London University examinations. But no change of detail would meet the fundamental objection, that where the curriculum for degrees is fixed by a body of men, however able, among whom such a college as our own is wholly unrepresented, either the teachers in it must have their teaching determined for them, to the great loss of themselves and their pupils, and to the ultimate narrowing of academic life, or a very large proportion of the students, including some of the most promising, will fail to aim at a degree, and a still larger to seek honours."

We are quite willing to admit that it is impossible to frame an examination which shall be open to the whole youth of the country wherever educated, without interfering, more or less, with the discretion of teachers in their choice of a course of study. Those who settle the examination settle the course of study, and if that examination is to be open to all comers it is impossible to adapt it to the wishes of particular places of education. It is the choice between a perfectly fair field and no favour, where the competition is open and the honour of success proportionally great, and an obscure arena, in

which the wind is likely to be only too softly tempered to the shorn lamb. But when it is said, that though some of these evils are incurable, many might be cured by the Senate of the University of London, but that the college is not represented on the senate, it is natural to ask if the senate has ever been requested to consider a subject which the college has so much at heart? And if it turn out, as it seems from the manner in which the subject is spoken of it will, that the London University has never been applied to on the point, how did it happen that the application was not made? The answer we apprehend, if frankly given, would be in the words of the Frenchman, who when he was asked why he did not make love to a certain lady, replied *J'ai trop peur de réussir.* We hope we are not uncharitable in believing that Owens College never asked for an examination in other subjects, because they believed that the request would be cheerfully granted, and would *pro tanto* spoil their case for a change.

We also think that we can see in the complaint of the large number of subjects which form the curriculum of the University of London, a danger of running into the contrary extreme. There is naturally enough a tendency in a great manufacturing centre like Manchester to make such an institution as Owens College subservient to the industry of the place. Not in the sense which every one must approve, by giving students a thoroughly sound education, but by teaching them the very arts which they are to practise in after life. We have heard a good deal about "university teaching," a term to which we have found it difficult to attach any very satisfactory sense; but if the word has any meaning at all, that meaning has some reference to universality, and implies what is undoubtedly true, that no university, really worthy of the name, will stoop to make its teaching a school for the learning a particular trade, such as calico printing for instance, or put Pegasus in harness to draw the wheel of a cotton mill. It is quite possible in education to be too special as well as too general, and in the teaching of youth the former is a far worse fault than the latter.

We also observe in these arguments an unmistakable tendency towards a very considerable lowering of the standard of acquirement demanded for a degree. We are not now speaking of what we have dwelt on already, the examination of pupils by persons interested in their success, but of a deliberate diminution of the standard, be the examiners who they may. We are told that the college would set some definite aim before all its pupils, and, as occasion presented itself, improve the arrangement of its courses in common with its own wants. What does this enigmatical sentence mean? As we understand it, the meaning is this: a young archer cannot strike the target at a hundred yards, so we will give him a definite aim by moving the target fifty yards nearer, and when he can hit that we will remove it to sixty or

seventy. The standard is to be lowered to the present calibre of the pupils in the hope that some day or other it may be possible to raise it. We quite admit there may be cases in which such a step is unhappily necessary, but it is strange to ask for a special mark of royal favour in order to cover a retreat of so humiliating a nature.

We have yet to notice the remedy which is suggested for the admitted evil of the examination of candidates by their own teachers. It is proposed to associate with the professors as examiners persons appointed by some independent authority. Why should this be done? If persons having a strong personal and even some pecuniary interest in the result of the examination are not on that account to be disqualified, why should strangers be brought in to check them? Examining is a judicial act. What should we think of a jury half of which was to be impartially chosen, and half to be avowed friends of the prisoner? When it is once admitted that the examining teachers require disinterested persons to be associated with them to keep them straight, they are condemned altogether. Besides, such a safeguard would be utterly futile; a man of sense, if he could possibly find himself in such a position, would certainly say, Whatever I am wanted for it certainly cannot be to see fair play, for if that had been wanted the first step would have been to appoint a wholly disinterested tribunal. If I quarrel with these professors I shall get no support. Every one will say, What business had you on such a board?

We are told by the advocates of Owens College that there is no reason why the pass degree of Owens College should not be educationally on a level with the pass degree of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and the Scotch universities. With the greater part of this statement we do not differ. The degrees of Oxford and Cambridge have been kept scandalously low for the purpose of filling the colleges. In Scotland the professors virtually give degrees to their own pupils. We see no reason why Owens College may not, if it will stoop to it, achieve a similar distinction. Indeed, it would seem to be extremely difficult to fall below it. But the degree of the University of London cannot with any fairness be mixed up with such society. Other institutions can trace their origin to a remote antiquity, and revel in splendid endowments. It is the honest pride of this least and poorest of universities that she awards the degrees, with the conferring of which she has been entrusted by the State, with absolute fairness and impartiality, and with no other desire than that the standard which she has set up should be honestly and steadily maintained. Nothing shows this more clearly than the very movement the motives of which we have been investigating. The reasons which are adduced for giving to Owens College the status of an university offer the most singular contrast to the use she proposes

to make of the privilege when once obtained. In the former, we hear a great deal of high aims and aspirations for the advancement of education. In the latter, attention seems principally occupied with plans for lowering the examination in order to lower the standard of education; while it is easy to detect a very ardent and thinly disguised yearning to escape from the rigorous impartiality of Burlington Gardens to that elysium of inferior institutions in which universities, free from struggle and annoyance, are permitted to teach as little as they please, and to adapt the examination to the teaching, instead of the teaching to the examination.

We have admitted that the connection of Owens College with the University of London is, to a certain extent, incompatible with the desire of the professors of Owens College to have the whole course of studies absolutely under their own direction; on the other hand it is equally clear that to leave the whole course of studies entirely in the hands of the teachers is utterly incompatible with any system of fair and independent examination. What, then, should the authorities of Owens College do? We submit that they would act not unwisely if they were to lay their case before the Senate of the University of London, and see how far that body is able and willing to meet their wishes, and whether a *modus vivendi* cannot be discovered? If unhappily this negotiation shall fail, we venture with all respect to advise them not to proceed with their application for the charter of an university. There is no doubt that existing universities have been, and still are, very powerful agents in keeping down the standard of education. But we submit that it is a mistake to suppose that because the universities have done so much in this direction the thing cannot be done without a royal charter. It is always easier to sink than to rise, and in the present case it is peculiarly easy. All the college has to do is to consider how it would act if it were an university, and to do the same now. Let it establish an examining board for the title of Associate which it now confers, and mould it as it thinks proper. Two courses are open. The board may be entirely independent of the college, and so constituted as to deserve the entire confidence of the public. There is no reason why a board so constituted should not command that confidence, and if it does, why its awards should not confer as much honour as those of any university. *Qui sis, non unde,* is becoming more and more the feeling of mankind. The second course, and that which we cannot but fear is the one most likely to be adopted, is to appoint a tribunal in which the teaching element is virtually or avowedly supreme. If this be done, we think there is no doubt that Owens College may succeed in lowering its title of Associate to the level of the degree of the most ancient and wealthy university in the land.

ROBERT LOWE

# TITIAN.[1]

"As heaven is the paradise of the soul, so God has transfused into Titian's colours the paradise of our bodies," says Tullia to Tasso, in Sperone's Dialogue of Love. It would be difficult to state in fewer words the secret, or at least great part of the secret, of the charm of Titian. In his hundred years of life he did indeed fashion the terrestrial paradise of the century. Into the happy immortality of his paintings, as into the hell described by Aucassin in the old French story, passed "the good clerks, the fair knights slain in battle and fierce wars, the brave men-at-arms, and the lords of high degree. Also the fair courteous dames, and the gold and the silver, the furred raiment, and the rich gowns of Vair, the harp-players, the minstrels, and the kings of this world," everything, in brief, that was great and splendid. For the fair knights of fierce wars there were D'Alviano and Cornaro, the victors at the battle of Cadore, and John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, a captive from the fight at Mühlberg, with the scar of the sabre-cut on his face. For fair courteous dames, there was Lucrezia Borgia, when the wife of Alfonso of Ferrara, and, in curious contrast, the innocence of the beautiful and learned Irene of Spilemberg, Titian's pupil, who died before she was twenty. Among clerks of the worldly sort, there was Cæsar Borgia, painted at the time when he came, the son of a pope, acting as legate *a latere* to his father, to offer plenary indulgence to the Venetians to join a crusade against the Moslems. The "King of this world" was the Emperor Charles V., withdrawn in his sullen mood to the window, where he would sit and listen in perfect silence to courtiers and suitors. Another form of power was represented by the portrait of Paul III., to which the passers-by doffed their hats, taking it for the Pope himself in person. The minstrel in Titian's paradise was Ariosto, and for buffoon there was that infamous one who might be cudgelled but was never crushed, the supremely shameless Aretino. The studio of Titian was the point through which all these types of the life of the renaissance, these and hundreds of others, kings, cardinals, soldiers, doges, poets, matrons, dead queens and living harlots, passed, leaving there the shadows of themselves which have proved more real and permanent than the life. To have seen all these and to have given them a new existence, while remaining all the time absolutely himself, with his great interests of money-getting,

(1) "Titian: his Life and Times." By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. London: [illegible], 1877. 42s.
[illegible]'s "Cadore, or Titian's Country," 1869.

of love of the mountains and the sea, of attachment to children and to friends unimpaired, makes the attraction of the story of Titian.

Titian's life does not afford the same kind of amusement, does not fascinate us in the same way, as do the lives of most of the Italian painters. In him there is not the varied charm of Leonardo, or the romance of Raffaello, or the pathos of Andrea's unhappy experience, or the piety of Angelico, or the changeful moods of Botticelli, or the disdainful solitude and superhuman force of Michelangelo. Titian, it may be said, has no legend; in his childhood are none of the graceful miracles, which crept out of the lives of saints into the lives of poets and artists. The current anecdotes about him take him up when he was old, as he appears in most, if not all, of his portraits,—old, successful, and patronised by emperors and kings. Perhaps he lived so late, and his age was so near the time of the historians of painting, that romance could not gather about the legend of his infancy. He was born after the story-making period in the history of art, and he was born in a country of hard-headed people, who had work enough to do to keep their freedom and make their daily bread in the stinted valley of Cadore, where Titian first saw the light in 1477. In following his life in the new and admirably thorough and painstaking book of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, it is easy to see how much his native country contributed to the character of Titian.

He was born at Cadore, some eighty-six miles from Venice, in a cottage where a fountain leaps into a stone basin, and a green hill rises abruptly and shelters the roof. From an open space called the Arsenale, in front, a narrow passage leads up the cliff to the castle, which we see in flames in Fonda's print from Titian's lost picture of the great land battle with the soldiers of Maximilian. The cottage is on a lower level than the rest of the town, with its ugly church and tower, decorated with a huge, coarse portrait of the painter. "Behind it rise the cerulean-tinted peaks of Monte Cornon. On the right the huge bulk of Monte Cridola is dark against the clear east; to the left are steep grassy slopes, hiding as yet the loftier Antelao, and Marmarolo."[1] The steep grassy slopes, the dawn-coloured peaks of the dolomites, the stream of the Piave flowing to Venice and the sea, all entered into the education of Titian. The Marmarolo is said to be the mountain in the background of the Presentation of the Virgin; the Antelao might be seen from the garden of the house of his home in Venice; the hills between Cadore and Belluno appear in the Madonna and St. Catherine, of the National Gallery; the high-pitched roofs and irregular buildings of the farmhouses are painted in the Magdalene of the same collection. It was his childhood, passed among these strange shapes of peaks, and more homely hills, and knolls, and forests, often revisited in later summers,

(1) Cadore, p. 99.

made Titian almost the earliest painter to recognise and take pleasure in the sentiment of landscape. But nothing could teach him to tolerate "the horrid whiteness" which Shelley loved; in snow, whether on distant peaks, or trodden into mire and blood beneath the feet of the combatants at the battle of Cadore, he took no delight. If we consider how much, and to what disagreeable effect, snow has been copied in the works of living painters of mountain scenery and in the military pieces of French artists, we have a measure of the advance in the liking for nature in her most repellent aspect which has been made since the time of Titian. It was not only the character of the mountains, but the character of the mountaineers of Cadore, that became part of the personality of the great artist. The district had always been poor and free, eager for more wealth and for as much liberty as possible. Lying between the lands of the Emperor, the Duke of Milan, and the Republic of Venice, the inhabitants had to make a choice of allegiance. After deliberating in council, the assembly prayed devoutly in the chapel of the Holy Spirit at Valle, and "then as with one voice, the cry arose, Let us go to the good Venetians." This was in 1420, and when Titian was born, some sixty years later, the people of Cadore had seen no reason to repent their choice. Their castle was no feudal robber's lair, but their own possession, presided over by a captain from Venice. The adventurous townspeople were on good terms with the great republic, and sent their sons to make fortunes in its ships and its streets. Love of money and love of liberty went together in Cadore. Even before 1420, one of Titian's ancestors set an example which the artist often followed, by "obtaining from the Patriarch exclusive rights in cutting wood, and the fief of two mountains wherein to excavate for silver and other metals." Descended from an old *podestà* of Pieve, the family was always important in the district, and when Titian passed from Cadore to Venice, in 1488, he left behind, among other kinsmen, two who did the State yeoman's service during the invasion by the Imperialists.

Of Titian's childish attempts as an artist, very little is told, even by way of fable. He is said to have painted a Madonna upon a wall, in colours expressed from the juice of flowers; and Mr. Gilbert is more ready than Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to believe that, when about eleven years of age, he made a design in fresco, still extant on the wall of the Casa Sampieri, the home of his grandfather. It is not certain whether or not he was the pupil of Antonio Rosso, an artist of the decrepit Friulan school, but at all events he went to Venice when he was about eleven years old, and there studied under Sebastian Zuccato, an irritable old painter, pleasantly known to readers of George Sand's "Maîtres Mosaïstes." Venice had just entered on the second half of the first of the two centuries of her

short-lived school of painting, two ages in which the life of Titian occupied a century. In the year 1400, when it was necessary to restore the frescoes of the Hall of the Great Council, Venice had found herself without artists of her own. Under Gentile da Fabriano and Vittore Pisano, painters invited to come over and help her, the school of Murano arose, and the birth of Venetian painting coincided with what Mr. Ruskin considers the beginning of the end of the glory of the city in 1418. Jacopo Bellini carried to the north the knowledge of the antique, and somewhat of the skill in design of Donatello and Mantegna, and before the boy Titian left Cadore, Giovanni Bellini was well able to paint the Oriental richness of Venetian costume, architecture, and landscape, at least in conditions of fair weather and repose. The Flemish practice "of mixing varnish mediums with pigments" had been mastered, and young artists from the hill country were bringing their knowledge and love of a region seldom seen except under broken lights and the shadow of storms. Titian, it is probable, did not remain long under Zuccato, though he always was on good terms with his sons, the mosaïstes, and was able, many years afterwards, to do them a service. He probably became the pupil of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, and he certainly was much influenced by the style of Palma and of Giorgione, though, if we accept the dates usually given, he was older than one and of the same age as the other. Probably his chief business was to paint house-fronts, as of the Morosini palace, where there was a fresco of Hercules, said to be one of his very earliest works. To paint a Hercules implies some knowledge of classical art, which Titian might have gained in the house of Gentile Bellini, whose collection contained a bust of Plato and a statue of Venus by Praxiteles. Where history and tradition say nothing of his work or his adventures, his progress can only be traced obscurely, by comparing the various pictures in which, "timid and cold at first, he soon warms to the task before him." Already his Madonnas display forms which he retained a quarter of a century later, and already he had painted a landscape from the border land between Venice and Cadore. A miraculous Christ from his hand was most profitable to the church of San Rocco, as indeed the same sort of picture was found last year to pay when exhibited in Pall Mall. The two maidens at a fountain, called "Artless and Sated Love," by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, but generally styled "Profane and Sacred Love," is a perfectly delightful work of the early period. A girl gorgeously dressed, and beautiful in the style of Palma's ladies,—

"Sits with Love upon a woodside well,"

or at least with an almost naked female figure, who holds in her right hand a little censer burning away with a magical effect, into

the blue and breathless air. A plucked rose and a lute lie beside the draped beauty, a little Cupid dips a wreath in the well water which flows into the grass from a pipe in the antique marble of the fountain; behind are rustic buildings and a tower, and plains sloping to the distant sea. The picture seems to represent the art of Palma and Giorgione blended in that of Titian, and the scene has a fresh loveliness and simplicity more delightful to some tastes than the richness of the Bacchus and Ariadne, or the grandeur of the Peter Martyr.

Some little time, it may be guessed, for all is guess-work here, after the painting of the Maidens at the Fountain, a disaster befell the German traders in Venice. The Fondaco di Tedeschi, in which alone they were allowed to live and buy and sell, was burned down in 1505. By 1507 Giorgione and Titian were probably busy at the frescoes which were to cover the outsides of the walls, and two years afterwards the new Fondaco was finished, and the honest Germans, in their gratitude invited all the grandees of Venice to an entertainment in which blind-folded men chased a greased pig, than which they could conceive of no sport more appropriate and exhilarating. The frescoes, with which the Tedeschi were charmed, have given rise to some controversy. The sea winds have destroyed them long ago, and Vasari had a low opinion of the decorations as a whole. "I, for one, was never able to fathom Giorgione's meaning, nor found any one that had fathomed it," he writes peevishly, leading one to suppose that the frescoes were in the rather obscure style of Teutonic allegory. Vasari could not understand why Judith should sit with Holofernes' head at her feet, "and wield a drawn sword, while she talks to a German below." He adds a story to the effect that some acquaintances of Giorgione mistook the façade at which Titian worked for his, "and began, as friends, to rejoice with him, declaring that he was acquitting himself better on the side of the Merceria than he had done on that of the Grand Canal," which remark naturally vexed Giorgione, and put an end to his friendship with Titian. It is more pleasant to accept the statement of another biographer, that Giorgione admitted the superiority of his friend, and was glad to have been able to share with him the work of painting the Fondaco; while it is just possible to believe that the Christ of the Tribute-money is a portrait by Titian of Giorgione.

Evil times for artists and for Venice were now being prepared by the ambition of Maximilian. Just at the moment when the Fondaco was opened to German trade, German arms were forcing a way into Italy through the passes guarded by Cadore. In spite of the reproaches of Tiziano Vecelli and of the townspeople, the Venetian captain of Cadore gave up his fort to the Imperialist troops. The people submitted; but the kinsfolk of Titian kept up a cor-

respondence with the republican government, and guided the Venetian forces under Dalviano in a sudden and well-concerted attack on the German position. The army of Maximilian was totally routed, the general, Strauss, was killed in single combat by the Tuscan Ranieri, the fugitives were pursued and slain by the Stradiot lancers, and the Emperor was glad to make truce for the time with Venice. The battle chiefly interests us by reason of its connection with the career of Titian. Unlike his brother Francesco, he felt no call to join the armies of Venice. But some five years later, in 1513, when Bembo was anxious that he should go to Rome to paint for Leo X., and when Navagero would have had him to await the reversion of Bellini's position as painter-in-chief at Venice, Titian asked the Signori for leave to illustrate the battle of Cadore in the Hall of Council.

"I, Titian of Cadore, having studied painting from childhood upwards, and desirous of fame rather than profit, wish to serve the Doge and Signori rather than his Highness the Pope and other Signori, who in past days, and even now, have urgently asked to employ me. I am, therefore, anxious, if it should appear feasible, to paint in the Hall of Council, beginning, if it please their sublimity, *with the canvas of the battle on the side towards the Piazza*," which is so difficult that no one as yet has had courage to attempt it."

The "no one" is an allusion to Giovanni Bellini, who was still chief artist of the Republic, but whose failing strength was unequal to a task of such magnitude. The pay that Titian asked was the first vacant broker's patent for life in the German Fondaco—a sinecure then held by Giovanni Bellini. This proposal was accepted, much to the chagrin of Bellini, who had influence enough to annoy Titian in various ways, but not to oust him from the *atelier* at San Samuele, where he got leave to establish himself, and where he made his finished sketch for the battle-piece. Before the close of 1516 Titian entered into the enjoyment of his "broker's patent," which was worth a hundred ducats a year, and involved the duty of painting the portrait of the Doge. But now that he had reached the height of his ambition, he found that profitable dealings with "other Signori" prevented him from finishing the battle-piece. In 1518, 1522, and 1537, twenty-four years after his first offer, he was rebuked for his negligence. By the last date Pordenone had appeared as a rival, and so bitter was the hostility, that their friends regretted perhaps the grants of nobility which had recently allowed both painters to wear swords, and settle their disputes like gentlemen of honour. Titian sought satisfaction in a more sensible way, and actually finished his battle-piece, the finest painting in the hall. Now of this work nothing remains but descriptions; a solitary engraving by Fontana and a sketch, both in the possession of Mr. Gilbert; and, lastly, a copy at Florence. The first description, that of

Vasari, calls the picture "The Rout of Ghiaradadda: a crowd of soldiers who fought under a terrible rain from heaven." Sansovino the younger, who was sixteen years of age when the work was finished, styles it "The Battle of Spoleto in Umbria," and mentions the figure of "a young girl creeping out of a hollow," and the same figure is praised by Dolce and Ridolfi, the latter naming the piece, "The Battle of Cadore." Mr. Gilbert has no difficulty in showing that the landscape surrounding the fight is that of Cadore, and that the Imperial eagle flaps on the flags of the beaten party in the engraving. In the drawing, believed by Mr. Gilbert to be a sketch by Titian himself, the flags are blank; and in the engraving it is not, as he says, the lion of St. Mark, but the three lions of the Cornari, that wave over the spears of Venice. Again, if we look at Burgmair's illustrations of Maximilian's own account of the battle of Cadore (in the book called "Der Weiss Kunig"), we find the real winged lion of St. Mark on the Venetian banner, and see the Stradiot spearmen, in their tall hats, pursuing the Germans through the defiles. Thus we are naturally led to the conclusion of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that Titian did indeed paint the fight at Cadore—the scenery proves as much, and the historical incident of the death of the fair German girl, shown in the engraving—but that he painted the victory under a thin disguise. He did not introduce the unmistakable Stradiotes; he put the cognisance of the Cornari, not of Venice, on the banners, and he dressed the Imperial forces in Roman armour. Thus he artfully enough pleased the Signori, did not annoy his Imperial patron, Charles V., and flattered the powerful Cornari, while he left poor Dalviano, the real victorious general, in obscurity.

To finish the story of the battle, it has been necessary to desert the even tenor of Titian's life. He felt, like other artists, the stress of hard times while the League of Cambrai lay heavily on Venice, and leaving his favourite town, his study of Giorgione, and his rivalry with Dürer in minuteness, he visited Padua, and worked in fresco for what pay he could get. His accounts he kept, with less method than one might expect, on the backs of loose drawings on grey paper, and behind a sketch for the "Omnia Vanitas" is the record, "Signor Mario Zatto owes me one hundred and thirty lire." Titian had little love of fresco, little practice in the art, and not a much higher regard for Paduan taste than for that of the mountaineers in whose village churches he now and then designed a Madonna. He must have been glad to return to his canvases and panels in Venice, where he soon began to attract the notice, and as Dr. Johnson would have put it, to "enjoy the caresses of the great." There was a temporary truce with Maximilian, at the moment of the painter's return, [illegible]e re[illegible]12; business was no longer so very bad, and the Aldine club [illegible]n capti[illegible]d the artist in a rather haughty way. Venice was full of

such scholars as Bembo, Erasmus, Linacre, and Navagero, who were too polished to talk in any other language than Greek. This must have made their conversation anything but an intellectual pleasure to Titian, who was more fortunate in the patronage of Alfonso of Ferrara. This prince was very busily engaged in decorating the castle which contained on one side the "alabaster chambers," and on the other the dungeons in which he shut up his inconvenient brothers. In 1516 the painter paid his first visit to Ferrara, and was lodged with two assistants in the palace, receiving rations of salad, salt meat, oil, chestnuts, oranges, tallow candles, cheese, and five measures of wine. The fare is lenten, and a potentate so luxurious might have furnished the artist with candles of a more costly material than tallow. Titian wrote, on February 19, 1517, that "he had given himself body and soul to your excellency," and, indeed, shows that subservience in style and fall-down-deadness of demeanour which often mark a Republican in presence of a man of rank and title. Raffaelle and Michelangelo did not write thus, but it must be noted that, though Titian gave fair words, he often infuriated Alfonso by working precisely at the pace which suited himself. He was ready to kiss the feet and hands of kings, but he did not hurry himself to please them, and no one was ever more pertinacious in demanding his pay.

It is a curious trait in his character that he considered Alfonso's instructions about some design "so pretty and ingenious as to require no improvement of any kind; and the more I thought over it, the more I became convinced that the greatness of art among the ancients was due to the assistance they received from great princes content to leave to the painters the credit and renown derived from their own ingenuity in bespeaking pictures." He was always ready to paint just what was wanted, a Story of Christ in the Garden, or a Fable of Jupiter and Europa, a Grieving Madonna, or a Day of Judgment, for Charles V. in later years, or a Danae or Adonis for Philip II., a man of pleasure. He will take his winged Cupids from their pastimes of throwing apples and shooting arrows in Alfonso's Worship of Venus, to make them angels who welcome the Virgin, in the Assumption, or who beckon to the soul of the wounded Peter Martyr. Dionysus and St. Jerome come alike to him, for in every subject he finds or gives what he really cares for, the glory of life, the pride of the eye, rich colours, fair raiment, skies and far-off mountains, woods, and the wealth of flowers. So, though one thinks for a moment of the "forth-right craftsman's hand," the word "low-pulsed" cannot be added, as in the case of Mr. Browning's Andrea del Sarto. The world and the fulness thereof is Titian's kingdom, and he enters into it as well by one gate as by another; for devotion or dissipation, saintliness, and sensualism

are all transfigured in his work for his own calm pleasure, and for that of all generations that come after him. The poetry of his nature —as our two authors observe, in treating of his relations with Ariosto at the court of Ferrara—"the poetry of his nature is proved by every line of his landscapes, by every detail in an allegory like that of Sated Love. But he kept his poetry in its proper place, like Shakspere, and, in his dealings with men, always proved himself to be an adroit and vigilant man of business, and a friend not too fastidious, and with no nonsense about him. At this very period, when he was illustrating for Alfonso the line—

"Chi boit et ne reboit ne çais qui boir soit,"

by a painting of Ariadne most unpoetically overcome by the boon of Dionysus, he had just accomplished those two of his works which are most charged with sentiment, the Madonna and St. Catherine, and the Noli me Tangere. In the rendering of a woman's passion for children, and a woman's tender awe at the sight of the beloved dead, risen and restored beyond all hope, no master has equalled the attitude of St. Catherine as she fondles the Infant, and the action of the Magdalene trailing herself like a wounded thing to the feet of the Christ. The Assumption, also a work of this date, is more famous, and more clever perhaps, but not equal to these treasures of ours in emotional power. One needs to remember the delicate and sacred thoughts in which Titian must have lived, while painting the Magdalene, to feel the force of contrast in his conduct when he is ready to sell to Alfonso a work already bought at a lower price by another customer. But the prince repented of the shabby transaction:—"We have thought over the matter of the St. Sebastian, and resolved that we shall not do this injury to the Reverend the Legate." Titian had to produce some other work for Alfonso, and in 1523 visited Ferrara with the then half-finished Bacchus and Ariadne, in illustration of Catullus, which is now in the National Gallery. At Ferrara he found "the iris, the wild rose, and columbine, which so exquisitely adorn the very edge of the ground on which the Satyrs tread," flowers that Titian might possibly have studied in the garden of his later home in the suburb called Biri, but certainly not near his *atelier* in San Samuele. In this same year he found a new patron in Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and painted for him that admirable Entombment, now in the Louvre, in which Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle recognise a lingering trace of the influence of Palma, "in moulding of face and limbs, in shallow depressions of stuff in drapery, and in contrasts that bring before us varieties of weather-beaten flesh in males, and pearly skin in women." At this time, too, he worked in the palace of the Doges, and, with his keen eye

for a job, secured the appointment of his father, who must have been at least seventy, to a place as inspector of mines.

Here, before entering on a new period in his story, it may be well to quote Palma Giovine's description of Titian's *technique*:—

"Titian," he says, "prepared his pictures with a solid stratum of pigment, which served as a bed or fundament upon which to return frequently. Some of these preparations were made with resolute strokes of a brush heavily laden with colour, the half tints struck in with pure red earth, the lights with white, modelled into relief by touches of the same brush, dipped into red, black, and yellow. In this way he would give the promise of a figure in four strokes. After laying this foundation he would turn the picture to the wall, and leave it there perhaps for months, turning it round again after a time to look at it carefully, and scan the parts as he would the face of his greatest enemy. If at this time any portion of it should appear to him to have been defective, he would set to work to correct it, applying remedies as a surgeon might apply them, cutting off excrescences here, superabundant flesh there, redressing an arm, adjusting or setting a limb, regardless of the pain which it might cause. In this way he would reduce the whole to a certain symmetry, put it aside, and return again a third or more times, till the first quintessence had been covered over with its padding of flesh. It was contrary to his habit to finish at one painting, and he used to say that a poet who improvises cannot hope to form pure verse. But of 'condiments,' in the shape of last touches, he was particularly fond. Now and then he would model the light into half tint with a rub of his finger; or with a touch of his thumb he would dab a spot of dark pigment into some corner to strengthen it, or throw in a reddish stroke—a tear of blood, so to speak—to break the parts superficially. In fact, when finishing, he painted much more with his fingers than with his brush."

Two influences, and one of them at least most friendly and favourable to all sorts of canny or mean transactions, now enter into the life of Titian—his marriage and his friendship with Aretino, a scamp who sullied the very name of his native town, being one of those pests of literature whom we have always with us. The bastard son of no one knows who, he saw the light in a hospital at Arezzo, and received just enough education to qualify him for the trade practised by persons who reveal or conceal private scandals for rewards in power or pay. Aretino's good looks and his impudence made him friends at Rome, where he went with Chigi, the banker, and whence, after a prosperous career under Leo X., he was expelled by the sensitive virtue of Clement VII. In 1524 he became the bosom friend of Giovanni de' Medici, and in his service learned more of the secrets which were his stock in trade. After Giovanni's death he went to Venice, with letters to Gritti, the Doge friendly to Titian, and his acquaintance soon became, as Vasari says, "useful and honourable" to the painter. Titian painted this honourable person, and sent the portrait to the Marquis Gonzaga at Mantua, "knowing that Gonzaga was fond of so faithful a servant, because of his many virtues." Aretino puffed the artist in the sonnets which represented the appreciative criticism of the time, he introduced him to princes, got sketches and praise in return, and managed

a very illustrious clique of men of taste and pleasure. While he was entering on this friendship, a perilous one, for Aretino had means of forming a shrewd guess as to when any noble of high rank was to be stabbed or poisoned, Titian also found time to marry a wife, of whom scarcely anything is known. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle with great probability attribute the sentiment in that beautiful domestic picture of the Madonna del Coniglio to the spectacle of "these charming but minute passages which seldom meet any but a father's eye." The Bambino of the picture must have been Pomponio, whom the painter spoiled, by securing for him an indolent life in the fruits of benefices, which were more often promised than given, but which were always being expected. The reckless laziness and profligacy of Pomponio in later life, made even Aretino preach sermons which he did not enforce by example. Indeed, it is well to notice how the Infamous one was improved, as it seems, by the friendship of Titian. Mr. Gilbert has noticed that his letters to the painter contain none of the foul jests which were part of his stock in business. In more subtle ways he no doubt encouraged the painter to be indifferent to modesty in his courtship of the great. Thus there is a notable contrast between Titian and the great artist, Michelangelo, who now crossed his path. Buonarotti was in Venice in 1529, and the influence of his example may be seen in the shadows that remain of the great picture of Peter Martyr, painted by Titian after a competition with Pordenone. "He took from Buonarotti a startling display of momentary action and muscular strength," qualities which may be recognised even by a tiro in the sketch in the British Museum, photographed in Mr. Comyns Carr's beautiful new volume. But Titian's life at this time was far other than that of the Florentine. Charles V., when at the Conference of Bologna in 1530, had with him a secretary named Covos, whom all the princelings of Northern Italy sought to please. Now Count Pepoli's wife had a pretty waiting-maid, Cornelia, to whom Covos in his hours of ease did much incline. Observing this soft passion, the Marquis of Mantua sent Titian to paint the girl, who happened unluckily not to be looking very lovely at the moment. In work like this, and in designing naked women, the Venetian was busy, while Michelangelo was defending Florence in the death struggle of her freedom. At this time Titian had a domestic misfortune, his wife died in the feverish heats of the summer, and he, pining in the sultry air, and vexed, no doubt, with his old home, moved his family and his goods to the house in the northern suburb, with the famous garden and the view of Antelao.

The next great event after the change of house was Titian's acquaintance with Charles V. Frederico Gonzaga tried to bring the artist and the Emperor together in November, 1532, inviting the

painter to Mantua, and asking him, withal, to bring some fresh fish with him. But Titian declined, and preferred to use Aretino's introduction, and follow the court to Bologna. The Emperor was immortalised in 1532-1533, in company, as the Whitehall inventory says, "with a big white Irish dog." In 1533 the gratified Kaiser sent the master a letter-patent from Barcelona, comparing him to Apelles; and to no other artist did Charles intend to sit, for the term of his natural life. He also created Titian "a count of the Lateran palace, of the Aulic Council, and of the Consistory, with the title of Count Palatine, and all the advantages attached to those dignities. He acquired the faculty of appointing notaries and ordinary judges, and the power to legitimatise the illegitimate offspring of persons beneath the rank of prince, count, or baron." In addition to these almost miraculous powers, Titian was made a Knight of the Golden Spur, might wear a sword—useful in case of an encounter with Pordenone —and was paid a thousand golden scudi, which he invested in land. Now Titian was somebody, when he went to Cadore with his sword and medals, and he could do a service to a cousin, who had a taste for the life of a notary or ordinary judge; and he could even afford to lend money to his native township, or to get a captain of the castle dismissed for contriving monopolies in the simple fashion recommended by Aristotle. Titian was now, and for the rest of his days remained, a confirmed court painter, a man of business and of cheerful life, without ceasing to be a man of genius. But his genius was well in hand, and was allowed no vagaries. Life was full of seriousness to him, because he could not keep up with his orders, and turn out as many pictures as were demanded, even with the aid of the easy style which is not acquired with ease. "Aretino boasted in a letter to Paul Manutius that Titian could throw off a likeness as quickly as another could scratch the ornament on a chest." But then there were so many likenesses which must be thrown off. Alfonso d'Este had died in the early autumn of 1534, and so had Clement VII.; but Paul III., of the house of Farnese, succeeded to the pontificate, and Paul soon required Titian's presence at Rome. Aretino had tried to bring this visit to pass, but Aretino was in an unlucky vein, and suffered a good deal from the ungrateful Franco of Benevento. Franco wrote one of the sonnets, so strangely admired at the time, in which he praised Titian for having concentrated in the portrait of Aretino all the shame of the age:—

"Nello spacio d'un piccolo quadretto
Tutta l'infamia della nostra etate."

But life was endurable, in spite of Franco, who, after all, was answered in full measure, pressed down and running over, by the indomitable Aretino. It would be pleasant to quote Priscianese's de-

scription of a supper with the artist and the satirist and the sculptor Sansovino in Titian's garden, where the large tree, painted in the "Peter Martyr," whispered above the guests, and the sea in the sunset was musical with songs from the many gondolas, and the voices of singing women. But Mr. Gilbert has already reproduced this passage, and, in justice to Aretino, it is proper to give that serpent's sketch of a sunset in Venice. He is writing to Titian, then perhaps in Cadore, and his letter is thus freely paraphrased by our two authors:—

"Having dined, contrary to my habit, alone, or rather in company of the quartan fever, which robs me of all taste for the good things of the table, I looked out of my window, and watched the countless passing boats, and amongst them the gondolas manned by famous oarsmen, racing with each other on the Grand Canal. I saw the crowd that thronged the bridge of Rialto and the Rivo to witness the race, and as it slowly dispersed I glanced at a sky which since the days of the Creation was never more splendidly graced with light and shadows. The air was such as an artist would like to depict, who grieved that he was not Titian. . . . . The clouds above the roof merged into a distance of smoky grey, the nearest blazing like sun, more distant ones glowing as molten lead, dissolving at last into horizontal streaks, now greenish blue, now bluish green, cutting the palaces as they cut them in the landscapes of Vecelli. And as I watched the scene I exclaimed more than once, 'O Titian, where art thou, and why not here to realise this scene?'"

"He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good."

Aretino had tried, as we have seen, to get an invitation to Rome for Titian, but for the time without success. Other good fortune came in his way: in 1541 Charles V. gave him a pension on the treasury at Milan, and this pension was most valuable to the painter, supplying him for the rest of his life with occupation in his leisure hours. The Milanese authorities never paid, or when they did pay it was in tickets for rice, which Titian did not want. Most of his letters to the Emperor and to Philip II. deal with this unlucky pension, and it is curious to note how Philip at first made marks in the margin of the epistles, but ended by being bored with the unwearied demands of the artist. His picture of Paul III., painted in 1543, was a marvel, "combining the detail of a Fleming with the softness of Bellini, or the polish of Antonello, with breadth of plane, freedom of touch, and transparence of shadow peculiarly his own;" but the portrait of Paul III. did not obtain for Pomponio the looked-for benefice. Not solid profit, so much as praise and princely hospitality, and the offer of the "leaden seal," which could not be accepted without robbing Sebastian, was to be got from the hands of the Pope. In September, 1545, thirty years after his earliest invitation, Titian visited Rome, with an escort of seven riders, payment of his journey, good company on the road, caresses, honours, and presents. He was welcomed by Bembo and the Pope, and Vasari,

an admirable guide, led him to the choicest antique and modern treasures of the city. At the age of sixty-eight it may be imagined that he had little to learn. That plastic period was over in which, under the influence of Raffaelle and Buonarotti, he might have ceased to be himself, might have imitated, and been lost. But even now, in his great picture of Danae, he borrowed with grace and skill, from the attitude of the Eros of Praxiteles, in the replica in the Vatican, proving that he was still alive to fresh and worthy influences in his art.

It may have been the misfortune of his friend Sansovino, whose new library fell in with ignominious ruin, that called Titian back to Venice in 1546. At all events, on his return he helped his friend, as old nearly as himself. He returned to his domestic life, and to painting in various attitudes his beautiful daughter Lavinia. Though her marriage and dowry caused anxiety to an aged artist, whose pensions were not paid on quarter day with pleasing punctuality, still Lavinia and her brother, the industrious Orazio, consoled Titian for the misconduct of the pampered Pomponio. Looking at the old man's life, *ut in votiva tabella,* one sees little except the ingratitude of this son to check his even prosperity and ruffle his placid content. Aretino sympathised with him in this tribulation, and Titian no doubt condoled with his friend, who never secured the cardinal's hat which he had good reason to expect from Paul III. The pontiff was not deceived by the work on the Penitential Psalms, with which Aretino about this time edified a pious public.

Now there was a great and universal demand for Titian's paintings, scraps, and sketches, for it was known that he meant to visit the Emperor at Augsburg; the way was long and hard, and the painter might never return from the cold north to Venice and the sun. It was natural to reckon thus, for Titian had reached the term of three score and ten when he set his face towards Augsburg. "With your license, *padrono mio unico,*" he wrote to Cardinal Farnese, who wanted to detain him, "I shall go whither I am called, and returning, with the grace of God, I shall serve you with all the strength of the talents which I got from my cradle." "Who among us now would undertake Titian's journey," say MM. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "and visit Ceneda, Trent, and Innspruck in winter?" By reason of strength, in truth, the master made the long, cold, and laborious ride, and set to work in Augsburg so diligently, that he exhausted his colours, and in May he had to write to Aretino, asking that half a pound of lake might be sent by the first Imperial messenger. It was a gloomy court which he painted; Charles V., "the ghost of a Kaiser," as the Protestants called him, who would sit alone when at dinner, and eat enormously;

Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, an even less lovely man to look upon; John Frederick, a mournful captive and student of the psalms, whose bloated frame grew more unwieldy in the constrained absence of his black armour and in his lack of exercise. Another painter was at Augsburg, Cranach, a friend of John Frederick, not of Charles. Cranach, who had painted the Kaiser as a child, was asked by him what he was like in those days. "Your majesty," said Cranach, "was eight years old when the Emperor Maximilian took you by the hand and received the homage of the Belgian States. There was a teacher with you, who, seeing your restlessness, told me that iron or steel would attract your particular attention. I asked him to place a spear against a wall, so that the point should be turned towards you, and your majesty's eye remained fixed on that point till I had done the picture." Cranach designed "the *Cunterfet* of Thucia, the painter of Venice," at the time when Titian was busy with that too-successful portrait of Philip II., which won the maiden heart of Mary Tudor. Whether or not the queen "cut it out of the frame and threw it down," as in Mr. Tennyson's stage direction, in 1554 it was faithfully returned to Mary of Hungary. It is a strange link between the healthy and happy age of the painter who has given so much of the purest pleasure, and the bitter and blighted late youth of her who was so miserable, and a cause of so much misery.

In August, 1551, a more propitious season to travel in than the winter weather in which he rode to Augsburg, Titian returned to Venice. No less than twenty-five years of life and work were still before him, and now he actually painted a landscape which claimed to be nothing more than a landscape. It was a new departure, and had he been encouraged by patronage, Titian would have worked this fresh and rich vein. But the demand was all for Magdalenes and St. Johns, Danaes and Calistos, and Titian went on supplying these, and enjoying a luxurious life with his friends. His peaceful pleasure was saddened, when the hearts of kings were lightened, by Aretino's death. "The brute," as Antonio Pola styled him, died after a fall from his chair, caused by a violent explosion of laughter at a joke of his favourite sort. Titian was sorry, no doubt, and his biographers regret the cessation of Aretino's letters, but the satirist had enjoyed more than his share of meat and mirth and wine. Old Sansovino, too, whose wonderful digestion enabled him to eat six cucumbers and half a melon at one meal, did not long survive the satirist. It would be some consolation to Titian, that when Charles V. also escaped from his gloomy and premature old age in 1558, his successor made great efforts to secure the payment of the former's pensions. Titian's letters at this time are full of his grievances. He makes an honest penny by selling and valuing curiosities, and a

dishonest gain by a fraudulent return of income, but the pension is always in his mind. The laborious Philip, with that attention to business which made him annotate his envoy's statement of the price of rhubarb, gave ear, as we have said already, to the old man's complaints. Titian continued to send his latest pictures to Philip, though they were received without thanks. After the battle of Lepanto, that "event" almost as "untoward" as Navarino in the eyes of the Turcophile, Titian did not attempt the commemorative design. Tintoretto succeeded to a broker's patent, as Titian had succeeded to that of Bellini. But it appears that even in his ninety-sixth year Titian would have painted a new battle-piece for the Signori, had he not been busy with a similar work for Philip of Spain. He had a new royal patron in Henri III., who visited him, in 1574, on his way from Poland to France. In 1576 he was still writing that he expected further fruits of favour from Philip's royal benevolence. But the plague was at the door, and Titian was too dilatory in fleeing to the hill country. The painter made his last bargain with the Franciscans for a grave in the chapel "del Crocifisso." The bargain ended in a wrangle, but Titian gained his point after all, and dying on August 27, 1576, was buried in the place of his desire with great honour, even in that terror-stricken time of pestilence. His son Orazio did not long survive him, and thieves broke in and stole the priceless gems of the old man's collection.

Titian's life strikes one as having possessed all the fulness that the poet in *Empedocles on Etna* assigns to human existence in itself, without thought of a possible future.

> "Is it a little thing
> To have enjoyed the sun,
> To have lived light in the spring,
> To have loved, to have thought, to have done;
> To have helped friends and beat down baffling foes?"

All this Titian enjoyed for a full century, and because he did enjoy all this, nearly without the sorrows and trouble of Michel-angelo and Leonardo, he was the more perfect artist, and perhaps the less perfect man. In his days he had good things, and they too often evil things, and therefore they touch our hearts with a keen, far-off affection which Titian does not awaken.

A. Lang.

# PAUL LOUIS COURIER.

"The life of a great writer," says Armand Carrel in his *Essai sur la Vie et les Écrits de P. L. Courier*, "is the best commentary on his writings;" and the maxim has now become, even if it were not so in Carrel's day, a respectable commonplace. Like other respectable commonplaces, it contains a certain amount of truth, and also a certain amount of falsehood. It generally happens, that is, that the knowledge of what a man was and did will throw some light of interpretation upon what he wrote; but it is no less common to find his character and actions suggesting, in regard to his literary work, at least as many questions as they help to answer. And this is very emphatically the case with the subject of Armand Carrel's essay; for if in some of the personal characteristics of Paul Louis Courier—in his audacity, his combativeness, his originality, his prowess as a good hater—we can trace some of the characteristics of the most consummate of political pamphleteers, we are certainly not prepared for perfection of literary art, and for that very kind of perfection which we most naturally associate with a perfect balance of the mental faculties, by studying the life of the most wayward and whimsical of human beings. That there are other instances of this anomaly—other examples of this strange contrast between the repose of the art and the unrest of the life—we of course know. Walter Savage Landor supplies such an instance; but then no one would think of saying that the life of Walter Savage Landor is the best commentary upon his works.

One point of similarity, however, between the man and the writer is in this instance obvious enough. Paul Louis Courier had a remarkably original style, and he was an absolutely unique character—unique even in that troubled period of French history when human nature itself seemed to have caught some of the strangeness and wildness of passing events. We should suppose that, among the many thousands of Frenchmen who were serving in the army under the Directory and Consulate, it would have been as hopeless to attempt to find another young soldier of Courier's tastes and conduct, as it would have been in later years to have tried to find an equal master of the lighter weapons of political controversy. Paul Louis Courier was born at Paris in 1772, of good middle-class parentage. His father, a wealthy bourgeois and a man of intelligence and cultivation, was compelled to quit the capital while Paul Louis was yet a child. A certain duke, to whom he had lent money, suspected, or conveniently pretended to suspect, him of an intrigue

with his duchess; and, according to that chivalrous practice of the French nobility to which Voltaire had fallen a victim, he set on his "people" to attack the suspected seducer, who narrowly escaped with his life. The affair made considerable noise in Paris, and the elder Courier thought it prudent to retire into the provinces. He took up his abode in Touraine, and devoted himself to the education of his son, to whom he at least succeeded in imparting his love of letters and his hatred of the noblesse. At fifteen Paul Louis was sent to Paris to complete his education at the Collége de France; and there, a biographer tells us, he showed a remarkable quickness in the comprehension of mathematics, and as remarkably little inclination to study them. His tastes lay, and were through life to lie, in quite another direction; and he was already foreshadowing the young soldier who was to put the opportunities of foreign service to so singular a use as a student of classic literature and antiquities. Even in those early days he would, as he says, have "given all the problems of Euclid for a single page of Isocrates." But events were preparing which were to force other studies upon him for a time. The first mutterings of the approaching storm were to be heard while Courier was still a student at Paris. He was an eye-witness of the popular uprising of the 14th of July, 1789; and when, in 1791, the life-struggle of the Revolution was becoming imminent, his father resolved, like a good patriot, to make a soldier of him. Young Courier was transferred from the Collége de France to the School of Artillery at Chalons, whence, after a further course of instruction from his old mathematical professor, Labbey, who had preceded him thither, he passed in due course into the artillery, and went to join the army of the frontier at Thionville.

From that date until the year 1809, when he bade final adieu to military service, Courier's career as a soldier was the most extraordinary that ever escaped an untimely end at the hands of a court-martial. There was scarcely any military sin, except cowardice in the field, of which he was not at one time or other guilty. He was indifferent to his duties, insubordinate to his superior officers, and contemptuous of the most elementary regulations of military life. He was twice a deserter, virtual or actual, and once grossly insulted General Berthier. On one occasion he quarrelled with his commandant, and distributed among the regiment twenty copies of a biting letter addressed to that officer. On another occasion he was guilty of a most audacious neglect of a military order. It is a marvel, indeed, how he escaped being cashiered or undergoing a worse fate. Cowardice, as has been said, was the only military offence with which Courier cannot be justly charged; but his courage was of such a character as to be of the least possible service to his country. When actually brought face to face with danger,

he displayed a remarkable coolness and intrepidity; but he would never have gone out of his way to seek it—unless perhaps the risk looked likely to be rewarded by an addition to his own or the world's knowledge of Greek. He would have been the last man, no doubt, to volunteer for a forlorn hope; but he would not have hesitated to face the Caliph Omar, with his whole army of fanatics at his back, to save the library of Alexandria from destruction. Inasmuch, however, as no service of this last unusual kind presented itself, Courier remained the most complete military *fainéant* that ever lived; and it would have been but scant consolation to the authorities to reflect upon the fact, if they knew it, that while he was thus comporting himself as a soldier, he was attaining a quite remarkable mastery over the Greek language, and in general gratifying his love for the intellectual and material monuments of classical antiquity.

In 1795, while serving before Mayence, he received news of his father's death, and, dispensing with the formality of obtaining leave of absence, he immediately set off for Touraine to console his mother in her bereavement. The filial piety of the act was hardly likely to excuse the breach of military duty in the view of the authorities; but they would doubtless have been still more dissatisfied had they known that, for some months afterwards, while Courier was being "wanted" as a deserter, he was calmly translating the *Pro Ligario* in a country retreat near Alby. This escapade might, one would have imagined, have cost any man his commission; but Courier's friends contrived, it is said, to arrange matters in some mysterious manner, and in due, or rather in undue, time, he returned to his military duties.

In the year 1798 he was ordered to Rome, just then evacuated by the Neapolitan troops, and the opportunities that Italy afforded for the pursuit of his favourite studies were so attractive to him, that he sought every occasion to return thither, and spent there more than half of the remaining years of his military life. He was a soldier of so uncommon a type, that he would have preferred the dullest garrison duty in a town possessing a good library to the most glorious of campaigns, which would have separated him from his books. He selected his station for service with an eye to nothing but its proximity to the classic spots which he desired to visit, and joined his regiment whenever possible (which does not mean whenever permissible) by a route which would enable him to pay a visit to the greatest number of such places on his way. At Rome, in 1798, his deepest sentiments of reverence were outraged by the wanton vandalism of the French soldiery, and, writing to his friend Chlewaski, he warned him that those who wished to see Rome must make haste to visit it before all its monuments and works of art were destroyed. With the exception of a short absence upon the

expedition to reduce Civita Vecchia, he remained at Rome till its evacuation by the French in 1799. Here his characteristic indifference to danger, whenever his beloved studies were concerned, was curiously illustrated. He had the courage, or rather the foolhardiness, to pay a farewell visit to the library of the Vatican in uniform, and to remain there until all the troops had withdrawn, and he was left a solitary French soldier in the midst of a population infuriated against the invaders. Emerging after nightfall, he was recognised by the light of a lamp burning in front of a Madonna. The cry of *un giacobbino!* was raised, a shot was fired at him which killed a woman at his side, and Courier had to take refuge in the house of his friend Signor Chiaramonti, who smuggled him off the next day to Civita Vecchia, where he embarked for France.

Here he remained for the next four years, occupied in the same pursuits as before. In 1800 he made the acquaintance of the learned Grecist Clavier, whose daughter he was afterwards to marry; later he published, in the *Magasin Encyclopédique*, a paper on the Athenæus of Schweighauser, in which he is said to have successfully interpreted some obscure passages in the author that had defied the erudition of Casaubon. In 1803 he published his *Éloge d'Hélène*, a translation, or rather a free imitation, of the discourse of Isocrates under that title. In October of the same year, through the influence (which must indeed have been great for such a purpose) of his old schoolfellows Duroc and Marmont, he obtained promotion to the rank of *chef d'escadron*, but was ordered to join his troop at once at Piacenza. Proceeding in his usual leisurely fashion, he arrived there in April, 1804, to hear immediately on his arrival—he, the *frondeur* by temperament, who had hated equally the monarchy and the Jacobin excesses of the republic, the man who always found himself in opposition to the ruling *régime*—of Napoleon's assumption of the imperial title. The story of the "Emperor-making,"—the voting of the address by Courier and his brother officers, has been told by him in an inimitable letter to a private correspondent:—

"This morning D'Anthouard (their colonel), assembled us, and told us the business on hand in a straightforward way, without preamble or peroration. 'An Emperor, or a republic,' said he, 'which do you prefer?' as who should say, 'Which will you have, roast or boiled?' His speech concluded, we sat in a circle looking at each other. 'Well, gentlemen, what say you?' Not a word. Nobody opened his lips. This lasted a quarter of an hour or more, and was becoming embarrassing for Anthouard and all of us, when Maire, a young lieutenant whom you may have met, rose and said: 'Well, if he wishes to be Emperor, let him; but if you ask my opinion of the business, I see no good about it.' 'Explain yourself,' said the Colonel; 'do you wish it, or do you not?' 'I don't wish it,' replied Maire. 'Very well then,' said the Colonel. Renewed silence; and we again surveyed each other like men who had met for the first time. We should have been there at this moment if I had not taken

up the word. 'Gentlemen,' said I 'it appears to me, under correction, that this is no affair of ours. The nation desires an Emperor; is it for us to discuss the matter?' This reasoning appeared so cogent, so lucid; and so much to the point that—well, I carried the meeting with me. Never did orator achieve so complete a triumph. We rose, signed the address, and went off to play billiards. Maire said to me, '*Ma foi*, commandant, you speak like Cicero; but tell me, why were you so anxious for Bonaparte to be Emperor?' 'To get the business done, and have our game at billiards,' I replied. 'Were we to stay there all day?' And if you come to that, why did *you* wish him not to be Emperor?' 'I don't know,' he replied, 'but I had thought him made for better things.'"

Courier too, it seems, had thought him made for better things; and gladly turning away from this great captain who had "aspired to descend" to the rank of Emperor, he applied for service in the kingdom of Naples, under Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, and joined his regiment, taking the library of Parma on his way. In Italy he remained for the next four years, exchanging, in order to do so, from St. Cyr's *corps d'armée*, which was ordered home in 1805, to that of Reynier, which replaced it, and whom he followed through his Calabrian guerrilla-campaign with even less liking than usual for his work. In the middle of 1807 we find him studying Xenophon's treatise on equitation, and, to enter more fully into the spirit of his author, riding Greek fashion—that is to say, on a bare-backed stirrupless steed—at full gallop through the streets of Naples. Then follows the quarrel with his colonel, of which mention has been made, and in consequence of which Courier received orders to transfer himself to Verona. To obey these orders, however, was naturally to bring himself within reach of the dangerous temptations of Rome and Florence. At the former city he stayed only a fortnight visiting some friends, but the library of the latter proved so attractive that Courier did not reach Verona till January, 1808, to find himself put under arrest by order of the Minister of War, and his pay stopped. Towards the end of the same year he applied for leave of absence, which was refused him, and in the indignation natural to a man who had been accustomed to take leave of absence when he wanted it without asking for it, he resigned his commission and abandoned his *vilain métier*, as he called it—but not for ever. He was to finish his military career by one crowning act of eccentric inconsistency. The man who had been an unwilling soldier for eighteen years had no sooner quitted the army than it occurred to him that at least one campaign under Napoleon in person was necessary to his happiness. There was a difficulty in regaining a commission in the imperial army after once having been guilty of what was, to the Emperor, the unpardonable sin of resigning it; but Courier contrived to attach himself in some irregular capacity to the staff of a general of artillery. He was present at the bloody day of Wagram, and had enough of war for ever. Carried to Vienna in a state of insensi-

bility, he no sooner recovered strength to move than, taking advantage of the incomplete formalities of his re-entry into the army, he quitted it without leave for Italy.

Henceforward Courier's life was wholly literary. His first employment of his recovered liberty was to betake himself to Florence to examine the famous manuscript of Longus, in which he had been the first to discover a passage wanting in all the printed editions; and which was to give rise to the quarrel that first taught the world, and perhaps first taught Courier himself, his deadly mastery of the pen. While engaged in deciphering and translating the manuscript in the Laurentian library, and in the company of the incapable M. Furia, the librarian, Courier carelessly made use of a piece of paper wet with ink as a marker, and to his horror discovered that it had left a large blot in the very midst of the sacred passage which was to fill the *hiatus valde deflendus* of printed editions, obliterating several of its words. Acting on his first and undoubtedly soundest instinct, he immediately offered his own transcript to the library, but the offer was refused, on the ground that the copy could not adequately fill the place of the original. The next day, however, M. Furia had thought better of it, and asked for the transcript; but it was now Courier's turn to refuse. He had, he says, "his reasons for doing so." Upon this the storm broke out. M. Furia and his party accused Courier of having purposely obliterated a portion of the original in order to make his own manuscript more valuable, or at any rate to prevent others from testing the discovery which he claimed to have made; and Courier replied in the *Lettre à M. Renouard*, a Parisian bookseller who had been present at the discovery of the manuscript. That epistle was a literary masterpiece, the merits of which as a piece of mere writing are rather increased than diminished by the other circumstances of its production. It is written in an unworthily splenetic and cantankerous spirit, and by a man who was, ethically speaking, in the wrong—for there can be no question that Courier's offer of his transcript ought to have been a continuing one, and that whatever were his mysterious "reasons" for withdrawing it, they could not morally justify him in withholding the only reparation, however partial, of his carelessness, which it was in his power to make. But, right or wrong, he makes a terrible example of poor M. Furia, whose indignation against the suspected *voleur de Grec* had no root, his opponent alleged, in any disinterested solicitude for learning. He was jealous of Courier because the latter had made a remarkable discovery which had altogether escaped M. Furia, although he had been engaged in a study of this very manuscript for six years. In pages bristling with caustic sentences, Courier ridicules the scholarly enthusiasm of the Florentines and their librarian, "the successor of Bandini, a man of

distinguished ignorance." He had not suspected, he said, that this manuscript "was the Palladium of Florence, but he might have guessed that such objects were held sacred by the Florentines, since they never touched them." He regrets, for the sake of these learned persons, that he ever was embroiled in a quarrel with them, since, but for that quarrel, no one would have suspected how little they knew of their business, "and the ignorance of these gentlemen" (here he discharges both barrels at once), "being exhibited only in their writings, would have remained unknown to the world." And so on, in a fashion which must have made M. Furia wish the manuscript of Longus at the bottom of the Arno.

In 1812 Courier definitively quitted Italy for his native country, where, upon his arrival, *more suo*, without a passport, he was arrested (it was the moment of General Malet's conspiracy) and confined for four days in prison. He presented the prefect of police, by whose efforts he was liberated, with a copy of his Longus. He resided principally in Paris for the next two years, and in 1814 he married the daughter of his friend Clavier, then a young girl of eighteen. The insubordinate soldier was not, however, to settle down all at once into the well-drilled husband. Courier had been but a short time married before he set off on a tour to north-western France, and was about to embark thence for Portugal, when the existence of his wife was recalled to his mind, and he returned to her, to resign himself more or less tranquilly to his bondage. About this time, too, he began naturally enough to consider the question of "ways and means;" and his marriage, therefore, as one among the causes which induced him to live upon his property in Touraine, becomes an important epoch in his literary life. For the famous signature of "Paul Louis, vigneron de la Chavonnière" is something more than a *nom de plume;* it is, in some sense, the key to a career. It is well for French literature that Courier retired to Touraine in 1814, to cultivate his vines, to lop his woods, and to maintain one of those standing quarrels, which was a necessity of his nature, with the local authorities; and that the Restoration came upon him while so engaged. It was thus that he became, by right of sympathy and personal intercourse, the spokesman of that class upon whom the blessings of the restored monarchy had descended in their most calamitous form.

To realise what the Restoration meant for the French peasantry, we must realise all that was implied in that order of things which the Bourbons, so far as they dared, were attempting to re-establish. It was this class who had borne the heaviest burdens of the old régime—burdens far heavier than those which even the bourgeoisie had found intolerable. For the peasantry the old régime had meant no mere inequality of civil rights, or insolence of privileged

classes, but life and liberty held on sufferance, and labour at the will of another. The peasant was the Helot of a polity in which the bourgeois had been at worst but the Perioecus. To the peasant, the Revolution had been "holy" by no hyperbole: it had had at any rate all the sanctity of a material redemption. It brought with it something more valuable than the *carrière ouverte aux talens* which it brought to the bourgeois; for "the right to rise" is not so valuable as the "right to live." It was of the peasant and his reception, in 1789, of the news that the States-General had been summoned, that Mr. Carlyle says in a sternly pathetic passage:—"The weary day-drudge has heard of it: the beggar with his crust moistened in tears. What! to us also has hope reached; down even to us? Hunger and hardship are not to be eternal? The bread we extorted from the rugged glebe, and with the toil of our sinews reaped, and ground, and kneaded into loaves, was not wholly for another then; but we, also, shall eat of it and be filled." These were the men to whom the Revolution had given most, and these also were they who of all Frenchmen had least wavered in gratitude to their benefactress. Even the burdens of the Empire, which fell so heavily upon them, were borne with a patience that seemed inexhaustible, and which only a Napoleon could have exhausted. Wearied with war and decimated by the blood-tax, they yet acquiesced but languidly in a Restoration which was welcomed by the bourgeoisie with eagerness; nor would they, like the fickle citizens of Paris, have kissed the stirrup-irons of the invaders who came to bring back that "one Frenchman the more." They held aloof, glad, indeed, of their relief from the burdens of the Empire, but with no love for the restored Monarchy, and deeply suspicious of the men who had returned with it. Nor were their suspicions long in being realised. The Restoration was but a year old when Courier looked around him in Touraine, and was moved for the first time to political speech. In December, 1816, appeared the famous *Pétition aux Deux Chambres*, and the effect which this masterly fly-sheet—for in size it was no more—produced throughout the country decided its author's career. France is, no doubt, the poorer by some elegant translations from the classics, but she is the richer by a collection of political pamphlets, which for poignancy of wit and for perfection of style are unsurpassed even in that country of brilliant epigram and polished prose.

In Touraine, as throughout France, the royalist reaction was in full force. The priests and the nobles were taking revenge for their long exile, and a petty White Terror of domiciliary visits, arrests, and imprisonments was the order of the day. At Luynes, one François Fouquet, a peasant, had been sent to prison for a trifling act of disrespect to the Church (he had refused to take off his hat

to a funeral procession); another, Georges Mauclair, had suffered a like penalty for having spoken seditious words of the Government. On another occasion, a posse of gendarmes had made a descent upon Luynes in the middle of the night, and had arrested ten of its inhabitants, on more or less frivolous suspicions of Bonapartism, and the only daughter of one of them, Pierre Aubert, had died during her father's imprisonment, from the effects of the shock and distress of his arrest. It was on behalf of these unfortunates and their town that Courier broke silence, adopting, even in this his first essay, that *naïveté villageoise* which was afterwards to be used with such dangerous effect in the *Simple Discours*:—

"Gentlemen," he begins, "I am a Tourainer. I live at Luynes, on the right bank of the Loire, a town once considerable, but reduced by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes to a thousand inhabitants, and about to be reduced to none at all, unless you in your wisdom interpose. Most of you know little, I imagine, of what took place at Luynes some months ago. News from this district makes little noise in France, and still less in Paris. I must, therefore, for the sake of clearness, go back a little to begin my story."

Then, in demurely simple fashion, Courier proceeds to tell the tale of Fouquet's and Mauclair's imprisonment, and to hint that these men were in reality punished, not for the causes alleged against them, but for being what the authorities were pleased to call *mauvais sujets*, or, in other words, people who for some reason or other had given them offence. To a *bon sujet*, on the other hand, much was forgiven. A man, well known in Luynes, who had "said in open market that 'he was keeping his wine to sell when Bonaparte returned,' adding that 'he should not have to wait long,' and other like follies," had got off without any punishment at all. "You will be of opinion, no doubt, gentlemen, that he was really a man who neither kept nor sold his wine, but drank it. That was my opinion at the time; but still he could scarcely have spoken more disloyally, and Mauclair was imprisoned for saying less." But that is the way at Luynes.

"Are you on good terms with M. This or M. That? *Bon sujet* then, and you will be let alone. But have you had a lawsuit with M. T'other, failed to bow to him, had words with his maid-servant, thrown a stone at his dog? Then you are *mauvais sujet*, and therefore seditious. The law is brought to bear upon you, and rudely sometimes, as happened of late to ten of our most orderly inhabitants, God-fearing and mayor-fearing men, fathers of families, vine-dressers, labourers, and artisans, the majority of them, with no complaint against them from any one, good neighbours, kind friends, obliging to all, without reproach in their business, their morals, their behaviour, but—*mauvais sujets*."

Then, after relating in detail the descent of the gendarmes upon these harmless folk, Courier goes on to point out, with an admirable mixture of irony and earnestness, the absurdity of looking for Bonapartist conspiracies in Touraine; "not only the most peaceful, but

the only peaceful province of France for the last five-and-twenty years."

"Nay, where will you find, I will not say in France, but in all Europe, a nook of inhabited earth where through the whole of that period there has been neither war nor proscriptions nor trouble of any kind? Yet we can say this of Touraine, which, exempt alike from civil discord and from foreign invasion, seemed reserved by heaven to be in a stormy period the sole asylum of peace. We knew by hearsay of the disasters of Lyons, the horrors of La Vendée, the human hecatombs of the high-priest of reason, and the calculated massacres of that genius who invented the 'grand' style in warfare, and the 'high' system in police; but we heard only the sound of all these scourges, calm in the midst of tumult, like those oases which are surrounded by the moving sands of the desert."

And for centuries past, from the days of Poictiers and Agincourt, it had been the same.

"Well, in this province, from all time so calm and happy, there was no district more tranquil than that of Luynes. There we knew not what robbery, violence, and murder even meant; and the oldest natives of a country where men live to be very old, had seen neither provosts nor gendarmes before those who came last year to teach good conduct to Fouquet. Here we know not so much as the names of factions and parties. We cultivate our fields, and trouble ourselves about nothing else. The hatreds that the Revolution has sown everywhere, have put forth no shoot with us. Among us it has had no victims and has made no fortunes. We practise before all things the divine precept of obedience to the powers that be; only, we are slow in getting news of political changes, and so, for fear of shouting *Vive le roi! vive la Ligue!* at the wrong moment, we shout nothing at all; and we found that line of politics succeed until the day when Fouquet passed a hearse without taking off his hat."

No closed doors, says Armand Carrel significantly, could prevent this petition from reaching its address. And no wonder. The picture which it drew of Luynes was, and was felt to be, a picture of France itself; and it was so drawn that wise and simple alike could scarcely choose but look at it. The cultivated public saw in the *Petition* a literary masterpiece; the plain man, was won by its *rusé* simplicity, and mistook its exquisite art for nature itself; and the politician, critical or uncritical, felt its effect upon his own mind, and calculated therefrom its effect upon the class whose cause it pleaded. It was as though a French peasant had stepped forth from the dumb masses of the glebe, inspired by the god—a peasant in everything that makes the French peasant what he is, his *naïveté*, his docility, his *bonhommie*, his political indifferentism, his bewilderment at change; uttering thoughts which his fellow-blouses would instantly recognise as their own, but uttering them in language which, while the meanest could understand it, the highest were forced to admire, and pointing them with an irony which, if it missed the former class, only brought them home more forcibly to the latter. *Bos locutus erat* indeed, and that in a tongue which both the herd

and the herdsmen could comprehend. Here clearly was a man to be feared and courted, and feared and courted Courier was. Decazes, then minister of police, made capital out of the *Petition* in his struggle with the Extreme party, and tried every means to attach its author to his following, but in vain. Courier had no more desire than before for a political career. He was living the life of a *bonâ fide* peasant, busied about his vines, his woods, his fields, and his quarrels. He was suffering, according to his own account, from the persecutions of a maire who, out of ill-will to him, refused to protect his property from theft. "Every time I am robbed," he says, "I have to pay damages and interest thereon. If I were assaulted, I suppose I should be fined. I am now threatened with having my house burnt. If that happens, I shall doubtless be punished for arson." In this trying situation it was well to turn the offer of official advances to some account. Courier appeared at a few ministerial receptions, in order that the authorities of his department might beware how they treated him for the future; and the authorities were ware accordingly. To this period belongs his vigorous and caustic, but one would imagine highly injudicious *plaidoyer* for Clavier-Blondeau, an employé of his, who had been an object of the persecutions of the irrepressible mayor.

For the two years succeeding the publication of the *Petition* we have no traces of any political activity on Courier's part; but he had felt his strength, and his re-appearance as a public writer was, as in all such cases, but a question of time. Passing over his epistle to the Academy of Inscriptions, on their rejection of him as a candidate in 1819 (a work which is said to have produced a great effect at the time, but which to a later reader seems much weakened, even in a literary sense, by its display of wounded vanity), we come to the letters to the *Censeur*, in some of which Courier's keenest irony has found play. They appeal less directly and of less set purpose to his "fellow-peasants," and the *naïveté villageoise* is, therefore, not so strictly preserved. But the cause of the class of whom Courier had constituted himself the spokesman is no less prominently in his mind; and the letter of July 10th, 1819, contains the grimly ironical description of the progress of rural liberty since the days of the feudal régime. The peasant, he admits, might be better off than he is at present. "We are dependent on a maire and a rural police who lose their tempers without difficulty; and fine and imprisonment are no jokes." But he reminds his editor that in the old days a peasant might be killed for five sous:—

"That was the law. Every noble who killed a serf was bound to throw five sous into the grave. But liberal laws are rarely operative; and in the majority of cases they killed us free of charge. Now, however, it costs a maire seven sous and a half in stamped paper even to imprison a working man: and, more-

ever, the judges now meddle in the matter. They deliberate, and then they pronounce judgment in conformity with the good pleasure of the maire and the prefect. We have gained a little ground, don't you think, sir, in these five or six hundred years. We used to be 'the people *taxable, corveable* and *killable* at will;' now we are only the *incarcerable*. Is that enough? you say. Patience; fair and softly; yet another five or six centuries, and we shall be speaking to the maire as freely as I am speaking to you; we shall be able to demand payment if he owes us money, or to complain if he takes our money, without risk of imprisonment. Progress is visible in all things. In Montaigne's time a serf, whom his seigneur was desirous of killing, conceived the idea of defending himself. It was a surprise to every one, to the seigneur especially, who was far from expecting it, and to Montaigne who tells the story. This yokel had divined the Rights of man. He was hanged; that was a matter of course, for one must not be in advance of one's age."

To this series of contributions to the *Censeur* succeed the two *Lettres Particulières* published towards the close of 1820, the latter of which contains an inimitably humorous account of a French departmental election, given in the manner proper to Paul Louis's assumed character, here very carefully maintained.

But we must pass on to the central and most important period of Courier's politico-literary career, that, namely, which commences with the publication of the *Simple Discours*. From the literary point of view it is important because it marks the highest point of development in Courier's art; politically it is important because the *Simple Discours*, by embroiling him for the first time with the authorities, committed him finally to a career thus rendered so captivating to his combative nature. In the year 1821 the bright thought entered the head of some highly placed official sycophant, that it would be an excellent thing if the estate of Chambord were purchased for the infant Duc de Bordeaux by national subscription. Such a gift, however, to be graceful, must be spontaneous; so the local authorities received instructions to institute a smart "whip" of the rural population throughout their respective districts. An attempt, in fact, was made, as Armand Carrel says, "to give to a tribute imposed upon the weakness of a large class of persons, the colour of an affectionate national offering;" and this was the attempt which Courier set himself to thwart. Imagine, then, a peasant of the commune of Veretz musing ruefully, on a certain day in the year 1821, upon the dilemma in which he found himself, and balancing the favour of M. le Maire and his own reputation as a *bon sujet* against the pinch of his meditated contribution to the Chambord Fund: imagine such a man lighting at the critical moment of decision on the *Simple Discours de Paul Louis, Vigneron de la Chavonnière*, and in the first sentence reading thus:—

"If we had more money than we knew what to do with, if all our debts were paid, all our roads repaired, all our poor relieved, our church (for God comes first) new paved, new roofed, and new glazed; and if, then, there

remained something to spend outside the commune, I think, friends, that we ought to subscribe with our neighbours to rebuild the bridge of Saint Avertin, which would shorten the road to Tours by a good league, and by quickening the sale of our produce, would increase the value and the yield of all the lands in this neighbourhood. That, I think, would be the best use to make of our surplus, when we get one. But as for purchasing Chambord for the Duc de Bordeaux, I am not at all in favour of that; nor should I be, if we had the wherewithal, the whole plan being in my opinion a bad one, both for the Duke, for ourselves, and for Chambord. You will understand my objections, I think, if you will listen to me; it is a holiday, and we have time for a chat."

What peasant could resist that? What abstract reasoning, however ingenious, could match the force of this singularly concrete appeal? What satiric retrospect on the past life of the French Court would move the rustic reader like this vision of "three miles saved" and market profits increased? Nothing, we may be sure, that Courier had to say afterwards on the vices of courts and courtiers went home to its address like this first sentence; and it may be shrewdly suspected that the Government thought so too, and would have gladly overlooked the subsequent "outrages upon public morality," had not Courier buttoned so many pockets throughout the country by this too-convincing exordium. For every commune in France had its bridge of Saint Avertin in some shape or another, and every inhabitant thereof, who read these lines or had them repeated to him, must have asked himself what Chambord was to him, or he to Chambord. But it was not in Courier's present purpose, or we may add in Courier's ever-present temperament, to confine himself to such arguments as this; nor, had he done so, would the *Simple Discours* have been the work it is. For it is something far more than the Simple Discourse it professes to be; it is something far more than a quiet warning to a peasantry against being bullied or cajoled out of their hard-won earnings to gratify the adulatory whim of a Government—a warning supported by the perfectly legitimate reminder that they had other things to do with their money. It is a powerful, and, argumentatively speaking, unscrupulous appeal to every form of popular prejudice that made in favour of the writer's case. Not content with urging that the purchase of Chambord could do the French peasantry no good, Courier set himself to show that it would do them an infinity of harm by bringing the contaminating influences of a Court to bear upon the simple and virtuous life of the French peasant. To prove this, Courier did not hesitate to paint the Court of Louis XVIII. in the colours of the Court of the Grand Monarque. Beyond a doubt he knew the exaggeration of the picture—knew that the Court was not as profligate, nor the peasant as unsophisticated, as he represented it and him; and he relied simply upon the ignorance and self-esteem of his rural audience. It is fortunate for French literature that he had so little scruple. For in no other language, ancient or

modern, can we match the scathing sarcasm, the cruel invective which he pours out, always with the same unconscious, unprofessional air, upon courts and courtiers. The withering gibes drop from his lips like so many commonplaces of rustic market-day gossip. It is Juvenal, but Juvenal with his rare moods of self-repression made habitual, Juvenal in the spirit in which he wrote his—

> "Sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
> Cœperat. Hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti."

Extract would be injustice. The Simple Discourse of Paul Louis must be read throughout by whoever wishes to form an adequate estimate of its merits. Like all perfect works of art, it is sustained excellence and total symmetry which make it what it is, and these qualities cannot, by the force of the terms, be presented in sample. Still, it is difficult to refrain from quoting the trenchant sentences that meet one upon every page. "Our sentiments" (the peasant's standard of kingly excellence) "are widely different from those of courtiers. Their love for their king is measured by what he gives them; ours by what he leaves us." "Such acquisitions as that of Chambord would soon ruin him, if it be true that the love of their peoples is the only wealth of kings." "The idea of purchasing Chambord was not started among our communes of the Loire; possibly it took its rise among those which have twice housed the Cossacks of the Don. Here, to be sure, we are sensible enough of the blessings of the Holy Alliance, but it is another matter there, where men have actually enjoyed its presence in the flesh, actually entertained Sacken and Platoff. There, naturally, the first thought is to purchase châteaux for princes, the second to repair the ruined hearth and home." But one might gather bitter fruit like this by handfuls: we must leave it on the tree. Suffice it to say that the irony, unflagging throughout, reaches its climax in the peroration. In the final appeal, "O vous législateurs nommés par les préfets, prévenez ce malheur, faites les lois, empêchez que tout le monde ne vive," &c., the appeal in which Courier calls upon Privilege to arrest the insolent and dangerous advance of Industry, classic dignity of style contends for our admiration with bitterness of sarcasm. We seem to be listening to a mocking Demosthenes.

The publication of the *Simple Discours* was promptly followed by a Government prosecution of the audacious *vigneron*. People read it, says Courier, and had ceased to think of it, when the Government resolved to recall public attention to it by prosecuting its author. The poor fellow, to quote his own humorous account of the proceedings, was working one day in the fields, when he received a long document signed Jacquinot Pampelune, in which he found himself charged with having offended public morality by saying that the life of the French Court was once not exemplary; with

having at the same time insulted the person of the king, and, not content with that, having incited to insult the aforesaid person. On which grounds Jacquinot proposed to send him to prison for twelve years—two years for morality, five years for the person of the king, and five for the "incitement." If ever a man felt as if he had just tumbled from the clouds, that man was Paul Louis when he read that bit of stamped paper. He left his oxen and his plough, and posted off to Paris, where he found his friends no less astonished at the anger of this M. de Pampelune, and most of them in great agitation. Paul Louis did not go to see Jacquinot, as some of them advised him, nor his deputy, whom he was also recommended to visit, nor the president of the court, nor the judges, nor their deputies, nor their clerks—"not that he didn't believe them all to be worthy folks, and very excellent company, but simply because he had no desire to make new acquaintances." He kept quiet, and waited; and soon he learned that, Jacquinot having had to submit his indictment for approval by some court or other, the judges had struck out the counts charging insult to the king and incitement to insult. This was annoying for Pampelune, as the disallowed charges were the gems of the indictment, but a good thing for Paul Louis, whose joy may be imagined at finding himself let off ten out of the twelve years. However, he was uneasy about the two years which remained, and would have compounded with Jacquinot for a year's imprisonment so as to have no more trouble about the matter, had he not met with M. Berville, a rising young advocate, who absolutely forbade him to compromise, and undertook to get him off altogether. "Your case," he declared, "is simply 'unloseable' at all points, and I defy M. Regley to impanel a jury who will convict you. Where is he to find twelve men to declare that you offended morality in imitating the great preachers, that you have corrupted morals in denouncing their corruption and the depravity of courts? Regley will never get twelve men to make such a declaration, to incur such an opprobrium as that. Come, my dear fellow, leave it to me, and if they find you guilty I will go to prison instead of you." Paul Louis, however, was always a little doubtful. Maître Berville, he said to himself, is of the age which believes that good sense and justice take some share in the conduct of human affairs. Still, he listened to the young man's hopeful talk, and ended by confiding to him his "unloseable" cause. He lost it, as the result will show. Paul Louis was unanimously convicted, but by the clemency of the judges he escaped with two months' imprisonment—a little different from the twelve years of Maître Jacquinot, "who, it is said, is deeply piqued at the result, and promises himself revenge upon the first author of any talent who shall fall into his hands." The *Procès de Paul Louis*, Courier's account of his trial, is, as has been justly said, an admirable pamphlet in itself; and the trial, in the

opportunities which it gave to the accused of again and again repeating his original offence before his judges, is a capital illustration of that "Irish bull of authority," the press prosecution.

In Ste. Pélagie Courier made the acquaintance of Béranger, *le chansonnier*, of whose songs, not yet quite in every Frenchman's mouth, he says no more than that there are some of them *qui sont vraiment bien faites*, and that *il a pourtant chanté des choses qui ne se peuvent dire en prose*. On his release he was brought to trial for his *Pétition pour les villageois qu'on empêche de danser*—a charming little *brochure* of protest against a stupid piece of petty sacerdotal tyranny, and containing an admirable blending of pointed political satire with naïf description of rustic life and manners. For this Courier escaped with a reprimand, but he was not disposed to run any further risk of these official attentions, and thenceforward his writings appeared anonymously, and from a press at Brussels. To be driven to this under a charter guaranteeing the liberty of the press had its humorous side, and exquisitely humorous is Courier's review of the situation in his first *Réponse aux Lettres Anonymes*. "Had it not been for the Charter," he says, "I should never have thought of giving my views to the public upon any subject. For twenty years I had studied the art of silence under Robespierre, Barras, and the great Napoleon. Under Bonaparte especially: that hero never deceived one, never lured one on with liberty of the press, or any sort of liberty. He had a dash of the Turk in his administrative methods," but there was no deceit about him:—

"He made no secret of his royal intention, which always was to have the entire disposal of our persons and property only. To our souls he was indifferent; indeed, it is only since his time that they have begun to take account of our souls. Wishing to have all the talking to himself, he imposed silence, first upon France, afterwards upon all Europe: and the whole world held its peace. Nobody uttered a whisper, and nobody complained of it, the system having this convenience, that under Napoleon one at least knew what to be at. I like that way of government, and I have tried the other. The Charter came, and they said to us, 'Speak, write, print, you are free; the liberty of the press and all other liberties are guaranteed to you. What are you afraid of? If you offend men in power you have your jury, your public trial, your right of petition, your deputies, nominated and elected by yourselves. *They* would not allow any one to wrong you. Talk a little just to see; say something.' I, poor fool, who had never heard of a *gouvernement provocateur*, and took it all in good faith, I open my mouth and say, 'I should prefer, if you please, not to subscribe for the purchase of Chambord.' No sooner have I uttered the words than I am seized and clapped into prison. On my release, I can't believe but that there must have been some misunderstanding. . . . . So I try another request. 'If it should be your good pleasure, gentlemen,' say I, holding my hat in both hands, 'to allow us to dance on Sundays in the market-place.' Off with him again, gendarmes—maximum fine and penalty."

The second of these *Réponses* contains that vivid and touching picture of the young priest confessing the "fair penitent" whom he has learned to love, which, as Carrel justly says, is more effective for its purpose than any of the direct attacks upon the confessional system

in the writings of the eighteenth century. To this succeeded, in 1823, the *Gazette du Village* and the *Livret de Paul Louis*, two slighter pieces, but yet which abound in the unmistakable and inimitable touches of the writer's hand, and the *Pièce Diplomatique*, an imaginary letter from Louis XVIII. to his brother of Spain, then in the midst of his political troubles. Lastly, in 1824, follows the *Pamphlet des Pamphlets*, and we approach the end of Courier's brilliant, but too brief, career.

The *Pamphlet des Pamphlets* is in many respects the most interesting of its writer's works. It shows us the great pamphleteer in an introspective mood, reflecting upon his work, and magnifying his office. It opens with one of Courier's most perfect bits of dramatic dialogue, the interlocutors in which are supposed to be Paul Louis himself and a M. Arthus Bertrand, one of the jurors who had convicted him in his prosecution for the *Simple Discours*. The public prosecutor had frequently apostrophised the accused in the course of his trial as "vile pamphleteer!" and had produced thereby a profound impression of horror upon his hearers—Courier's counsel, himself, included. Meeting M. Bertrand on the great staircase immediately after his conviction, Courier frankly asked him what he found to censure in the condemned work. M. Bertrand replied that "he had not read it; it was a pamphlet, and that was sufficient for him." On being asked to define a pamphlet, he says it is a writing of a few pages—one or two sheets only. "Three sheets?" inquires Paul Louis. "Possibly, in popular parlance," is the reply; "but, strictly speaking, a pamphlet has but one sheet; two or more make a *brochure*." "And ten sheets—fifteen sheets?" "Make a work—a volume." In much distress of mind, Paul Louis then entreats M. Bertrand to say on his honour and conscience as a juror whether he really thinks the *Simple Discours* to be no *brochure*, but a pamphlet, and its author a pamphleteer. "I should not have said so to you," is M. Bertrand's answer, "out of consideration for your feelings; but it is the truth. However," he adds, "if you repent, God, in his great mercy, will forgive you in the other world. Go, my dear sir, and sin no more; go to Ste. Pélagie." Courier then beguiles his companion into conventional praise of the Provincial Letters, "the *chef d'œuvre* of our language," and upon this, points out to him that they, too, were really pamphlets, and their author a pamphleteer. M. Bertrand, however, retires unconvinced, and the rest of the Pamphlet about Pamphlets is devoted to an acute and eloquent apology for pamphleteering, put into the mouth of an imaginary Englishman, Sir John Bickerstaff, who is made to remind Courier that Cicero, Demosthenes, Franklin, and even St. Paul himself had been really pamphleteers before him; that "great" (meaning "big") works have done nothing; and that from all time it has been pamphlets which have changed the face of the world. And Sir John having concluded

by a comparison of Paul Louis and the public prosecutor respectively, to Socrates and Anytus, Courier replies in a passage which a biographer describes as a "confused adieu to life," and which we must admit to strike a chord of despondency unusual in his writings. "Turn that cup away from me," he says, "the hemlock is bitter, and the world will reform itself without my meddling, poor weakling that I am. I am but the fly on the wheel, which can well spare my buzzings. It moves, dear friends, and will not cease moving. If its progress seems slow to us, it is that we live but for a moment. But what way it has made in the last five or six centuries! At this hour it is bowling along the level ground, and nothing now can stop it."

The *Pamphlet des Pamphlets* was, as has been said, Paul Louis's *chant du cygne*. A year before, in his *Livret*, he had, strangely enough, described a friend as saying to him, "Prends garde, Paul Louis, prends garde! les cagots te feront assassiner," and the manner of his death, at least, was here truly prophesied. On the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th of May, 1825, a little before sunset, Courier was found shot dead in his grounds. The mystery of the crime has never been cleared up. Madame Courier, then in Paris, denounced her husband's *garde*, one Frémont, as the murderer, and upon her accusation, it would seem, he was arrested. The preliminary inquiry, however, having failed to establish any case against him, he was discharged. It is said, though accounts differ, that five years later he was again pointed out as the murderer, on the evidence of a peasant girl, and that he confessed the crime on his deathbed. But the man who fired the shot, whoever he was, was in all likelihood a mere bravo; and the hidden hand that directed the human weapon has never been revealed.

Thus darkly passed away a notable figure from the front ranks of French literature. He was widely read and warmly admired in his day; what his chance is of being long read and remembered in after-times is a question not easy to decide; or rather, it raises two questions of unequal facility of decision. Remembered among his countrymen he doubtless may be—with, at any rate, that sort of royal memory which keeps tenacious hold of a name. Style has its honour in France, and future generations may find Courier still enrolled among the French classics, and his works enjoying the usual classical privileges of a place in every library, and half an inch of dust on the upper edges of their leaves. But whether he will be read by many is a very different question. Pure political polemics, upon special and since-decided issues, can scarcely hope to live by grace of style or brilliancy alone. How much of the immortality of Junius's Letters is due to the piquant mystery of their authorship! May it not be almost said that a purely political writer must belong to the order of Burke to establish a permanent

claim on the attention of posterity? Burke, even when dealing with passing politics, will always have readers; but that is not because of the splendour of his eloquence, but because of the wealth and suggestiveness of his political thought. In Courier there is no political thought. We might look in vain for a single trace of reflection upon the great issues of his time. There is no attempt to examine the defences, or even to analyse the vices, of the aristocracy he hated—no attempt to reason out the principles, still less to forecast the dangers, of the democracy he prized. He postulates a few simple propositions—that the rule of the priest is bad, that speech and writing should be free, that the petty tyranny of municipal officials should be curbed—and he covers those who offend these doctrines in practice with the happiest and most finished ridicule. But the principles against which Courier's postulates were the protest are now dead or dying or banished. And while the causes for which Courier fought have thus lost urgency, the method by which he fought them has also passed away. Pamphleteering is a dead art. A utilitarian age has replaced it by a new method, which, from the conditions of its working, cannot aspire to literary perfection, and does not need it. The journalists have entered into the inheritance of the pamphleteers, and have partitioned each single patrimony among a score of successors. The work of political criticism, which was done at leisure and perfectly by a single writer, is now done hurriedly and imperfectly, in an artistic sense, by twenty. But it is done effectually; and a utilitarian age will look no farther.

In the quality of wit alone, Courier stands unsurpassed even in his own nation of wits. The wit of *Candide* is not more pregnant in meaning, nor that of the *Provincial Letters* more perfect in form. And if Courier cannot match Voltaire in broad burlesque—if he could not wield, or at least has never wielded, the jester's bauble, which buffeted the hapless Maupertuis into frenzy, he has yet a strong grave humour of his own which glows steadily as a gold setting to the jewels of his wit. No man has excelled him in irony; no man, not even Voltaire, has surpassed him in innuendo. And when we add to these that severe grace of form which Courier drew from his lifelong study of the Greeks, that austere simplicity of diction by which he has so instructively shown the true affinity between the homeliest and the highest forms of human speech, and that presiding instinct of fitness and feeling for proportion which could assign their proper place and value to wit, argument, and rhetoric, in works which abound in all of these —we cannot doubt that to the select few, for whom perfect literary art is admirable for its own sake, the writings of Paul Louis Courier will always give that highest pleasure, intense as the most transitory, yet lasting as the soberest, of human joys, which is in the gift of perfect art, and of that alone.

HENRY D. TRAILL.

# ON THE ORGANISATION OF A TEACHING PROFESSION.[1]

A MAIN object of the Teachers' Association is to improve the education of the country by raising the qualifications of teachers. In other words, it is desired to convert the vocation of teachers into a recognised profession, depending upon learning and science for its efficient practice. How is it that teachers have not already obtained the dignity and security of an organised profession? The craft of teaching and the craft of medicine have gone through similar experiences, though they have not reached the same end. In Great Britain teachers and doctors were developed in a like way from the professed religious classes. Perhaps they were offshoots of secular activities from the spiritual passivities of the monastery. This connection of teaching with holy orders, though very ancient, still survives in many modern schools. Even among the ancient Britons it prevailed, if our scanty records of the Druids are to be trusted; for we are told that large numbers of the people used to go to the Druids for instruction, sometimes spending twenty years under their educational system. But if the teacher's craft were thus early formed, it suffered by the disturbed and warlike ages which succeeded. In the middle ages, when chivalry led to deeds of daring, the doctor's art came more into prominence, while the teacher's art was neglected. In the stories of the knights of the round table, it is still always the hermits and priests who, with the aid of lady nurses, cure the heroes of their wounds. When King Alfred tried to educate his nobles, he had to deplore the fact that English teachers did not exist, and that he was obliged to import them from France. That foreign importation of teachers long continued. In the middle-age romance of Guy of Warwick, Felice, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, had to send to Toulouse to get wise masters, hoary with learning, to teach her the seven arts. In course of time there arose excellent monastery schools, such as the school in York, the curriculum of which has been handed down to us by Alcuin. These schools, however, were few in number, and between 1500 and 1530 they ceased to be in fashion with the upper classes, while grammar schools began slowly to grow. After the Reformation even they fell into bad odour, notwithstanding the fact that some of our most important foundations then came into existence.

The monastery schools frequently educated poor men, and sent them as "poor scholars" to the universities, but a general educa-

(1) Presidential Address to the Conference of Teachers, 12th January, 1877.

tion of the masses was an idea unknown to our forefathers. When King Alfred founded schools, he thought of the nobles only; and when James IV. of Scotland passed the first compulsory law for education, the compulsion was confined to the nobility. The English and Scotch churches, however, had wider views, and opened schools for the people. Though the State began to help them with paltry subscriptions in 1833, and with more liberality and method in 1839, yet it was not till 1870 that a really national system of education was established in England.

I recall these facts merely to explain why it is that doctors have advanced so far beyond teachers in the organisation of their profession, although both started from a common origin. All men live, become ill, and die; but all men do not obtain learning. There has been a continuous demand for the physician's art in all periods of history; but that for the teacher's art has often been fluctuating and scanty. Medical men have organised themselves into a well-recognised and powerful profession in this country. They have nineteen incorporated colleges, empowered to grant licenses to practise after an examination of fitness. The number and position of these colleges have produced an *esprit de corps* throughout the whole body of medical practitioners, and now their voice is potent in Parliament on subjects involving the interests of their profession.

Teachers, who form a far more numerous body than medical men, have as yet no professional recognition in this country. The whole number of registered medical men in the United Kingdom amounts to about 20,000. Compare that number with 158,000 teachers who appear in the census returns of 1871. We may well feel a sense of surprise that teachers have not yet compelled a distinct recognition of their profession, in order to secure for themselves the embodied strength due not only to their number, but also to the supreme importance of their art. The fault lies with them, and not with the public. The teachers of this country, so far as relates to secondary and higher schools, are self-constituted men, with self-asserted qualifications, offering to the public no guarantees of efficiency. Yet these independent attestations of qualifications form the lines of demarcation between an empirical art and a learned profession. It is strange that the very art which has for its professed object to lay the foundations of every profession, has for itself no recognition as a profession in this country. No doubt an important beginning was made when the teachers of primary schools obtained a professional recognition in a more or less satisfactory way. Before long, in England and Wales, 30,000 head teachers will be in this position. They will be in charge of schools numbering 120 scholars, and this size of schools will ultimately require 30,000 certificated assistants. So that to begin with, 60,000 certificated teachers, for this

one section of the kingdom, offer a broad basis for a professional superstructure. All of these are not trained men, but the want of training is only a temporary exigency. Already seventy-eight per cent. of male teachers, and sixty-three per cent. of female teachers, are fairly trained for primary schools. Though a building is more easily constructed from the base upwards than from the top downwards, I doubt whether this is true in the construction of a profession. Had certificated qualifications begun among the head masters of our great schools, the demand for attested knowledge would soon have spread among the teachers of the country; for fashion filters downwards more easily than it percolates upwards. Still the teachers of secondary schools cannot long afford to remain an unrecognised and uncertificated class, giving no security to the public that they possess the knowledge which it is their life-work to impart. Even if they did not now move to obtain this recognition in their own interests, the State would soon find itself in the position to demand certificates of efficiency, for the need is apparent. Parliament has assumed the right to reform lower education through the primary schools, and also to revivify education in the secondary endowed schools, as well as the higher education of the universities. Can it stop here, and leave unnoticed the large number of middle-class schools in the kingdom? They are the connecting rods between the various sections of the middle-class and the institutions for higher culture. Unless they work well and smoothly, the whole educational machinery of the nation becomes crank and unproductive. Monsieur Cousin foresaw the obligation for State interference as long ago as 1831, when he said:—"The best plans of instruction cannot be executed except by the instrumentality of good teachers, and the State has done nothing for popular education if it does not watch that those who devote themselves to teaching be well prepared."

Now I may presume that the existence of the Teachers' Association indorses the truth of Cousin's words. We may object to the theory of a paternal government, but in practice we see that all governments are forced into paternal acts. Parliament has ordered that Government shall not only look after the health, but also the food of the people. The education of the people in primary schools, in endowed secondary schools, and in universities is already a subject of paternal care. For all these the Government will soon be forced to demand proofs of competency on the part of teachers. Will independent teachers remain outside a certificated profession, which is obviously arising, and be satisfied with their own self-asserted qualifications? We need not fear that Parliament will interfere with free trade in education. But just as it has enacted that no druggist shall sell drugs unless he has a certificated qualification of knowledge,

so it may enact that no teacher shall be intrusted with the education of youth unless he has proved not only the possession of, but also the power of imparting, the knowledge which he professes to communicate.

It is scarcely necessary to argue that there is a need for securing better qualifications among the great body of secondary teachers, for official investigation has settled the question. The School Enquiry Commission, after enquiring into the state of seven hundred endowed schools in England, thus summarises the state of the schools and teachers:—"Untrained teachers, and bad methods of teaching, uninspected work by workmen without adequate motive, unrevised or ill-revised statutes, and the complete absence of all organisation of schools in relation to one another, could hardly lead to any other result." Could a more favourable verdict, notwithstanding bright and honourable exceptions, be anticipated from an impartial commission of enquiry on private-adventure schools?

Neither need I argue the question whether the vocation of the teacher is fitted to constitute a distinct and recognised profession; for it is already so in all great countries except England. There is nothing in this country which can except it from the judgment of Fichte—"that only that nation which shall first perform the task of educating up to perfect manhood by actual practice, will perform the task of the perfect state." Certainly our practice of securing qualifications from elementary teachers, and neglecting them in the case of higher schools, does not bring England within Fichte's definition of a perfect state. Both classes of teachers ought, in my opinion, to be enrolled in a single profession, for each stage of teaching requires special technics and trained methods. Education from childhood to manhood aims at an equable and harmonious evolution of the mental powers—an evolution which requires much judgment and a varying experience at the different periods of youth. The common incorporation of all classes of teachers is the essence of the professional system in Germany, where the teacher of the lowest school has an open career before him, and may end by becoming a professor in a university, or even the minister of education; but he must extend his qualifications from stage to stage, if he aim to ascend in the scale of his profession. This common incorporation of all classes is, in fact, necessary to the existence of a learned profession. The humble curate may become an archbishop; the clerk at an attorney's office, if he pass at the bar, may sit on the woolsack as Lord Chancellor; and a village apothecary, if he graduate, may be president of the College of Physicians. This general recognition of all classes of a profession does not prevent a separate organisation of its different sections. We see this in the various colleges for the different branches of medicine and in the different societies of medical men.

If a profession of teaching arise, means must be taken to secure a methodical training of the teacher. Heaven-born teachers appear at rare intervals, but training in method is as much required for the great body of teachers as in any other vocation involving the application of knowledge and experience. I hope that our teaching methods are not so bad as in the time of Milton, when he said that the youth of the country were driven "into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all the while with ragged notions of babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge." But when we consider how little methodical training is obtained by the teachers of higher schools, may there not still be some truth in Milton's sarcasm? While most male teachers enter their calling because they have a vocation for it, I fear that it is impossible to believe the same thing in regard to female teachers in this country. When a man fails in everything else, he becomes a coal merchant; when a woman fails, she takes up a school. How otherwise can we explain the startling fact that there are nearly three times as many female as male teachers in England (32,727 males and 94,020 females)? In Scotland and Ireland their numbers are nearly equal. It is scarcely necessary to cite evidence, either from ancient or modern history, as to the need which great teachers have felt for a long and careful training for their profession. Plato, after studying eight or ten years under Socrates, learned all that he could acquire from the philosophical schools of Egypt, Cyrene, and Tarentum, before he founded his school in the grove of Academus. And Aristotle, after remaining twenty years with Plato, spent a long period in the study of natural history before he founded his school in the Lyceum. Passing to the Christian era, the great Alexandrine teacher, Origen, even before he became a divine, and while preparing to teach grammar, studied all the Greek literature and philosophies of his period. But passing over all such eminent examples of antiquity, it is sufficient to state that, within the last few years, the necessity of methodical training has been much discussed in England, and living teachers such as Dr. Butler of Harrow, Dr. Jones of the Isle of Man, Dr. Abbott of the City of London, and Dr. Donaldson of Edinburgh, have all argued for a systematic training of teachers, frankly confessing that from not having possessed it, they had won their own experience at the cost of the pupils whom they taught.

This methodical training of the teacher is an obvious necessity, whether teaching be regarded as a mere art, or as an art founded on science. For my purpose it is profitless to discuss whether teaching is based on psychology and physiology. As an art it is doubtless founded on a thorough and broad instruction in the subjects to be taught, and likewise on the ascertained experiences of mankind as to the best methods of imparting them to youth. A teacher must be

inefficient if his knowledge of subjects be limited by the amount to be taught. His fund of knowledge requires to be large, because it is a capital in reserve, upon which he has constantly to draw for illustration and instruction. But this extensive knowledge may be useless, unless it has been acquired with the expressed object of teaching, so that the method and practice of the educator may continually be kept in view. Much evidence on this subject is to be found in the reports of the School Enquiry Commission. As the result of much consideration, the commission recommended that teachers should obtain certificates of efficiency, but they hesitated to recommend the establishment of normal schools for secondary teachers. They adduced the example of the *École Normale* of France, which produces exquisite instructors, though less efficient educators than are obtained in Germany by combining university education with the teaching of method in a seminary. This is merely the common experience that technical seminaries give more length than breadth to the subjects which they profess to teach. Medical men, trained in purely medical schools, rarely succeed in life so well as those trained in universities, because the latter attach equal importance to the sciences as to the technics of the profession. They therefore make broader men, by infusing culture and science into the professional faculties. In Scotland the old parochial teachers were university-trained men, and now there is a strong public opinion to join together the normal schools and the universities in the future training even of elementary teachers in that country. It has been found that an elementary teacher thus educated is more efficient even for ordinary primary instruction. About ten years ago the Education Department thus gave their opinion of university-trained teachers in elementary schools:—"They are the best teachers of all—best because most intelligent, most independent of routine, and ablest to take a broad comprehensive view of their position and their work." Of course in Scotland this is more easy than in England; still in this country excellent colleges like University College, King's College, and Owens College, Manchester, might be combined with equal advantage along with normal school teaching. No doubt, notwithstanding the obvious advantages of universities for higher teachers, normal schools for them may arise in the provinces, just as a promising one has lately been connected with the Cathedral school at Bristol, and they would correspond with the provincial medical schools. But I attach a very high importance to training the secondary schoolmasters in our universities, and to trusting the latter with the issue of certificates of efficiency. Were no higher motive involved, one has some weight: that hitherto the *status* of the secondary teacher has been largely upheld by his connection with the clerical profession, and when that becomes severed, it is well to compensate the

loss by a university position. Of course a mere B.A. degree would be no worthy certificate for a secondary teacher. That is not much more than the *Maturitatszeugnis* got at the leaving examination of a German gymnasium. But a B.A. degree, with honours in particular subjects, might give a *facultas docendi* for them, if other securities were given that the teacher had acquired a knowledge and practice in pedagogic method. The universities will quickly put themselves in the position of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, by establishing special chairs of education, when teaching becomes a recognised profession requiring attestations of efficiency on the part of its members. When such an organised system of training exists, the universities will doubtless revert to their ancient practice of giving special degrees for teaching, for it should be borne in mind that the original M.A. was not only a qualified teacher, but he was bound to *regent*, or act as a tutor for two years after graduation. But will the universities undertake the training of female teachers? I see no reason why they should not. The subjects of classical and scientific prelection are unobjectionable to mixed audiences. But, even should the universities hesitate, the extra academical teaching for women now in connection with most of them might be adapted to training female teachers. Doubtless, when there is a demand, special training schools for higher female teachers may be formed. At present there is no such demand. Mr. Jodrell has established six scholarships for female teachers in connection with Girton College, but they are not filled up. The fault lies less with female teachers than with the public. The demand in ladies' schools is for a trivial instead of a solid education. At present mere accomplishments are substituted for mental culture. Women are taught to use these, as birds employ their brilliant plumage or sweet notes, in order to attract the opposite sex, while the demand for a true cultivation of the mind in female education, though growing, is far from active.

Let us now pass to the practical part of the subject, and enquire how far we have reason to expect that the State may help in organising teachers into a recognised profession. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that a former Government proposed to legislate on this subject, and actually introduced into Parliament a measure for the purpose. This certainly brings it within the region of practical politics. The bill was known as Mr. Forster's No. 2 Endowed Schools Bill. Its main purpose was to secure a supply of well-qualified teachers for endowed schools; but it went beyond this object, and offered to all private schoolmasters the opportunity of registering their qualifications, if these were satisfactory to a central authority, which was empowered to hold examinations and grant certificates to teachers generally. The bill had compulsory provisions for endowed school teachers, but only voluntary provisions for

private teachers. It also provided for a compulsory inspection and examination of endowed schools, permitting private schools to enjoy the same advantages on the payment of a fee. These provisions were only to be prospective in regard to new teachers, those already in possession of schools having acquired prescriptive rights. Most of these provisions were founded on the report of the School Enquiry Commission, but the machinery for carrying them into effect was derived from the working of the Medical Act, which constitutes a council of administration and supervision of the medical profession and its schools. A similar council was devised for the teaching profession; its members were to be partly nominated by the Government, and partly by the English universities. The bill was well conceived, and went as far as could have been expected in 1869, when it was brought forward. It received a very favourable support from the leading teachers throughout the kingdom; but it was dropped in Parliament from want of time, and has not again been brought forward. Since its introduction, the country has made large advances in educational organisation, and the question of certificating teachers according to their qualifications is now ripe for legislation. The very fact of a large progress having been made implies as a necessity the introduction of better system into educational work. The bill of 1869 would scarcely be wide enough for a bill in 1877. Formerly it was limited to England, but now it is required for the whole kingdom. It was limited to teachers of schools analogous to endowed schools, but now it is required for the teaching profession at large. The Council of Education, which was its main feature, would have been in itself an enormous gain to the teaching profession, and would have been equally valuable to the Education Department of the State, as a source for counsel, advice, and technical experience. The Council of the bill was limited to twelve persons, six being nominated by the English universities, and six by the crown. This constitution did not give a sufficiently direct representation to the teachers, though no doubt that is a difficulty not easy of solution, when a profession does not exist, but has to be organised. The bill of 1869 very wisely did not attempt to force all teachers through the single portal of an examination by the Council of Education. The latter was indeed to be an examining and licensing body, but it was also empowered to accept and register well-attested qualifications from other bodies. A single portal of entrance into a profession necessarily produces a dead level of uniformity. Differentiation is as necessary in learning as it is in nature. It is not difficult to attain uniformity in a profession by forcing it through one portal, as wire-drawers pull wires through a single hole. The Chinese do this with their teachers, and have managed to restrict their learning to the maxims of Confucius and

Mencius. In medicine there is even now an effort to establish a single portal system, but the good sense of the profession has hitherto defeated it, though undoubtedly the nineteen licensing bodies are too numerous. The General Medical Council, however, has exercised a salutary influence in upholding the standard of examination in the different licensing bodies. A Council of Education would exercise a similar influence in regard to teachers. Such a Council would represent the highest interests of the profession, and while it might be in itself an examining and licensing body, it should be empowered and even instructed to register all well-attested qualifications from the universities and other bodies which prove their right to public confidence. Perhaps there may be various teachers' associations in this condition, but I allude to one only because I have some personal knowledge of its working: that is the College of Preceptors, which has now forty-eight fellows, one hundred and twenty-four licentiates, and one hundred and fifty associates. If the State Council of Education which future legislation may institute, find, after full investigation, that the diplomas of the College of Preceptors represent real and solid acquirements, they doubtless would receive registration. I confess that I should see with dismay any measure which tried to force the teaching profession through a single examining board. It is absolutely essential to a healthy professional life that there should be few trammels to its growth, and with this view there should be varied systems of training, while the attestations of qualification should be rigid, but certainly not uniform.

I venture to urge that teachers should try to resuscitate Mr. Forster's No. 2 Bill, with such amplifications as may now be required. It was obligatory on endowed school teachers, but permissive for private teachers. Has the time arrived when all new teachers, perhaps after 1882, should be brought under an obligatory provision to obtain certificates of their qualifications? The answer to that question must soon be made by the teachers themselves, for it is clear that speedy legislation is inevitable. About three hundred decayed grammar schools have been reorganised in England under the Endowed Schools Acts. But Parliament has not yet provided that these schools shall not again fall into decay. Their teachers have no attested qualifications, and these schools are not inspected and examined by competent authority. All this was provided by the dropped No. 2 Bill, and it must undoubtedly be revived, either in a cramped or in an enlarged form. If the teachers of the nation desire to be organised into a profession representing the supreme importance of their art, they will soon have an opportunity of forcing Government to recognise their claims. The manner of doing this rests with the different teachers' associations throughout the country; for they are quite powerful enough to

achieve this end if they earnestly desire it. The public certainly have a strong wish at present to improve the state of secondary education both in England and Scotland. They feel very much, in the words of Wilhelm von Humboldt, when he took up the same subject in Prussia, that "the thing is *not* to let schools and universities go on in a drowsy and impotent routine; the thing is to raise the culture of the nation ever higher and higher." How nobly Germany has effected this purpose, during the last generation, by a good system of graded schools, and by a thorough attestation of the qualifications of teachers, I need not describe. The German universities have improved quite as much as the schools, because as the students come in better prepared, the instruction of the colleges expands itself. The organisation of a true teaching profession in Germany quickened the intellectual life of each of its nations. For a profession differs from an empirical art by trying to base all its practice on science, instead of on a dull and monotonous routine. Medicine itself has only become highly honoured since it became scientific. Even in my early days there was scarcely a play or a farce in which a doctor, with his pompous manner and clouded cane, was not held up to ridicule. This would not be understood now, for the medical profession, in its dependence on science, has secured for its members confidence and honour from the public.

In spite of our disorganised education, England has experienced less retardation than might have been anticipated. I believe that this result is largely due to our free political life and liberal institutions, which have had an important educative effect on the whole nation. But late events have given this political advantage to other nations also, and their recent rapid advance in material interests is being felt in the industrial competition of the world, and is largely due to the education of their people having been organised and fitted to their life-work. All competent observers tell us that there is danger for England in the bad education of her middle classes. We are educating the working classes—our future masters—but surely it is time for the middle classes to look to their own education by an adequate organisation of their schools. Improved methods of education, secured by a competent training of future teachers, will be a great gain to the productive classes of this country, for time saved in learning is time saved for earning.

But how can the State expect to introduce order into the education of this country, when its own educational administrative machinery is in itself a type of disorder and incoherence? The amount of money annually voted by the State for educational purposes exceeds four millions. But the departments, or trustees, responsible for the administration of educational votes, have no connection among themselves, and so the schools or colleges supported by the

State are carried on disjointedly and without system. There is no minister of education in this country. The Duke of Richmond, in 1874, speaking as President of the Council, said, "I am the minister of education." At the best, he is a mere ministerial manager of primary schools in Great Britain, and the minister in charge of the Science and Art Department. The latter and the education department for primary schools are indeed under one minister, but in no other way are they connected. They run on parallel rails, with few crossings, lest they should come into violent collision. But the President of the Council, who says he is the national minister of education, is totally unconnected both with the elementary schools and with those for higher education in Ireland. In England he once had, but has now parted with, reformatory and industrial schools, which are managed by the Home Secretary, just as the military and naval schools are under the Secretary at War and the First Lord of the Admiralty. The public secondary endowed schools of England are under the Charity Commissioners, while those in Scotland and Ireland are under nobody. The educational museums and galleries supported by public funds are managed by irresponsible trustees loosely connected with the Treasury. The whole strength of our institutions for art and science is dissipated by disassociation. And yet with this chaos of educational administration, the President of the Council deceives himself by believing that he is a minister of education. The very object of such a high functionary is to produce order out of disorder. The building materials already cumber the ground, but the architect is wanting to use them on a plan. The castle is truly in the air, for since 1839 no large conception of educational administration has prevailed. The President of the Council, even as ministerial manager of primary schools for the people, is, with such a rare exception as proves the rule, invariably a member of the House of Lords. The Commons, who are elected by the people, have only an educational minister of the rank of an Under-Secretary of State to represent the Education Department. This has retarded educational organisation. The Lords, "looking down as from a balloon," have only a distant view of the wants of the people, whose interests are bound up with the educational administration of the country. A noble lord presides over the Education Department, charged with the education of the people, and cannot explain his views in the House which votes the supplies. His subordinate does sit in that House, and sometimes forces himself into the cabinet, but that is inconsistent with his irresponsible position. When any school managers go on business to the Education Department, the Vice-President, or irresponsible subordinate, alone is visible. It is like the old Government of Japan, when the invisible Mikado issued his orders through the visible Tycoon.

But even in Japan this is altered, and the Mikado does his own business directly. So I hope before long this country may have a single responsible minister of education, charged with bringing into harmonious relations and co-operation our numerous public educational agencies. I tried, in 1874, to convince the House of Commons that the time had come for this administrative organisation. But, though I received the powerful support of Mr. Forster, my motion was not entertained, for Mr. Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, whose Government had brought in a bill, in 1868, to make a sixth Secretary of State for the purpose of acting as an education minister, averred that in 1874 my proposal was altogether premature. Other countries have not thought so. It is a familiar fact that the existence of a ministry of education is considered essential to most countries in Europe. Even in China it has existed from time immemorial. In all countries there are family names, such as Stewart, Chamberlain, Falconer, Hunter, &c., denoting that, in remote antiquity, those families exercised functions at court. Now there happens to be an ancient record of one hundred noble families in China, dating fourteen hundred years before Christ, and one of the most honoured of these is, when interpreted, "Minister of Public Education." Surely what China has had for some thousands of years, it is, perhaps, not so absurdly premature that this kingdom should obtain now. I cannot see how Government can profess to reform the schools of this country, and to bring them into a graded connection, unless it first begins by an organisation of its own most disordered educational system. If the schoolmasters of England are ready to organise themselves into a profession, with the view of improving national education, surely the State, which has initiated the reforms of the endowed schools and universities, should begin to substitute system for disorder in its own educational institutions supported by public money.

The future of teachers is in their own hands, and must be determined by themselves, at all events in great part. Government will no doubt insist in the case of endowed schools, as it has already done for primary schools, that teachers in the future shall be trained and certificated. But the great body of private teachers might continue for some time at least outside the system, and remain without training or attested qualifications of their capacity. Naturally, however, they would sink lower and lower in public estimation, for there would then be a comparison between attested public qualifications and the mere assertion of a self-constituted fitness. If private teachers shun certificates of capacity as well as competent examinations of their teaching, the public will soon learn to shun the teachers. In the interests of both, therefore, it is desirable to promote the organisation of a teaching profession, not only because such an incorporation would greatly

add to the security of the tenures of teachers, and to the adequate remuneration of a laborious vocation, but, from the higher motive, that it would immensely promote the cause of education. Surely no profession ought to be able to claim a higher place than that which aims at the systematic development of the physical and mental powers of man. And for the dignity and elevation of such a profession, Parliament, in the interests of society, may well be called upon to provide an adequate organisation, because, as Zeller puts it in a few words, "Society alone can form the institutions and provide for the means which all higher instruction requires, all the more the further science advances and spreads out into a multiplicity of single departments. From it alone can a suitable connected organisation and direction proceed. . . . The State is bound, in looking after her own future, to secure her permanence and prosperity by an adequate organisation of instruction and education."

LYON PLAYFAIR.

# THE REFORM OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

After an interval of a quarter of a century, the question of the reform of the Ottoman Empire again occupies the attention of statesmen and politicians, and many, remembering the failure of previous attempts to transform an ancient organization rendered impracticable, partly by time and partly by its own inherent defects, are tempted to consider such a policy as hopeless. Still the problem remains, and the welfare of millions depends on its solution. There is no middle course between a war or wars of extermination, and the introduction of a new governmental system in Turkey. Even if it were possible that Christian Europe should adopt the former alternative, the barbarity of such a policy would not insure its success, when the men to be exterminated are the believers in a religion which, whatever the future may have in store for it, still inspires the spirit of martyrdom, and has shown, even in our days, considerable expansive power. Happily for mankind, history has not often had to record the wholesale destruction of a race, and centuries of Christian civilisation would have been lived through in vain, if the statesmen of Western Europe approach the solution of the Eastern question in any other spirit than as messengers of freedom and justice to the ill-fated populations of the Ottoman Empire.

In order to understand clearly the essential difference between the Turkish Empire and the modern states of Europe, it is necessary constantly to bear in mind the principle upon which the former was founded. The great nations of Europe have almost all been formed by the gradual amalgamation of different and sometimes hostile races; but as the Mahometan policy rested upon the theory that believers in various religions should be compelled to live apart, permitted to manage their own affairs in their own way, and connected with the central government simply as payers of tribute, the inevitable result has been that the subjects of the House of Othman have never formed a united people, and Armenians, Greeks, and Turks are as separated from each other now, as they were four centuries ago. The theological quarrels which distracted Europe in the fifteenth century did more than anything else to insure the triumph of the Moslems, and in the last days of the expiring empire of Constantine Palæologos, Christians of different opinions hated each other far more than they did the Mahometans. The Greeks openly avowed that they would rather see the green turban of the Ulema than the red hat of a Roman Cardinal in the church of St. Sophia, and the historian Ducas, who had exceptional opportunities for forming a

correct judgment of their feelings and temper at the time of the conquest of Constantinople, tells us that if, at the very last moment, they could have saved the city by submitting to the Papacy, the offered safety would have been rejected; and at a subsequent period they showed clearly enough that they preferred servitude under the Turks to a deliverance which would have entailed the rule of the Catholic republic of Venice. The hatred of Christians one for another in the East has existed all through the centuries of Ottoman triumph, and Latins, Armenians, and Greeks have continually instigated and assisted the Turk to persecute their brethren. The famous case of the patriarch Cyril Lucar, whom the Latins succeeded in getting thrice deposed, and at last strangled, is an instance in point. Another case well known is that of the United Armenians, twelve thousand of whom of both sexes and of all ages were suddenly, at the instigation of the schismatical patriarch, driven out of Constantinople in the middle of the unusually severe winter of 1828, and ordered to find their way to Angora as well as they could. Some of them were wealthy, most in easy circumstances; all their property was sequestrated, four hundred of their children died of cold and hunger, and their Christian brethren, instead of endeavouring to relieve them, tried to profit by their sufferings to induce them to renounce communion with Rome. When these attempts at proselytism, however, were made known to Chosrew Pasha, who was at that time Minister of War and Police, he sent for the schismatical patriarch and told him they must be given up, for that the Porte did not desire that Catholics should be induced to abandon a bad religion in order to adopt another equally bad. More recently Greek bishops have been known to prohibit, on pain of excommunication, members of their Church from holding any sort of intercourse or rendering any service to the Latins, and M. Ubicini mentions a case in which a Catholic population was reduced to misery in consequence. The time of harvest was chosen by a bishop to publish his prohibition, and the Catholics discovered, to their consternation, that, in spite of all their efforts, and the mutual assistance they rendered to one another, they could not get their harvest home before the rainy weather set in. They offered double, then triple, the amount usually paid as wages. It was all to no purpose; no Greek dared disobey the mandate of the bishop, and at last the rainy season set in, and their property was destroyed.[1]

It can serve no useful cause to ignore or attempt to make light of facts so notorious, and which explain so much in the disastrous history of the Christian population in the Ottoman Empire. M. Yriarte found during the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina the antagonism between the Catholics and the Christians of the

(1) Ubicini, "Lettres sur la Turquie," vol. ii. p. 401.

Eastern Church so great, throughout the whole of the north of Bosnia, in Turkish Croatia, and along the banks of the Unna and the Save, that the Mussulman authorities did not hesitate to place arms in the hands of the former. He saw with his own eyes the Catholics marching with the Turks, and the Franciscans, who are, and have for a long time been, the real power in the Roman Catholic Church in Bosnia, confessed to him that, domination for domination, they prefered the rule of the Mahometan to that of the orthodox Servian.[1] This disposition of the Catholics is by no means confined to Bosnia; it is the prevailing political opinion among the members of the Latin communion throughout the Ottoman Empire, and it is one element which ought, to say the least of it, to be carefully taken into account by those who desire to solve the question of Turkish reforms, by supporting a policy, having for its immediate object the transfer of political power from the government of the Empire, to provinces in which the people are divided by deep differences in manners, religion, and habits of thought. It would be sure to increase confusion in Turkey, to excite violent and irreconcilable sympathies and antipathies among the peoples of continental Europe, to complicate extremely several national interests, and to be a continual source of danger to the general peace. On the other hand, a policy which would use the government of the Sultan in order to level the barriers between the different Christian Churches, place their members on a footing of perfect equality one with another, and obliterate all political and legal distinction between Mahometan and Christian, would seem more consonant with modern thought. But this is nothing less than an attempt to transform the Turkish Empire into a state of the European shape. That this is a matter of extreme difficulty, it would be the height of temerity to deny; still the wisest statesmen and the greatest writers who have occupied themselves with Eastern affairs have not considered it impossible, and it must not be forgotten that in spite of the ignorance and fanaticism of the populations of the Ottoman Empire, Western ideas propagated by religion, politics, commerce, and industry are gradually but steadily growing and spreading among them.

Two classes of radical reforms are necessary in order to bring about the transformation of Turkey. The first class must chiefly deal with the finances, the administration of the provinces, the means of communication, legislation in regard to commerce and industry—in a word, with all those things which call for the guidance of the State; the second with the constitutions and position of the Christian Churches, and with the power which the clergy exercise over the Christian subjects of the Porte. These two classes of

(1) *Revue des deux Mondes*, Mai, 1876, p. 178; Juin, 1876, p. 627.

reforms are intimately connected, but the second is the most difficult and important, because it touches the principle upon which the whole fabric of Mahometan power has been built. The relations between the Mussulmans and the Christians of the Balkan peninsula are as old as the seventh century. Justinian II. allowed the Caliph Abdul-Melik to impose upon the Byzantine Empire the poll-tax, which plays so important a part in Turkish history,[1] and a monk, who superintended its collection, suspended insolvent taxpayers with their head downwards over a slow fire.[2] From that time to the day of the fall of the empire, during a period of seven hundred years, the emperors had over and over again to accept severe and degrading conditions to buy off the enmity of the Moslems. In the century preceding the conquests of Mahomet II., the Empress Anne consented to a treaty which contained a clause authorising the Ottoman Turks to take their Christian slaves by way of Scutari to the markets of Asia; and a few years later, Orchan, who had married the daughter of Cantacuzenos, concluded a treaty in which it was stipulated that the Ottoman prince should be permitted to sell his Christian prisoners in the imperial city. "A naked crowd of Christians, of both sexes and of every age, of priests and monks, of matrons and virgins, was exposed in the public market; the whip was frequently used to quicken the charity of redemption; and the indigent Greeks deplored the fate of their brethren, who were led away to the worst evils of temporal and spiritual bondage." [3]

But the relations between the Mussulmans and the Christians were not invariably of a hostile character. As early as the ninth century the Paulicians took refuge under the protection of the caliph from the torturing commissioners of Leo the Armenian. In later times, the manners, customs, and religion of the Greeks were well understood by the Moslems. A little before the conquest of Constantinople, a Mahometan writer, Amurat, wrote with great ability against the Council of Florence, and endeavoured to show that the Greeks had been overreached by the Latins. He sent his essay to Demetrius, the brother of the Emperor, and with it a letter, in which he contended that it would be more in the interest of Constantine to come to terms with the Sultan, than vainly to seek assistance from the Christian princes of the West. During the last century through which the Byzantine Empire dragged its existence, frequent marriages took place between emirs and sultans, and Byzantine and Servian princesses. These were allowed to preserve their religion; and Christian priests, as their chaplains, openly celebrated the sacred

(1) Pichler, "Geschichte der Kirchen Trennung," p. 88.
(2) Gibbon, vol. vi. p. 77.
(3) Ib., vol. viii. p. 27.

mysteries in the palace of Brousa. Mahomet II. himself was the son of a Christian mother, Helena, princess of Servia.[1]

The Koran is by no means so clear in its precepts with regard to the relations between Mahometan and Christian as is commonly supposed. The best known and most important passage is that in the ninth chapter, in which the faithful are commanded to combat those who do not confess the true religion until they pay tribute, and are entirely subdued. But this passage, according to the Koran itself, is susceptible of various interpretations. In one place it is written, "And when the months, wherein ye are not allowed to attack them, shall be past, kill the idolaters, wheresoever ye shall find them."[2] In another, "Those who Judaize, and Christians and Sabians, whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord."[3] From these words, which occur twice in the Koran, from several other passages, and especially from the hundred and ninth chapter, Mahometan doctors and Christian prelates have argued, when it suited their purpose, that the doctrine of Islam is, that every man can be saved in his own religion, provided he be sincere and lead a good life. The simple fact is, that during the three-and-twenty years of his teaching life the Prophet altered his language according to circumstances,[4] and consequently, notwithstanding the purity of its text, no sacred book in the world offers a wider field for exegetical ingenuity than the Koran. In the early days of Mahometanism the caliphs were the interpreters of the sacred writings, but as the cares consequent on the extension of their temporal sovereignty grew upon them, they founded the estate of the Ulemas, the chief of whom had to declare whether or not the ordinances of the government were in accordance with the teaching of the Prophet. For a very long time this corporation, though powerful, was a mere instrument of government, and previous to the reign of Murad IV. there seems to be no case on record of its having opposed the imperial will. Since the seventeenth century, however, the Scheik-ul-Islam, the chief of the Ulemas, has continually refused his sanction to the decrees of the Sultan, and the Ulemas have generally resisted with success the introduction of reforms in the Ottoman Empire.

When Mahomet II. set up his throne in the City of Constantine, necessity, financial policy, and perhaps inclination, induced him to interpret the Koran in the sense of toleration, and following the precedent of the capitulation accorded by Omar to the Christians of Jerusalem in the year 637, he promised the Greeks the free exercise of their religion, and bestowed on their Church as a corporation a definite legal position. He did not admit them into the

(1) Pichler, "Geschichte der Kirchen Trennung," p. 420.
(2) Koran, Sale's translation, p. 149. (3) Ib., p. 9.
(4) Nöldeke, "Geschichte des Korans," p. 125.

political society of the faithful, but he constituted them into a subject nation, governed by their own ecclesiastical authorities, on whom he bestowed large administrative powers, and used for the purposes of government. Thus the Church became the guardian of the manners, customs, and traditions of the conquered race, and at the same time the instrument by which it was ruled, its obedience secured, and its taxes collected. The double character which the Church thus acquired was quite in accordance with Mahometan thought, in which Religion and Law, Church and State, were confounded and inextricably mixed up. It seemed natural that as the cadi, a judge invested with a religious character, decided between Mussulmans in their disputes, the bishop should do the same between Christians. Considering the position of the Sultan in the Mahometan system, it did not seem strange that the Patriarch of Constantinople, as the spiritual head of the tributary Greek rayahs, should be intrusted with the control of, and made responsible for, their civil administration. But the unbelievers were made at the same time to understand that they must not interfere with the pride and privilege of the conquering race, and whenever their relations extended beyond their own circle, they were reminded of the triumph which the crescent had won over the cross, and that they owed their lives to the clemency of the victorious Mussulman. The other Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire were placed in the same position as the orthodox Church, and similar privileges were accorded to the Jews, large numbers of whom fled at various times from Spain, and took refuge at Constantinople, where the long arm of the Inquisition could not reach them. The result of this arrangement was, that a number of corporations, each managing its own affairs, and with no political ties one with another, was formed, and thus religion, which in the West was one of the great means by which conquerors and conquered were reconciled, hostile races amalgamated, and the nations of modern Europe gradually formed, became, in the East, the barrier which kept them divided, and prevented the formation of common interests.

At the period of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople the largest Christian community in the East was distracted by disputes concerning a reunion with Rome, which was urged by a small party for political purposes, but was hateful to the immense majority of orthodox Christians. The Moslems understood the importance of keeping up the hatred between the Greeks and the Latins, and Mahomet II. resolved to place on the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, which had been vacant for two years previous to the fall of the city, the hero of the Greeks, the bitterest enemy of the union, George Scholarius, who took the name of Gennadius. The Sultan himself presided at the investiture of the patriarch, placed in his

hands the symbols of his ecclesiastical office, and conferred upon him certain rights and privileges which his successors enjoy to this day. These are of great importance. The Patriarch of Constantinople can make and depose bishops at his will; no bishop, metropolitan, or prelate can be proceeded against or imprisoned without his consent; he has absolute jurisdiction in all questions of marriage; he is the final judge of appeal in all lawsuits, which, with the consent of the parties, if they are of the Greek communion, are brought before the ecclesiastical courts, and any Greek who does not elect to be judged by these courts incurs the penalty of excommunication.[1] The patriarch has a right to impose taxes on members of his own Church; he enjoys himself certain immunities from imperial taxation;[2] he is allowed to keep police in his service; he has a prison at his disposal, and the power of condemning any member of the orthodox Church to the galleys without leave or license. These are in a general way the privileges of the Greek patriarch and his clergy, and if any one will quietly consider what they amount to, and bear in mind that the Porte exercises no direct control over the choice of members for the hierarchy, he will be at first puzzled to understand how it comes to pass that the life of the rayah is so intolerable as it is, considering the position of his Church. The explanation is to be found in the general servility and corruption of the Greek clergy and people, the natural results, as it seems to me, of the Byzantine political system, developed and fostered by Turkish rule.

The spread of corruption was immensely increased by the emigration of a large number of noble families to Constantinople, when Mahomet II. put an end to the Empire of Trebizond in 1461. These instantly sought to compensate themselves for the loss of their imperial state by gaining for one of themselves the highest office in the Church. They accordingly set to work to intrigue against Mark, the third patriarch since the conquest; and they succeeded in getting him deposed, and replaced by Simeon, a monk, who, of his own accord, not only offered the Sultan a yearly tribute of 1,000 ducats, but suggested that the endowments which the patriarchs were guaranteed should be done away with. Simeon, of course, calculated that he would amply repay himself by squeezing money out of the clergy and laity. The very next year, however, Denis, metropolitan of Philippopolis, offered to pay 2,000 ducats a year, and Simeon was deposed. But Denis did not enjoy his honours long; an amusing clerical intrigue forced him to resign, and he was succeeded by a certain Raphael, a Servian, who proposed to the Porte that the patriarch, besides a yearly tribute of 2,000

(1) Klose, "Die Christen in der Türkei, Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie, vol. xx. p. 300.

(2) Silbernagel, "Verfassung der Kirchen des Orients," p. 70.

ducats, should pay 500 on his investiture. It soon became necessary that any one desirous of becoming patriarch should spend very large sums to ensure the support of high officials. At last, after the Patriarch Jeremy was deposed and exiled in 1583, the Holy Synod simply put the patriarchal dignity up to auction. A certain Metrophanes, of Philippopolis, outbid every one with 24,000 ducats, but a part of the bishops went to the Sultan, offered him a present of 40,000 ducats, and urged the nomination of Jeremy's brother, Nicephorus. The Sultan graciously accepted the money, and granted their request. Metrophanes, in despair, ran about to all his friends, scraped together a similar sum, with which he went to the Sultan, who, at the sight of the gold, exclaimed, "The man is thoroughly worthy of the office, and he must not be disturbed." [1]

As time went on things became worse and worse. In 1620, the Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, called upon the Patriarch Timothy to give him 100,000 ducats, because he said the patriarch had, during the ten previous years, nominated three hundred metropolitans, from whom, if they paid 1,000 ducats each, the Head of the Church must have received 300,000 ducats. The successor of Timothy was the famous Cyril Lucar. It cost his enemies £6,000 to depose him, and Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, says that his friends had to pay for re-investiture no less than £27,000.[2] When he was again deposed, and strangled in the Seven Towers, the intrigue to get rid of him and to replace him by Carfila cost an immense sum of money, of which a considerable portion was sent from Rome.[3] The state of things now is essentially the same as it was two hundred and fifty years ago. Although the Turkish government cannot be said to be formally responsible for ecclesiastical corruption, it is certain that its influence has been used rather to promote than to check it. When the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in whose department the business between the Porte and the patriarchate is transacted, wishes for a new patriarch, he has only to drop a hint in the right quarter. At once all kinds of intrigue begin. The Greek notables and the members of the Holy Synod put their heads together. Each hopes to profit by a change, one set of men in their capacity as electors of the Head of the Church, the other as the confidential agents of the Turkish Government. The deposition of the patriarch is then proceeded with; his bad administration is always the pretext, and the prelate who pays most is selected in his stead. Money is the sinew of the old intrigue, which is repeated

(1) Pichler, 426.

(2) "Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury," March 8 and May 12, 1623. Also Despatches of October, 1623, and January, 1624.

(3) Hammer, "Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches," v. 230; Ryeaut, "Histoire des Trois derniers Empereurs," vol. i. p. 131; Sagredo, "Memorie istoriche de Monarchi Ottomani," p. 694, ed. 1688.

every two or three years; and without the expenditure of large sums, no one has any chance of being elected to the patriarchal dignity.

The consequence is, that the patriarch uses his power and ingenuity to get back as quickly as possible the money, with some interest, spent on his election. So he sets to work and deposes bishops and archbishops, or levies large fines upon them; he sells the vacant bishoprics to the highest bidders, who in their turn devote their energies to screwing money out of the inferior clergy and rayahs. The means to which the country clergy have to resort in order to support life are almost incredible. Their last penny is taken from them by the bishop or the metropolitan, and they are obliged to charge large prices for the simplest or most necessary ecclesiastical service. But, although they are sunk in the depths of the grossest superstition, and although their income is sometimes in the direct ratio to the ignorance and depravity of the people, which again is the result of the immorality of the higher clergy and the rapacity of the pashas, the poor popes have nearly as much claim to commiseration as the corrupted and oppressed rayah. No one is particularly interested to protect them, or to care for their enlightenment. Many of them can neither read nor write, they learn by heart, and repeat mechanically, the prayers of the mass, and those used at baptisms, marriages, and burials. They have to pay as much as 1,000 to 1,500 piastres for their ordination.[1] Although they hate the Latin Church, they have no conception, as a general rule, of the religious differences between East and West, and have never heard of the *filioque* or of the Council of Nice. All they know is, that Latin priests baptize by aspersion, and do not wear beards.[2] The manner in which these wretched people are treated by their ecclesiastical superiors surpasses belief; there are instances of their having been murdered at the altar by their bishops.[3] All writers agree in describing the latter as the scourges of the peninsula. They have caused libraries and valuable records of bygone times to be destroyed and burnt, with systematic vandalism. Not only are their own lives scandalous in the extreme; they permit polygamy to the rich laity,[4] they furnish the harems with Christian girls, and they are known to be guilty of still darker crimes.[5] The unfortunate rayah is the victim of the twofold oppression of the clergy and the pashas, and his Christian tyrant does not even try to protect him from the Mahometan. On the contrary, the former has always shown himself ready to aid and abet the latter,[6] and the Greek clergy is chiefly responsible for the fact that

(1) Jirecek, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 512.
(2) Ubicini, "Lettres sur la Turquie," vol. ii. p. 141.
(3) Jirecek, "Geschichte der Bulgaren," p. 512.
(4) Pichler, p. 454.
(5) Jirecek, pp. 511—516; Kanitz, "Donau Bulgarien," pp. 125—129.
(6) Eichmann, "Reform des Osmanischen Reiches," p. 38.

one of the most necessary reforms promised in the Hatti-Humayoun of 1856, the substitution of fixed salaries to be paid to ecclesiastics according to their rank for the arbitrarily collected church revenues, has not been carried out.[1] Their conduct in this respect was one of the causes which brought about an event of the gravest importance, which space does not permit to notice at length, but which marks a momentous change in the traditional policy of Russia—not as regards the end to which that policy has always been directed, but the means by which it is to be gained.

Ever since the Crimean war, Russian statesmen have given up the idea of a special alliance with the Hellenic element, and have turned their attention to gain the goodwill of the rayahs of their own race, the Slavs of Turkey. The oppression of the Bulgarians by the Fanariote clergy produced a religious movement, the motive power of which was the desire of deliverance from the tyranny of Constantinople. This natural and legitimate movement, by reason principally of the weakness and indecision of the government of Napoleon III., and of the want of attention to European history and politics which has become the distinguishing mark of English statesmen, came gradually, but at last on the fall of the French empire, entirely, under Russian influence. The result has been the formation of a Church whose ministers are educated in Russia, and the adoption of the principle of ecclesiastical autonomy for Christian Bulgaria; two facts which will grow in importance as the Eastern problem presses for solution.

In point of numbers the next largest Church to the Greek is the Armenian. Its position as regards the State is very similar to that of the Greek. The patriarch is chosen much in the same way, has direct temporal power over the priests and faithful, and the state of the Church generally is hardly more satisfactory than that of the Greek. The Armenian historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deplore the degradation and servile spirit of the clergy.[2] So lost were they to self-respect, that in their theological controversies they continually appealed to the Mahometans, who decided according to the Koran. But in this the Armenians were not singular. In the early years of this century they had a great dispute with the Greeks as to whether or not water should be mixed with the sacramental wine. Both parties agreed to appeal to a learned Mussulman, who, after hearing both parties, decided thus: "Wine is an impure liquid . . . Why don't you use pure water?"[3] The political constitution of the Latin Church, and of the various other Churches in communion with Rome, is somewhat different

(1) Kanitz, 132—133.

(2) Brosset, "Historiens Arméniens," p. 21; "Mémoires de l'Académie de St. Petersburg," vol. xix.

(3) Pitzipios, "L'Église orientale," ii. p. 141; Pichler, 457.

from the Greek and the Armenian. The great difference between the former and the Latin Church in the Turkish Empire is, that in the latter the spiritual and temporal power are formally and in theory divided. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic clergy possess great political authority in some parts of the empire, and the Vicar of Constantinople exercises considerable influence in public affairs. It is necessary to understand thoroughly the traditional ecclesiastical policy of the Porte, and to realise its working upon the civil administration, in order to comprehend the intricate problem of administrative and legal reform in Turkey.

The Ottoman Empire is divided, as we all know, into a certain number of vilayets, or provinces, each vilayet into sandjaks, which correspond to the French arrondissements, each sandjak into kuzas or cantons, and these again into communes or villages. A Vali governs the vilayet, a Moutessarif the sandjak, a Kaimacan the kazas, and the elected Kodja-bachis the village community. The Vali is assisted in his government by provincial councils, upon which the Metropolitan of the Greek or Armenian Church, as the case may be, has a seat. This council has to attend to all the administrative business of the province, in so far as it is within the jurisdiction of the State, and does not regard the internal affairs of the different religions. The special duty of the metropolitan is to watch the interests of his co-religionists, and if he thinks injustice is done them to report to the patriarch, who can complain to the Porte. The introduction of these councils was the natural corollary to the reforms begun by Sultan Mahmoud II., and they were intended to control the power of the provincial governor, especially in matters of taxation. Unfortunately in practice they serve rather to diminish his responsibility than to limit his power. Besides the great influence which he exercises on the elections for these councils, it is not only his right, but his duty, to eliminate from the list of the elected a certain number of names. He can thus secure a large proportion, or the majority, of seats for persons who will make common cause with him; and the other members have not, as a rule, either the courage or inclination to oppose a high official. The rapacity or tyranny of the Vali is therefore uncontrolled, while he is able to justify or defend his acts by citing the approbation of his council, and Christian metropolitans and notables have almost invariably been willing instruments of oppression. An exceedingly good instance as to how the interests of the Christian rayah are guarded by those who might be supposed to be his natural champions, is given by M. Yriarte in one of his articles on Bosnia and Herzegovina. For a long time after the conquest of Bosnia by Mahomet II., the economical position of the rayah was tolerable, and, indeed, comparatively good. Even after the troubles towards the end of the seventeenth century, he was allowed to occupy the land under

not altogether bad conditions as a tenant farmer. This state of things continued till about one hundred years ago, when the owners of the soil, finding that their necessities and expenditure increased in a disproportionate ratio to their income, put their heads together, and introduced a system called the "robote," by which the tenants were obliged to cultivate the waste lands for nothing. Of course such a system was sure to generate rebellion, and in 1839 there was an insurrection. The cabinet of Vienna interposed, and the Government at Constantinople, not being strong enough to abolish the robote, tried to modify it. It was decreed that no tenant should be obliged to work for more than two days in the week for nothing. But this ordinance remained a dead letter, and things went on very much as before till 1848, when there was another disturbance. The Austrian Government again interfered, and the Sultan ordered an inquiry to be made by a commission, of which all the principal pachas and Christian notables of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Bishop of Serajevo, and some Franciscan friars, were members. These persons met together at Travnik, and the first thing they did was to petition the Sultan in favour of the poor notables who were about to be robbed. They then proposed what they were pleased to call a compromise, which was in reality the robote in a new and rather aggravated form; every single commissioner, including of course the clergy of the two rites, supported it; it was approved by the government; the commission, having received presents, returned to their homes, and the rayah was as badly off as ever.[1]

But although the provincial councils have not worked by any means well, the idea which led to their formation was not fanciful. They were founded on the analogy of the communal and municipal institutions, by means of which the Turks have ruled since the conquest,[2] and with which these councils are connected through the civil service. The Defterdar, or receiver of taxes, sits with the Vali in his council, and the Mal-mudiri, or under tax collector, sits with the Kaimacan in the council of the sandjak. The Kaimacan and the Mal-mudiri come to a yearly understanding with the commission of the municipality in regard to the collection of taxation, and for this purpose they have to come to an agreement with the authorities of the kazas, who, together with a council, carry on the financial administration of their districts, and with the Kodja-bachis, or burgomaster, who arranges for the levying of taxation in the commune. In the commune the principle of the division of races, upon which is founded not only the superiority of the Turks, but also the privileged position of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, may be seen in its

(1) *Revue des Deux Mondes*, juin, 1876, p. 600.

(2) On the organization of the Turkish commune, Eichmann, "Reformen des Osmanischen Reiches;" Ubicini, "Lettres sur la Turquie." Valuable information on Turkish administration will also be found in M. Dumont's book, "Le Balkan et l'Adriatique."

lowest expression. The communes are always composed of persons of the same religion; their organization is exceedingly simple, and is the same for Turks and Christians. The distinction to be made is between the country and the town communes. On St. George's Day the Greek male population assemble in the open air and choose two or three councillors and the Kodja-bachi, or burgomaster. It sometimes happens that two or three villages are united under one Kodja-bachi, which functionary, with the help of the councillors, carries on the different affairs of the community, which are very various and bring him in contact both with the Turkish and Christian authorities. In the towns, the communes are the parishes and the ecclesiastical authority possesses more power. Every year three chiefs are elected, and the election has to be confirmed by the church. They are more important personages than the authorities of the country communes, and the administration of the property of the churches, schools, &c., requires greater care.

The only use of this system seems, in the eyes of Turkish statesmen, to have been the facility it afforded for taxation. No one can deny that, through the centuries of his rule, the Turk has done next to nothing to promote the civilisation of his empire. Neither the construction of means of communications, nor the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, or industry, nor the question of education, has ever seriously occupied his attention. Even the preservation of order was comparatively indifferent. The one thing he cared to establish was the domination of his race, and in this he remains to a great extent a barbarian to this day. "All nations," says a great writer, "are proud of themselves; but as being the first and the best, not as being the solitary existing perfection among the inhabitants of the earth. Whereas the barbarian, in his own estimate, is perfect already; and what is perfect cannot be improved. He views foreigners either as unworthy of his attention, or as objects of his legitimate dominion."[1] Provided that his superiority was not contested by the Christians, the Turk had no objection that they should pray as they liked. But the great thing was to secure the payment of their tribute, and nothing could be more convenient than to make use of the organization of the Christian communities for this purpose. Unfortunately, the Christian clergy and notables were but too ready to become the instruments of oppression, and delighted to share with the Mahometan master the plunder of the poor. And thus institutions well suited to the requirements of the Christians at the time of the commencement of the Ottoman rule, and admirably adapted to secure them a tolerable existence and ultimate freedom, were perverted by the cunning of the Turk and the corruption of the Christian clergy and notables into the instrument of their torture.

(1) Newman, "Turks," 240.

As regards the administration of justice, the policy of the separation of the races has also been followed. For each administrative division there is a corresponding court. In the Turkish tribunals causes are decided according to Mahometan law, but Christians need not appear before them except when one of the parties to the suit is a Mussulman. Side by side with the Turkish courts, clerical tribunals exist to judge the differences between Christians of the same communion who have the right of appeal to the Patriarch. This judicial clerical hierarchy is constructed in a similar manner to the Turkish. The metropolitan is the chief judge in the province, and the bishop in the sandjak. When these ecclesiastics take the trouble to follow a legal system at all, they generally decide according to the precepts of a collection of canons, compiled by order of the Patriarch of Constantinople in the year 1800. This πηδάλιον, as it is called, contains the canons of councils, with selections from the commentaries of Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenus. It is a compilation entirely unsuited to the wants of modern society, and when we remember that Balsamon, for instance, published both his treatises in the year 1170, and that he is one of those who contend most strongly for clerical prerogative, we can easily imagine the spirit in which justice is administered in these clerical tribunals.

No system of reform in Turkey can possibly be satisfactory which does not abolish with equal impartiality the courts of the cadi and the bishop, and replace them by tribunals presided over by judges entrusted with the administration of a system of law more suited to a civilised age than the Koran of the Mahometans or the πηδάλιον of the Greeks. Although it would be impossible to frame a uniform legal system for an empire composed of peoples so divided socially, politically, and religiously, as are the populations of Turkey, nevertheless a criminal code, intelligible laws of real and personal property, and suitable courts of justice, might be introduced. But these and other necessary reforms, changes in the mode of collecting the revenue, the substitution of a fixed rent-charge for the tithe system, an equitable agrarian settlement, without which a fair assessment of taxation is impossible, cannot be carried out by the Turkish government without foreign help. Happily, Sultan Mahmoud II. set a precedent in this respect which might be followed with the greatest advantage. Some forty years ago two Prussian staff officers, of whom one was no less a person than Von Moltke, visited Constantinople. The Seraskier Chosrew Pacha made their acquaintance, spoke to them on military matters, and was so struck with the clearness of their judgment, and so convinced that they offered honest advice, that he persuaded the Sultan to make a personal request to King Frederic William III. to grant Moltke and Berg a long leave of absence, in order that they might help to organize

the Turkish army. The King of Prussia granted the request, and the result was, that of all the changes introduced within the last half century in the Ottoman Empire, the reform of the army is the only one which has been even a partial success.[1] In one of the most interesting of his letters from Turkey, in which he explains the policy of Mahmoud, and compares that energetic sovereign to the Czar, Peter the Great, Moltke alludes to the great obstacle which the Sultan had to overcome: "Among his own people," says the field-marshal, "Sultan Mahmoud did not find one single enlightened man to stand at his side and help him in his reforms."[2] Peter the Great was no doubt in much the same position, but he personally recruited many hundreds of foreigners, mostly Germans, to help him to carry out his views.

In the introduction of a new agrarian system, the Sultan could not possibly get sounder advisers than Anglo-Indian officials who are acquainted with the principles of land settlements in India, and who, as administrators, are probably without peers. The employment of foreigners to organize and administer a suitable system of justice is almost a necessity, and I have been told by several persons well acquainted with the German and Austrian universities that there would be no difficulty whatever in finding several highly trained young jurists, who, if a moderate future was secured to them, would willingly give their services to the Sultan. The difficulties of language would not be insurmountable for these young men; and I have good reason for believing that the German governments would not be unwilling to give them reasonable encouragement. Finally, as regards financial reform, nothing would be simpler than to make use of the agents of the Ottoman Bank. The employment of foreigners in any numbers would, of course, be opposed by a portion of the official classes among the Turks, and by Christian bankers and others who live by corruption. Nevertheless, if the Great Powers urged it with firmness, and in a manner not humiliating to the dignity of the Sultan, there is no reason to suppose that it would not be adopted by the Porte. In its working out it would be found, no doubt, to involve for a time a right to some interference on the part of the Powers in the internal affairs of Turkey, and the Ottoman Government must give substantial pledges as regards the proper treatment of its subjects. Guarantees of this kind are by no means new in European history. At the peace of Westphalia, Sweden and France obtained the right of interference in Germany to ensure the religious liberty of Protestants. England more than once in

(1) Bastelberger, "Die Militärischen Reformen unter Mahmud II. Also "Rosen Geschicte der Turkei," p. 235.

(2) "Briefe aus der Turkee," p. 413, 1st ed.

her history asked for guarantees for the toleration of Protestants in France, and Prussia for a long time had a legal right to protect the interests of the Vaudois of Piedmont. Unfortunately there is another instance of the right of interference in its internal affairs being accorded by a State to a foreign power, and that led to one of the greatest misfortunes in modern history, and to a succession of barbarous crimes ever since. The Convention of Warsaw was made in order to secure freedom of religious worship to the Polish dissenters under the joint protection of King Stanislaus of Poland and Catherine II. of Russia. But this showed the world what is likely to be the result of allowing Russia to interfere in the internal concerns of a neighbouring State. No nation has more consistently made use of the causes of religion and humanity to serve her political purposes, and as regards the end she aims at in the East, no one, who has paid any attention to her history, can have the slightest doubt. At the same time nothing is more certain than that neither her intrigues, nor her diplomatic skill, nor the weakness of France and Austria, nor the negative attitude of England, have served her purpose so well as the intolerable misgovernment of Turkey. This is the reason why her statesmen, though always ready to come forward with cartloads of projects for the amelioration of the condition of the rayahs in the Ottoman Empire, have always done their best to hinder real practical reforms. Even such measures as the construction of the means of communication have encountered their opposition. The history of the projected road from Trebizond to the Euphrates is an instance in point. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe persuaded the Turks to commence it, but the Russians, because it would divert the commerce between Turkey and Persia from the route through Tiflis and Georgia, were determined that it should not be made. They therefore informed the Pasha who was charged with its construction that if he pocketed the money they would take care that he was neither molested nor called to account.

For some years after the Crimean war, when Russia, weak and powerless, was going through an internal crisis, England, Austria, and France were in a position to insist that the changes promised by the Sultan should be carried into effect. No doubt they were to some extent hampered by the unfortunate ninth article of the Treaty of Paris; still, their position at Constantinople was so good that they might easily have forced their policy on the Porte. Unfortunately for every one, the opportunity was missed. Austria, instead of devoting her attention to her vital interests in South-Eastern Europe, preferred clinging to untenable possessions beyond the Alps. Napoleon III. was engaged in conducting to the abyss the great country whose liberties he had destroyed,

and England, occupied far too exclusively with her internal affairs, gradually ceased to have any policy abroad. On the other hand, the relations between Prussia and Russia became more and more intimate. The cabinet of Berlin found that the government of the Czar was not disinclined to aid and abet its aggressive policy, and the statesmen at St. Petersburg were glad enough to make use of King William's solid regiments to weaken two of the powers certain to oppose Russian aggrandisement in the East—Austria and France. Forty years ago Count Moltke wrote that the future of Constantinople might be decided by a battle in the Ardennes.

After the fall of the Empire at Sedan most persons saw what were likely to be the consequences of the continuance of the war, to which Austria and Italy, if supported by England, were ready to put a stop. But although the influence of England has been considerably lessened by the weakness of the two powers whose interests in Eastern affairs are most in harmony with hers, still, notwithstanding what has recently passed at Constantinople, it would not be impossible for her to devise a scheme of practical reform for Turkey, which liberal Europe would support and the ministers of the Sultan accept. The history, however, of all reforms in the Ottoman Empire proves the inability of the Porte to carry them through; and it is, to some extent at least, necessary that the Turkish government should be both coerced and assisted from without. England is the nation naturally called to take the principal share in the task, and to direct a policy which would change the face of South-Eastern Europe. But, as I have tried to indicate, perhaps none of the reforms necessary for the transformation of the Ottoman Empire is as difficult and intricate as that which must deal with the temporal power of the spiritual authorities of the Christian Churches. This, however, is the very reform which the Russian government, dependent as it is, to a great extent, for its power at home, and almost entirely for its influence in Turkey, on the support of the orthodox clergy, is prohibited by its very nature from helping to carry out. But, besides the error of expecting that Russia can or will aid in striking off the fetters of ecclesiastical tyranny from the limbs of the Christian subjects of the Porte, the result of the policy which has lately been followed of endeavouring to settle the Eastern Question as much as possible in accordance with Russian wishes, can hardly be said to have strengthened the position of those who have urged it. It has led to a diplomatic defeat, and will, if persevered in, infallibly lead to a European conflagration. But if England is but true to herself, if she upholds a policy in the real interests of the populations of the Balkan peninsula, she may with certainty reckon on the assistance of the Liberal thought of the world.

ROWLAND BLENNERHASSETT.

# AMERICAN EFFORTS AFTER INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

THE questions of principle involved in International Copyright, and in the American practice of reprinting English books freely in the absence of a copyright convention with this country, have been so completely handled a year ago by Mr. Edward Dicey in this Review,[1] that I do not propose to enter upon that part of the subject. My especial aims in the present paper are twofold. I desire in the first place to bring into one view the different directions which opinion has taken of late years in the United States on the subject of copyright, and in the second to give a connected account of the various efforts which have been made by American authors and publishers to bring about a convention with England. In the course of this history I shall lay before the reader a number of documents bearing upon the subject, some of which exist only in manuscript in the Library of Congress at Washington, and many are unknown to the majority of Americans themselves.

It is generally supposed in this country that, on the subject of international copyright, American opinion is homogeneous. This is far from being the case. There are half-a-dozen more or less divergent groups of opinion among different classes of persons concerned in the question and in different parts of the country. There are, first, the authors of New England and a small number of publishers, of whom I may take the firm of Messrs. J. R. Osgood & Co., of Boston (formerly Ticknor & Fields), as the type, who are in favour of international copyright pure and simple, without restrictions or conditions of any kind. The highest class of newspapers, not only in New England but throughout the country, whether free-traders or protectionists, whether Democrats or Republicans, are accustomed to advocate, with more or less of qualification, the same liberal measures. At the other end of the scale of opinion stands the Pennsylvanian school, which opposes international copyright of all kinds and with whatever qualification. Of this school, Philadelphia is the head, and the aged and much respected economist, Mr. Henry C. Carey, is the thinking brain. To this school one firm in New York of the first importance, Messrs. Harper and Brothers, of Franklin Square, may be said, with reservations, to belong; and it does not want friends amongst the manufacturers and farmers of the Middle and Western States, and amongst the trades which are ancillary to the publishing trade, such as type-founders, paper-makers, and binders, throughout the Union.

(1) *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1876.

Between these two extremes there are three or four smaller groups in favour of international copyright under conditions, but differing as to what are the best conditions. We may call these groups of intermediate opinion collectively the New York school, as the practical measures in which they have been embodied have issued for the most part from the leading publishing firms of New York.

To begin with the extreme opponents and with Mr. Carey,—a name reverenced in Pennsylvania and celebrated throughout the Union both by friends and foes, not less than is that of the late Mr. Mill in England. In this country his works are scarcely known, but in Germany they are translated and held in honour, whilst in Russia, whose area and some of whose other conditions are somewhat like those of the United States, they are, or were within the last few years, in use as a text-book. Mr. Carey's views on copyright have at present the advantage of being the only ones based upon a coherent economical theory. The fundamental idea of Mr. Carey's social science is that of the decentralization of industry. A community, he holds, should aim at producing all the commodities it needs, so as to be independent of its neighbours. This he regards as the condition of political independence. Secondly, in an extensive country like America, the production of the necessary commodities should be, as far as possible, equally spread over the whole area, so as to bring the producer and consumer into immediate relations, and eliminate "the middleman." This internal decentralization produces diversity of employments, stimulates the circulation and interchange of social elements, and is the condition of sound and progressive popular education. Now international copyright, supposing it established, would either place the monopoly of the American market for English books in the hands of the great English firms, thus making America dependent upon her neighbour, or else it would place it in the hands of five or six of the most important firms in the three chief Atlantic cities, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, thus conflicting with the principle of internal decentralization. Further, he thinks that the introduction of cheap reprints of English books does not compete unfavourably with the more expensive editions of native authors, but prepares a market for them; and this opinion is held by many practical men. As to the payment of English authors, he says he does not agree with those who protest against international copyright on the score that such payment would increase the price of these reprints:—

"If nothing better than this can be said," he exclaims,[1] "we may as well at once plead guilty to the charge of piracy and commence a new and more

(1) "Letters on International Copyright" (2nd Edition. New York: Hurd & Houghton), p. 21.

honest course of action. Evil may not be done that good may come of it, nor may we steal an author's brains that our people may be cheaply taught. . . . . We stand in need of no such morality as this. We can afford to pay for what we want; but even were it otherwise, our motto, here and everywhere, should be the old French one, *Fais ce que doy, advienne que pourra.*"

But copyright, he thinks, is a wasteful way of collecting what is due to the author, inasmuch as nine-tenths of what is collected would go to the parties standing between the author and the reader—*i.e.* to the middlemen. As Mr. Carey was in earlier life himself a publisher, this statement may be worth consideration. On the other hand, if we must have some sort of copyright, he adds finally, let it be in the form of a royalty, fixed by law and paid to the author by every publisher who reprints his book; and let all, on this condition, be at liberty to reprint, in the same way as all managers of theatres are at liberty, on payment of a royalty to the author of a play, to act his piece.[1]

*Solidaire* wholly or in part, and for practical purposes wholly *solidaire* with Mr. Carey, are three other important interests which we must now specify. The first of these is the powerful New York publishing house of Harper and Brothers before mentioned, who hold that an international copyright is objectionable because it would increase the price of books, and thus tend to bring down and narrow the popular intelligence. And it must be remembered that so far as any influence upon Congress is concerned, the little finger of Mr. Harper is thicker than the loins of all the literary and scientific men in the United States put together.

The second large interest which works more or less with Mr. Carey and his friends is that of the considerable *booksellers* of the Middle and Western States, who are not publishers to any appreciable extent, but would be glad to have their pickings, like the rest, out of the English, and, for the matter of that, out of the native market too, and who would oppose international copyright, and may so be classed along with the other constituents of Mr. Carey's phalanx. At present the bulk of the English reprints are monopolized by five or six leading firms in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. They get everything worth having, partly because they have exceptional opportunities of knowing at the earliest moment what is to be had, and have long established communications with England; partly because they control the channels of distribution through the whole area of the Union, whilst the Western bookseller only commands the limited area of perhaps half-a-dozen States in his immediate neighbourhood; and lastly, but not least, because they alone are strong enough to quash competition. After many mutual invasions and reprisals, these leading firms of the East have established

(1) "Letters," &c., p. 77.

what is called a "courtesy copyright" between themselves—nominally, I am aware, extended to all publishers being American citizens, and not representatives of London houses, but practically confined to those who are able to retaliate when the "trade courtesy" is violated. This courtesy copyright is a tacit understanding that when one great house advertises the fact that it has made arrangements with the English author or publisher for the reproduction of his book, the other great houses are not to reprint that particular book. This system of courtesy copyright, which has been gradually growing up of late years, should be spoken of with respect, for it represents an improvement in commercial morality, as well as in loyalty towards each other and in good feeling towards England: and so far as the English author and publisher are concerned, it is an increasingly efficient substitute in the majority of cases for the benefits which they would derive from copyright. But this is not the view taken of the coalition by the booksellers who are left out in the cold, and who have scarcely a chance of getting hold of an English book before it has been snapped up in one of the three Atlantic cities. These booksellers have little opportunity of coming across the English author and getting his latest book; their names are unknown in England, their solvency and seaworthiness, and the extent of their means and appliances for making a book succeed, and the area of their habitual operations, can only be understood by those who have visited America. Some of them nourish the greatest jealousy of the half-dozen fortunate firms, and would regard any form of international copyright which has been proposed, as securing for good the monopoly of the Eastern against the Middle and the Western cities. Their grievances would find local expression in the newspapers, and the Congress-man, who comes up to Washington with his mind, as is generally the case, a perfect blank on the merits of copyright, cannot afford to overlook the expression of opinion in the local newspaper to which perhaps he owes his seat. Only on very stringent terms, framed expressly to break down the Eastern monopoly, would the bookseller who is ambitious to become a publisher consent to international copyright. Here is a sample proposition as it frames itself in the mind of such a bookseller: "We will only," one said to me, "consent to the protection of English books in this country, provided you can establish some system which will give us the same chance of getting them to publish as the New York houses have. This might be done by a public agent at Washington, who should be charged to receive all English manuscripts which were for sale to American publishers. He should advertise their titles and invite tenders for them; and of these tenders he should then be compelled to accept the highest, from whatever part of the country it came, provided it was the tender of a

firm of known respectability and solvency." Whatever may be thought of the economical eccentricity of this proposal, there is very little doubt that the great firms of the East would be able to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon Congress to prevent any such measures being taken for the undermining of their monopoly.

We must add lastly to the account of the forces and interests with which the advocate of international copyright has to reckon in the United States, the growing conviction amongst the farmers and the manufacturing classes in the Western States of the inutility and injurious effects of the system of patents. Copyright, whether domestic or international, is, after all, nothing but a kind of patent, and the recognition of their identity in principle was shown in a characteristic manner by the American Act of 1846, since superseded, which prescribed that books to be copyrighted in the several States of the Union should be deposited with the district clerks in order to be sent to the Patent Office at Washington.[1]

The growing disfavour with which patents are regarded has found expression not only in the United States but also in Europe. Switzerland has abolished the system altogether, and its abolition in Holland was discussed in the legislature of that country in 1869. But the weightiest European exponent of the case against patents is Prince Bismarck, in a message which he sent to the North German Federal Parliament, December 10th, 1868.[2] With this strong support of European opinion at their back, then, it seems out of the question to hope for anything but opposition to an international convention with England from the Western farmers and manufacturers, who at present have not had their attention directed to copyright, but who are already showing signs of dissatisfaction with the kindred institution of patents.

These are the various parties, interests, and directions of opinion which the advocate of international copyright finds ranged against him in the Middle States and the Great West,—the two sections of the American commonwealth which are every day more and more determining the character and policy of the whole. On such a subject as copyright the South is silent; since the war it neither buys nor produces books.* Which way it would be likely to go, if the discussion ever got beyond the Library Committee of the two Houses of Congress into Congress itself, I know of no data for predicting. New England we have already seen to be (roughly speaking) in favour of international copyright in the same unconditional sense as international copyright is understood in Europe. Its literary men, and there are but few literary men out of New England, believe as

(1) *American Library Journal*, vol. i. Nos. 2 and 3, p. 89. Paper of Mr. A. R. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, on Copyright.

(2) See his arguments in "Abolition of Patents, recent Discussions," &c. (Longmans, 1869), p. 185.

a body in the inherent and inalienable rights of the author, just as Mr. Charles Reade might do.

We come lastly to New York, standing midway, both in opinion and geographically, between the extreme opponents of international copyright to the south and west of it, and the extreme advocates of the same to the north and east of it. Its leading publishers unite in themselves the brilliant business qualities characteristic of the one area with the culture and academical training of the other. From New York, then, have issued the only practical and practicable proposals that have been made for a reconciliation of these conflicting interests. Before giving an account of these proposals, and of the varied discussions to which they have given rise, I will lay before the reader a short account of the inconveniences which American publishers say they experience in the absence of a copyright convention with England, which one of them has put into my hands.

The present system of payment for "advance sheets" of English books, which is becoming almost universally the custom with the best houses, gives the American publisher no legal protection against competition, but purchases for him, in fact, nothing tangible, except a week or two's start in point of time over others in the trade. Payments similar in amount, or not much greater, under an international copyright, would give the publisher the required protection, and thus enable him to issue his reprints more leisurely and in better and more uniform shape; would enable him, in fact, to give his customer more for his money. Under the present system the lack of uniform editions of many of the best reprints is a serious annoyance to the book-buyer, and, in that it serves to diminish sales, causes material loss to the publisher. The books of Mr. George Macdonald are an example. They were very generally scrambled for, and the different volumes were published by four or five houses in very different styles. In the case of most of the books the author received payment for "advance sheets." They had a good initial sale in the United States as new books, but have failed to find a steady permanent sale, chiefly because it is the interest of no one house to push and advertise the set as a whole, and each publisher hesitates to advertise the volumes which he brings out because part of the advantage of such advertising would accrue to other firms. If these works could have been copyrighted in America, they would in the natural course of things have all been placed with one house, and the customer could then have obtained a decent uniform edition of the whole at a moderate price, the series would have been permanently catalogued and advertised, and the ultimate profits much greater both for publisher and author. Under a copyright for English books a great many desirable reprinting enterprises would be undertaken by American publishers which at present they dare

not touch at all, or which, if they touch, they are obliged to carry out in a hasty, superficial, and unsatisfactory manner. Any enterprise requiring a long investment of capital is attended with special risks when subject to unscrupulous competition. The issue of a numerous set of books, for instance, may be begun with proper care and in good style, and money may be invested in the preparation of the first few volumes, and in advertising the series. But if the undertaking promises well, there is nothing to prevent an unscrupulous neighbour from printing the volumes as rapidly as the original undertaker, and perhaps, by printing them with less care, selling them at a lower price, and obtaining the advantage of the advertising and of the literary judgment of the original undertaker. This risk prevents a great many desirable things from being done, or causes them to be done improperly, and in this way it is an injury to the buyer of books as well as to the publisher.

It remains to see what practical efforts have been made on the part of the Americans to remove these inconveniences by the establishment of a limited measure of international copyright; and this will be the best form in which to consider the intermediate groups of opinion which we have characterized collectively as the New York school.

In 1838, immediately after the passing of the first International Copyright Act (Vict. 1 and 2, c. 59) of the present reign, Lord Palmerston invited the American Government to co-operate in establishing a copyright convention between the two countries. In the previous year the late Mr. Henry Clay, as chairman of a select committee, had reported to the Senate of the United States very strongly in favour of such a convention, upon the ground that the author's right of property in his work was similar to that of the inventor in his patent. The discussion of Mr. Clay's report was crowded out at the end of a session; and Lord Palmerston's proposal met, so far as I can learn, with no response. It is stated in an official return, that at this period no less than six hundred American books had been reprinted in England.[1] A memorial was then presented to Congress to the effect that international copyright would "derange and oppress the American book trade, by suddenly giving the benefit of copyright to foreign books already published."[2] This retrospective action was, I need scarcely say, not contemplated in Mr. Clay's report.

In 1843, ninety-seven firms and persons representing the book trade petitioned Congress in favour of international copyright, on the ground that its absence was "alike injurious to the business of

(1) House Document, No. 76, 30th Congress, 1st session: quoted in Mr. Baldwin's Report (1868).

(2) House Document, No. 416, 25th Congress, 2nd session: quoted ibid.

publishing, and to the best and truest interests of the people at large."[1] A memorial was presented in the same year against it; setting forth, amongst other things, that it would prevent the adaptation of English books to American wants;[2] and Mr. Baldwin remarks that the mutilation and reconstruction of American books to suit English wants were also common to a "shameless" extent.

In 1853, the question of a copyright treaty with England was again mooted, based upon the principles set forth in the following letter from five of the New York publishing firms to Mr. Everett, at that time Secretary of State:—

"New York, *Feb. 15th*, 1853.

"To the Hon. Edward Everett, Secretary of State.

"Dear Sir,—As it is in contemplation to present, for the ratification of the Senate, a treaty for an international copyright between England and the United States, we deem it proper to state some points of practical necessity in passing such a treaty. In order that a British author shall require American protection it should be insisted upon that the titles of the foreign work should be entered at the United States District Court or the Department of State before its publication in England, and if within thirty days of its publication in England the work is not printed in this country, then any one in this country shall have the right of reprinting it as at present. In order to show the publisher's right of protection under this treaty, he must show his right to the book from the author in writing. In case the copyright is secured as above, it shall be provided that the type shall be set up and the book printed and bound in this country. The necessity of this provision is obvious; for if an English publisher or author may print and bind a book in England, and at the same time secure a copyright without being required to print and bind his book here, then more than one-half of the mechanics and women employed in the type-founderies, printing-offices, paper-mills, book-binderies and the various collateral branches, will be thrown out of employment and great distress must follow. The people of this country are accustomed to cheap books, and great care should be had to guard against placing the power in the hands of the English publishers to force us to buy only English copies, which from their expensive style must be much higher in price even without the duty. This provision is right, for it protects the people from high foreign prices, and gives the author all he can desire if he will only conform to its provisions. On this plan the English author is placed upon the same footing as the American. His rights are fully protected, and the largest profit accrues to him from the American sale of his books, while a suitable and just protection is also given to American mechanical industry in the manufacturing department of book-making. With great respect, we are your obedient servants,

"D. Appleton & Co.
G. P. Putnam & Co.
Robert Carter & Bros.
Charles Scribner.
Stamford & Swords."

In view of this treaty, Hon. James Cooper, a Pennsylvania Senator, asked Mr. Carey, the economist, for "information calculated to enable him to act understandingly in reference to the international copy-

(1) Baldwin's Report, p. 4.
(2) Senate Document, No. 323, 22nd Congress, 2nd session, ibidem.

right treaty now awaiting the action of the Senate;" and in the autumn of the same year, Mr. Carey published his six letters on International Copyright, the fundamental positions of which I have already endeavoured to expound. Mr. Carey adduced also two other considerations; the first of which he has often reiterated to me in conversation. This is, that the facts and ideas in a book, as distinguished from the language in which they are clothed, are the common property of society. In these it is impossible to have copyright; and the embodiment and presentment of them in words is as often as not merely mechanical book-making, unworthy of protection, whether national or international. Somewhat similar views have been enunciated in this country by Mr. D. Roberton Blaine, in the discussion on Lord Westbury's Bill (1836) "to extend the protection of copyright in prints and engravings to Ireland;" and by M. Michel Chevalier in a speech before the Société d'Économie Politique, June 5, 1869.[1] Mr. Carey's other objection was to a point of form. A question affecting the population so widely, he held, must not be disposed of in a treaty to be negotiated by the Senate, but must come before the more popular branch of the legislature, otherwise it would be repudiated by the people within a year.[2] After this the question seems to have been shelved, or, as Mr. Carey phrases it, "evaded," for fourteen years.

In 1867, it was reopened in the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, by an article urging the same points as Mr. Clay had brought forward thirty years before. This was answered by the republication of Mr. Carey's letters of 1853; but Congress, at the beginning of the following year, instructed the Committee on the Library "to inquire into the subject of international copyright, &c., and to report by bill or otherwise." This committee consists of three members from each house, and is charged with the direction of the Library of Congress, an institution embracing the functions of the British Museum and of Stationers' Hall. The three members from the Senate were Mr. Morgan (New York), Mr. Fessenden (Maine), since deceased, and Mr. Howe (Wisconsin); those from the House of Representatives were Mr. Pruyn (New York), Mr. Spalding (Ohio), and Mr. Baldwin (Massachusetts), chairman. In Mr. Baldwin's Report,[3] to which I have already had occasion to refer, it is stated that "your committee feel that no country has greater need of international copyright than ours;" and the following considerations are brought forward in support of a measure: (1) A

(1) See "Recent Discussions on the Abolition of Patents, &c.," pp. 324 and 168.

(2) This was put still more explicitly in his subsequent pamphlet, "The International Copyright Question considered." Philadelphia: H. C. Baird. 1872. P. 4.

(3) Fortieth Congress, 2nd session. Report, No. 16, House of Representatives. I have to thank Mr. A. R. Spofford, the courteous librarian of Congress, for placing this and other official documents, both printed and MS., at my disposal.

sense of justice to the author's right of property in his work should be sufficient to secure the establishment of international copyright laws. (2) Such laws would contribute powerfully and successfully to develop our own literature and make it national, instead of its being, as at present "it has to a large extent remained, provincial to that of Great Britain." (3) International copyright would very much improve the business of manufacturing, publishing, and selling books in the United States, by giving it stability and certainty. (4) It would greatly promote the interests of American book-buyers. Copyright is the price paid by the publisher for security in the market; and with this security he could afford to sell cheaper, and to print and bind better. As a writer in the *North American Review* says, "Copyright would procure not a less, but a greater multiplication and cheapness of copies." The principal inconveniences alleged against international copyright are then discussed, the most important objection, "that this policy would give British manufacturers of books entire monopoly of the American market," being thus answered: "It is enough to reply that the measure we propose would make such British monopoly of our market impossible; for American editions of foreign books, to have the proposed benefit of copyright, must be wholly manufactured here." Mr. Baldwin, from the Committee of the Library, at the same time reported a Bill to the house[1] giving effect to this proviso, and adding the further one that the reprints, as a condition of their protection, shall be "issued for sale by a publisher or publishers who are citizens of the United States." The benefit of copyright would appear also by sec. 4 to be expressly limited to "the author, and the heirs, assigns, or other legal representatives of the author." The report was ordered to be printed and recommitted; and the bill, introduced February 21st, 1868, was read twice, ordered to be printed, and also recommitted to the Committee on the Library.

It was not until the close of the year 1871 that the subject was again mooted in the American legislature. In the autumn Mr. William H. Appleton, one of the partners in the New York publishing house of D. Appleton & Co., wrote to the *Times* (Oct. 20), explaining and defending the qualified copyright advocated in the publishers' letter to Mr. Everett, and in Mr. Baldwin's Bill. He also explained, in opposition to the statements made in a number of recent letters to the *Times*, soundly rating the Americans for unscrupulous "piracy," &c., that the best American houses had for some years adopted the policy of establishing direct relations with English authors, and in default of the legal compulsion of copyright, paying them voluntarily and regularly the same royalty on their reprints of their books as they would have received if they had been American

(1) H. R. 379.

citizens. Replies to Mr. Appleton from Mr. F. R. Daldy (Bell & Daldy), and Mr. M. H. Hodder (Hodder & Stoughton), were published in the *Times* of Oct. 24, the latter admitting that the advantages to be gained by a copyright convention "are, no doubt, on the side of England," but adding from his own experience as a recent visitor that "America was never, perhaps, more ready than now to agree to what is just and right." Mr. Appleton then returned to America and expounded his views anew in a couple of letters to the *New York Times*, in the latter of which he answers the objection that his "idea of copyright can only be reached when Congress legislates that no Englishman shall hereafter be naturalised, and that no American shall have an interest as a partner in any English publishing house." He protests that he meant nothing of this illiberal nature; and that he does not believe the English publishers will endeavour, as a class, to circumvent the Americans by this manœuvre. On the 6th of December Mr. Cox introduced a Bill into the House of Representatives substantially identical with Mr. Baldwin's measure; which was also read twice, ordered to be printed, and referred to the Library Committee. This second committee contained one member, Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, from the previous committee of 1868, Senator L. M. Morrill, of Maine[1] (chairman), and Senator Sherman, of Ohio; and from the House of Representatives, Mr. Peters (Maine), Mr. Wheeler (New York), and Mr. Campbell (Ohio).

At the beginning of January, 1872, Mr. Henry C. Carey again appeared on the scene with a pamphlet, "The International Copyright Question considered" (Philadelphia: H. Carey Baird), in which he reiterated the arguments of his previous letters and criticised unfavourably the chief points of Mr. Baldwin's Report; whilst the new Library Committee of Congress called upon the publishers and others interested in the book trade to aid in framing a Bill. The result of this call was a meeting of publishers in the Mercantile Library, New York, on the 23rd of January. To this meeting 101 publishers from the three principal Atlantic cities were invited, 50 from New York, 27 from Boston, and 24 from Philadelphia. Nineteen firms only were represented, 17 from New York, and 2 from Boston: Mr. Lippincott, of Philadelphia, was accidentally prevented from being present,[2] but expressed his adhesion to the principle of copyright with the condition of re-manufacture. At this and the subsequent meeting on February 7, a memorial was presented by Mr. William Appleton from British authors, in which the condition of re-manufacture is accepted, with the remark that "it is clear that the Americ[illegible]ave strong reasons for refusing to permit the

(1) The present Secretary to the Treasury.
(2) See letter in *New York Evening Post*.

British publisher to share in the copyright which they are willing to grant to the British author." The memorial is signed by Mr. Herbert Spencer, Sir John Lubbock, Professor Huxley, Mr. John Stuart Mill, Mr. Thomas Carlyle, Sir James Paget, Mr. Darwin, Dr. Hooker, Professor Tyndall, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Ruskin, Mr. William Black, Mr. G. H. Lewes, Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Froude, Rev. James Martineau, Miss Harriet Martineau, Mr. Shirley Brooks, Mr. Edward Dicey, and many others, fifty in all. A report was then drafted containing the text of an International Copyright Bill under the condition of re-manufacture in the United States, and stating amongst other considerations that copyright would not increase the price of books to any greater extent with English than with the works of American authors. For this the following nine firms of publishers voted, viz. :—D. Appleton & Co., Robert Carter & Bros., Sheldon & Co., A. D. F. Randolph & Co., J. B. Ford & Co., D. W. C. Lent & Co., W. H. Bidwell, Dodd & Mead (all from New York), and Lee & Sheppard (Boston). The late Mr. G. P. Putnam did not remain to vote; but his son, Mr. Haven Putnam, informs me that he was in favour of the report. Three publishers from New York, and Mr. J. R. Osgood, of Boston, declined to vote. The remaining five firms dissented, viz. :—Charles Scribner & Co., Holt & Williams, Hurd & Houghton, James Miller, and E. P. Dutton & Co., all from New York; and Mr. Edward Seymour, one of the managing partners in the firm of Scribner, drew up a minority report stating the following objections to the proposed Bill :—

1. "It is in no sense an international copyright law, but simply an act to protect American publishers, regardless of the rights of American authors. It has so narrow a basis, therefore, that it can never receive the endorsement of the public.

2. "Even if it were possible for American publishers to secure the 'protection' proposed in compelling the manufacture of foreign copyrighted books in the United States, *such 'protection' would be wholly delusive, since the copyright which the English publisher could hold indirectly through an American partner, would secure him the absolute control of this market, whether the book was made here or in England.*

3. "For the reasons above stated the act is objectionable in prohibiting the importation of stereos and electros (stereotype and electrotype plates), in failing to provide for the copyrighting of cyclopædias, &c., and in giving the American publisher power to exclude revised editions of works of which he may own the copyright."

During the same week the executive committee of the Copyright Association, consisting chiefly of authors, adopted the following draft of a Bill made by their secretary, Mr. Charles Astor Bristed, entitled "An Act to secure authors the right of property in their books." It has the merits of shortness and simplicity.

After the enacting clause it proceeds :—

1. "All rights of property secured to citizens of the United States of America, by existing copyright laws of the United States, are hereby secured to the citizens and subjects of every country, the government of which secures reciprocal rights to citizens of the United States.

2. "This Act to take effect two years after its passage."[1]

Meanwhile the opponents of copyright in Philadelphia began to stir. On the 27th of January a meeting of printers, publishers, booksellers, paper-makers, &c., was held under the presidency of Mr. Henry Carey Baird, a relative, I believe, of Mr. Carey. Mr. W. Lippincott was one of the secretaries. After the proceedings of the New York meeting had been read, the following memorial, presented by Mr. B. H. Moore to be forwarded to Congress, was adopted:—

"We oppose an international copyright for the following reasons:—

1. "That thought unless expressed is the property of the thinker; when given to the world is, as light, free to all.

2. "As property, it can only demand the protection of the municipal law of the country to which the thinker is subject.

3. "The author of any country, by becoming a citizen of this, and assuming the burdens and performing the duties thereof, can have the same protection that an American author has.

4. "The trading of privileges to foreign authors, for privileges to be granted to Americans, is not just, because the interest of others than they are sacrificed thereby.

5. "Because the good of the whole people, and the safety of our republican institutions, demand that books shall not be made too costly for the multitude by giving the power to foreign authors to fix their prices here, as well as abroad.

6. "We oppose the Bill as proposed in New York, because it would enable the foreign author, and his assignee in this country, by an absolute monopoly in the production, to fix the price of his book, without fear of competition.

7. "Because the great capitalists on the Atlantic seaboard would naturally and almost necessarily represent foreign authors, from their world-wide reputation, the security of authors in dealing with them, and their greater facilities in distribution of books, thus centralizing the publication of them in few hands.

8. "Finally, because the reprints of really valuable works on science, which are now published at prices so low in this country that the day labourer can afford to purchase them, would be raised by an international copyright, or any proposed modification thereof, beyond his means, and he would be obliged to confine his purchases mainly to cheap literature, not improving to his mind, frequently immoral in its tendency, and inculcating not rarely principles dangerous to the peace of society."[2]

On the 29th of January Mr. Morrill, the chairman of the Library Committee of Congress, called a meeting "for the hearing of all parties interested." The New York publishers' meeting was represented by Mr. W. H. Appleton, Mr. Sheldon, Mr. Van Nostrand, and Professor Youmans. The Copyright Association was represented by Mr. C. Astor Bristed, its secretary, and Mr. E. L. Andrews,

(1) See *Weekly Trade Circular*. New York. February 1, 1872.

(2) From the *Printer's Circular*.

of the New York bar, who also drafted the subsequent form of the Bill proposed on behalf of the New York publishers and the authors. This gentleman drew up a "brief," in which he founded the plea for international copyright upon a passage in the constitution of the United States to the effect that Congress shall have power "to promote the progress of science and the useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." Mr. Andrews contended with much ingenuity that, *American* authors not being specified in this clause of the constitution, the word *authors* must mean *all* authors, irrespective of nationality.[1] Now it is impossible to protect foreign authors except by way of international copyright; it follows, then, he argued, that the constitution does not leave it optional with Congress to pass or not to pass a law giving copyright to foreign authors, but "in this respect is mandatory in its character." This singular argument, there is little doubt, did a great deal of harm to the cause which Mr. Andrews espoused, and it has had the further detrimental effect of creating a false impression in the public mind. In the ultimate report of the Library Committee it was, of course, set aside on the reasonable ground that it could not be supposed that the framers of the American constitution had in view any class of persons except citizens of the United States. But from this statement of the report that such an argument for international copyright could not be construed out of the words of the constitution, an impression has got abroad amongst Americans who have never had the actual documents before them, that the committee declared *international copyright to be unconstitutional;* so that this unfortunate and far-fetched argument has perhaps done more to shelve the question than even the opposition of the Philadelphia publishers.

The deputations then proceeded to lay the following documents before the committee:—(*a*) the report of the New York publishers' meeting—not a strong production by the way; (*b*) the minority report of Mr. Edward Seymour and his friends; (*c*) the memorial of the British authors; and (*d*) the memorial of the Philadelphia publishers. This last was presented by Mr. Willis Hazard, of Philadelphia, accompanied by three workmen connected with the manufacture of books. Messrs. Harper Brothers, of New York, were represented by counsel (Mr. Hubbard, of Boston), and also laid before the committee the following letter:[2]—

"The question now before the Joint Committee of Congress upon the Library,

(1) It is curious that Lord Westbury, in the case of Boosey *v.* Jeffreys, committed himself in the House of Lords to a similar interpretation of the English Copyright Act. See Sbortt on "The Law relating to Literature." (London: Cox.) P. 32.

(2) This document exists in the library of Congress, in the handwriting of Mr. Spofford, the librarian.

however it may be confused or complicated by the conflicting claims and interests of various classes, has always appeared to us under a very simple light.

"In considering the propriety of international copyright legislation we deem it entirely inappropriate to urge upon you the claims of authors, publishers, booksellers, printers, binders, press-makers, or any other body of tradesmen, to be especially and exclusively recognised in such legislation. The interests of the people at large are to be regarded, and those interests alone.

"It seems to us that the whole question before your honourable committee really is whether the intelligence of the whole people, or, as the constitution calls it, 'the promotion of science and the useful arts,' will be advanced by granting a copyright to foreign authors.

"There are men who believe, for plausible reasons, that a protected monopoly of publishing the books of such British authors as now arrange with us for the issue of their works, would be of immense value to a large publishing house like ours; and that we should therefore gain much by the adoption of one of those bills now before your committee. But while a law enabling us to obtain several prices for our books would secure to us enormous profits for a time, it would certainly within a generation diminish our business, as publishers for the people, by narrowing the popular intelligence.

"Publishers who aim at a permanent business which shall continue to prosper under successive generations, will desire above all else that general diffusion of knowledge, and consequent general demand for literature, which can only result from the circulation of books cheap enough to be within the reach of all. This consideration, it seems to us, must govern the consideration of the question before your committee. Whatever of useful work in the world has been done by the publishers as well as the authors of this country, has been done by contributing to the progress and diffusion of knowledge and culture. It has been our aim and boast to furnish in an acceptable form the best reading for the people at low prices; and we point with natural satisfaction to our own lists, out of which a good and handsome library of standard and recent English works can be selected, at a price less than one-fifth of that which the same or similar books would cost in British editions or under an international copyright law. But the reduction of the price of a good book to one-fifth means on the average an increase of its circulation about twenty-fold; and it is our conviction that had an international copyright existed for the last quarter of a century, the works of Macaulay, Tennyson, Bulwer, Dickens, Thackeray, Lecky, Darwin, Wallace, Kingsley, Robertson, Reade, Collins, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Miss Muloch, and the like, would to-day be known by less than one-twentieth in number of the citizens of the United States, who are now familiar with them.

"In view of the great results which have grown out of the freedom of literary exchange which we now enjoy, of the general education of our people, of the extent and efficiency of our common schools, the number and circulation of village and country libraries, and the liberalising, broadening, elevating influence upon the national mind of the choicest thoughts of another great and cultivated people now so freely opened to it, it is our belief that the adoption of any serious restriction upon this freedom would be a very hazardous experiment, and possibly an irrevocable calamity to the nation.

"We have the honour to be, very respectfully,
"Your obedient servants,
"HARPER & BROTHERS."

These were substantially all the materials at this time laid before the Library Committee of Congress. Speeches were made on the 12th February by Mr. Andrews and Mr. Bristed on behalf of the Copyright Association in favour of unqualified international copy-

right, and a written statement was read by Mr. W. H. Appleton on behalf of the New York publishers' meeting in favour of copyright subject to the condition of re-manufacture; whilst Mr. Hazard stated the arguments of the Philadelphia remonstrants. Professor Youmans followed, urging the claims of British authors upon the singular ground that they were very badly paid in their own country, and desired American sympathy,—falling into a smart passage of arms with the previous speaker. On the following day Mr. Hubbard "took the floor," and, after reading Messrs. Harper's letter, stated that "he came to represent no interest but one, and that one the highest—the interest of the people." His speech appears to have excited considerable amusement, and in the course of it he admitted that his argument carried with it the repeal of the existing law of domestic copyright. The committee requested him to commit his views to paper.[1] On the 17th February Mr. H. Carey Baird sent a fly-sheet to the committee entitled "Copyright, National and International," in which he brought forward the additional consideration against international copyright that if it were established the American authors and publishers would be subject to perpetual litigations with the English proprietors of copyright, favoured by the comparative cheapness of the American courts of law, whilst they would be prevented by the dearness of the British courts from maintaining their own copyrights against infringement in England.

This letter came before the last meeting, a private one, of the committee on the 19th February, at which also a final draft of what was now called the "Authors' and Publishers' Bill," based upon a compromise between the Copyright Association and the publishers, was presented. The only alteration in the amended Bill consists in the omission, after specification of the condition that the "foreign author shall enter into a contract with an American publisher, a citizen of the United States, to manufacture the book in all its parts" —of the words "so that it shall be wholly the product of the mechanical industry of the United States."[2] I presume, though I have no direct authority for stating, that the omission of this more stringent clause was intended to admit to copyright foreign books not set up in type in the United States, but printed, as is very often the case at present, from stereotype plates sent from England. This

(1) See two *ex parte* reports of the proceedings, from opposite sides, in the *Weekly Trade Circular*, March 7 and 14.

(2) Printed copy of the amended Bill is to be found in the library of Congress, endorsed in the handwriting of Mr. W. H. Appleton: "Authors' Copyright Bill as amended by the Publishers. All rights of property secured to citizens of the United States are hereby secured to citizens and subjects of every other country, whenever the foreign author makes arrangements directly with the American publisher, and the work is manufactured in the United States."

is a considerable saving of expense as well as time, but it sacrifices the printing interest in America to the extent of the price of the setting up of the type.

Along with this Mr. Appleton, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Van Nostrand, as the publishers' committee, addressed a final statement to the Library Committee, wherein they stated their objections to a rival scheme of copyright which had sprung up during the discussion, and which was known from one of its apparently simultaneous propounders as the Elderkin Bill.

Mr. John P. Morton, a publisher in Louisville, Kentucky, wrote during the session of the Library Committee,[1] to the Hon. S. S. Cox, as one of the oldest publishers and booksellers in the United States, that he was not satisfied with the Bill put forth by the New York publishers' meeting of February 6th, and that he had requested the Hon. J. B. Beck to present for the consideration of the Library Committee a Bill containing the following provisions:—

"A foreign author may copyright his book in the United States on condition (*a*) That before his work is published or for sale in America the title-page thereof must be recorded in the office of the Librarian of Congress; (*b*) *The work to be free to be printed and published by all responsible publishers;* the copyright (royalty to be paid by the publisher) not to exceed ten per cent. on the selling price. (*c*) The author shall have an agent prepared to make contracts, notice of which shall be given through the public press. (*d*) If the author shall fail to comply with the above requirements, the book, map, chart, or design may be republished the same as might have been done before the passage of this Act. (*e*) *Nothing in this Act is to prevent the importation or sale of the foreign edition of said work.*"

In this letter Mr. Morton says that he wishes to add to his Bill, on further consideration, "that the copyright (royalty) should be ten per cent. on the selling price *in sheets* or paper binding, leaving the (American) publisher free from any tax for the labour that may be put on the work in the way of binding. There is no reason or justice in allowing a foreign author a percentage on such labour and skill." At the end of his letter Mr. Morton adds—

"Whether Congress ought to pass an international copyright law or not is another question. But if they should do so, they should look to the interest of the millions of readers, and not to the *protection*, I believe that is the word, of the few publishers."

A similar proposal "to pay authors a fair per cent. (say five per cent.) on the retail price, leaving the privilege of reprinting open to all," was made on February 7th, by a correspondent in the *New York Evening Post*. The principle involved had been stated with approval in 1853 by Mr. Carey, in his "Letters on International Copyright,"[2] as removing "much of the difficulty relating to copyright."

(1) Letter in MS. in the Congress library, dated February 16, 1872.
(2) Page 77. See top of 3rd page of the present paper.

This idea, which was laid by Mr. Elderkin before the Library Committee, was taken up by one of its members, Senator Sherman, and embodied in what was hereafter known as "The Sherman Bill,"[1] which he introduced into the Senate on the 21st of February. The second section is as follows:—

"Sec. 2. That any person within the United States may publish, in such form or numbers as he may deem best, any book or work copyrighted under this Act, subject to the payment to the author, or to his legal representatives or assignees, during the term of such copyright, of five per centum of the gross cost of the publication of such work; and the said author, or his legal representatives or assignees, may publish such work in the United States, or contract with any publisher in the United States for the publication of such work in the United States, and demand, sue for, and recover the stipulated price for such copyright; and in the absence of any specific contract for such publication, such author, or his legal representatives or assignees, may demand, sue for, and recover, as liquidated damages, in any court of competent jurisdiction, the said sum of five per centum on the gross cost of the publication of such work: and, to secure or recover the same, have the benefit of process in law or equity, as in other cases of joint interest in the proceeds of publication."

In their "final statement," Mr. W. H. Appleton and his two colleagues on the publishers' committee take two objections to the principle of the Sherman Bill. (1.) In many cases the books would (and in all cases could) be published by irresponsible parties, and the foreign author would be unable to collect anything. (2.) The irresponsible publisher would reap the fruits of the advertising of the responsible one, and the latter, therefore, would be prevented from expending the necessary capital for making the book known.

The Library Committee reserved their report; meantime the Sherman Bill was read twice in the Senate, referred back to the Committee on the Library, and ordered to be printed.

Discussion continued in the public newspapers, and especially in the trade organs in England as well as in America, during the ensuing spring, but without adding any suggestion of importance. The single exception perhaps is to be found in an article, and the draft of a bill, published in the London *Bookseller* for April, 1872, and attributed by the Americans to Mr. Whittaker. After calling attention to the difference of conditions in the book market, not only in the United States, but in Canada, where British subjects prefer to purchase the cheap American reprints to buying the expensive English editions of English authors, the writer very sensibly pleads for the disuse of all irritating and offensive expressions towards American publishers:—

"Let it be conceded that the natural rights of authors extend no further than the boundaries of their own countries, and within these boundaries only so long as their own laws permit. This concession made, the ground will be cleared

(1) S. 683. 42nd Congress, 2nd session.

for further negotiation; there will be no charges of pilfering, stealing, or piracy, nor will there then be any ugly or offensive terms used. There is no need for them. The New York or Philadelphia publisher is as free from blame in reprinting Macaulay's 'History of England,' as Mr. Murray is in reprinting the works of Alexander Pope. Neither of the works named is protected by law, and if it be wrong for Mr. Harper to reprint Macaulay, it must be equally wrong for Mr. Murray to reprint Pope. Both works are property, both are unprotected by law, and both have been reprinted without any payment being made by the publishers to the authors or their representatives; and therefore, all that may be said of one transaction may be said of the other."

And he then suggests the following draft of a Bill, identical in its principle with the Elderkin and Sherman Bills:—

"1. All original works composed by citizens of either nation shall be considered copyright in the other's country, for the term of the author's lifetime, or for twenty-eight years, whichever may be the longer term.

"2. Any person desirous of reprinting books so copyrighted may do so on the following conditions, viz.:—

"Before printing an American (or English) work he shall give notice to the proper authority, saying how many copies he proposes to print, and the price at which such work will be sold in cloth, and pay down ten per cent. upon such selling price; he shall then be furnished with an order for the printer named to print that number of copies. As soon as the printer has done his work, he shall certify that he has printed so many and no more, and an authorisation shall then be given to publish the edition: which authorisation shall be printed upon the back of the title."

This proposal, I may add, is in substance no new one, even in this country. It was set forth as early as 1837, in an article in the *Mechanics' Magazine* (vol. xxvii.), by the late Mr. Thomas Watts, keeper of the printed books in the British Museum, and was advocated more recently by Mr. R. A. Macfie, M.P. for Leith, in the *Leith Herald*.[1] A similar scheme was also mentioned by M. Renouard in his "Traité des Droits d'Auteurs" (Paris, 1838); and in Italy, after the expiration of forty years' exclusive copyright, the law prescribes the payment of an analogous royalty. In England it is found practicable to collect for the author of a play royalties from all the provincial theatres for every night on which it is acted. On the other hand, Hon. J. Rose, the Canadian Minister of Finance, reported that it was found impracticable to collect at the custom-houses the duties levied for the benefit of the author on the introduction of American reprints into the Dominion.[2]

(1) See extracts of both these articles in "Recent Discussions on the Abolition of Patents," pp. 296—300.

(2) See an article in the *Athenæum*, July 17, 1869, reprinted in "Recent Discussions on the Abolition of Patents," p. 310. An *ad valorem* duty, ranging from 15 to 20 per cent., was levied on behalf of the English author, on the importation of his works into nineteen of the English colonies, of which a list will be found *op. cit.* p. 326. But whether the collection of these duties has been successful there seems to be no evidence. A letter from Mr. C. H. Purday, of Great Marlborough Street, the brother of the defendant in a celebrated copyright case, Boosey *v.* Purday, advocating the same solution of the international copyright difficulty, will be found, p. 314–5 of the same work.

In the middle of the following short session of Congress, February 7, 1873, Senator Morrill produced his report as chairman of the Library Committee, and with this terminated for the time the American efforts for international copyright. The concluding paragraph of the report sums up the opinion of the committee as follows:—

"In view of the whole case, your committee are satisfied that no form of international copyright can fairly be urged upon Congress upon reasons of general equity or of constitutional law; that the adoption of any plan for the purpose which has been laid before us would be of very doubtful advantage to American authors as a class, and would be not only an unquestionable and permanent injury to the manufacturing interests concerned in producing books, but a hindrance to the diffusion of knowledge among the people and to the cause of universal education; that no plan for the protection of foreign authors has yet been devised which can unite the support of all or nearly all who profess to be favourable to the general object in view; and that, in the opinion of your committee, any project for an international copyright will be found, upon mature deliberation to be inexpedient."[1]

With regard to the condition of re-manufacture, whether involving the setting up of the type afresh, or merely the printing from imported stereotypes, I think that Mr. William Appleton[2] would now be prepared to make a still further concession. In the autumn of 1875 I had a conversation with him in New York, and asked him if he was prepared, in any proposal of international copyright, to accept the *status quo* in respect of re-manufacture. At present the reprinting publishers occasionally have their reprints entirely manufactured in England; sometimes wholly in America; sometimes again the re-manufacture is partly done in England, partly in America. In any case the American publisher follows his own convenience in this matter, and is not bound by any hard and fast line, as he would be under the proposed Bill of the "authors and publishers." Upon the supposition that the publisher shall be an American citizen, holding directly from the English author as his assignee, I asked if Mr. Appleton was prepared to waive the clause in his Bill about re-manufacture, and to this I understood him to assent.

C. E. APPLETON.

(1) Senate: Report, No. 409, 42nd Congress, 3rd session.

(2) It may be well to mention that the writer of this paper has no connection by way of relationship or otherwise with any member of the New York firm.

# A NEW WORK ON RUSSIA.

THE great squalid Empire that stretches from the Polar Sea to the southern border of the Caspian, and from Germany to China, has been described in a hundred works, has been the subject of countless articles, and is every day spoken of with the fluent readiness of entire ignorance in every newspaper in England; and yet it is safe to say that the book before us gives the English reader his first chance of learning some of the facts best worth knowing about Russia's social structure, her administrative system, her religious varieties, the daily life and movement of her peoples, and the forces and conditions that have brought them to their present stage in the march of civilisation. Mr. Mackenzie Wallace has brought to the study of social phenomena in Russia the same industry, patience, and power of scientific reflection that were brought by his eminent namesake to the study of birds and insects in the Malay Archipelago. In other words, he has taken a foreign country seriously. He went like any other traveller to spend a few months, but found the study so interesting that he remained there for six years. He condemned himself to a long period of exile in an obscure village in order to acquire a thorough conversational mastery of the very difficult language of the country. He thought nothing of devoting days to arranging and analysing the confused and intricate bundles of accounts of a great estate, in order to satisfy himself as to the exact effects of Emancipation on the fortunes of the proprietors. He worked as hard as a clerk in the office of the board of administration of a country district, so as to master the machinery of self-government. He spent months in the study of voluminous official documents to which he was fortunate enough to have access; and he passed from dreary archives to hardly less dreary life in the tents of wandering Bashkirs of the Steppe, whose tents swarmed with vermin, and whose delicacies were great pieces of boiled fat thrust into the guest's mouth by the too hospitable fingers of his entertainers. In short, Mr. Wallace went to work upon Russia with the same kind of thoroughness and unsparing tenacity with which a good student would go to work to write a great history. To this admirable diligence he adds the gift of real insight into the working of sociological causes. The result is that he knows more about Russia, its social stratifications, the conditions of its growth, the framework of its

(1) "Russia." By D. Mackenzie Wallace. 2 vols. London: Cassell's, 1877. 24s.

organization, than most educated Englishmen know about the same matters in Great Britain.

Mr. Wallace makes no claim to any marked brilliance of style. His work is not literary, it is something much better than literary; and his descriptions derive an effectiveness of their own from the reality and the thoroughness of his knowledge. Nothing can be more graphic and excellent than his two chapters (xv., xvi.) containing pictures of landed proprietors of the old school and proprietors of the modern school, and they are excellent, not because they are picturesque, but from their obvious realism. The abundance and variety of the types show that the author draws from a full well. The Village Priest is one of the most interesting of these types, not only from the vigour of Mr. Wallace's account, but because the evils which make the life and prospects of the Russian peasantry so unsatisfactory, are precisely those which we might look to a priesthood, with even such an instrument as the superstition of the Eastern Church, to do something to remove. Unluckily it appears that we shall look in vain. Many of the Russian priests are honest and well-meaning men; not fanatical, nor intolerant, nor puffed up with spiritual pride. Even here, however, we cannot help wondering whether Western Christianity would have obtained its hold on the barbarians, if every one of its great leaders had not been among the most fanatical, ruthless, arrogant of mankind—

"Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer."

In times like our own, of amicable and refined sentiment, no type is more difficult to admire than the fierce and brutal fanatics who did most to establish Christian doctrine, but we cannot help seeing that if they had been less fierce and less fanatical, it might never have been established at all, and that therefore the Russian priest of the best stamp is as little likely to improve his flock, as is his brother of the worst stamp. What the worst stamp means, may be gathered from an account reproduced by Mr. Wallace from a private report of an orthodox Russian to the Grand Duke Constantine. "Why," asks this writer, "do the people not respect the clergy? Because it forms a class apart; because, having received a false kind of education, it does not introduce into the life of the people the teaching of the Spirit, but remains in the mere dead forms of outward ceremonial, at the same time despising these forms even to blasphemy; because the clergy itself continually presents examples of want of respect to religion, and transforms the service of God into a profitable trade. Can the people respect the clergy when they hear how one priest stole money from below the pillow of a dying man at the moment of confession, how another was publicly dragged out of a house of ill-fame, how a third christened a dog, how a fourth

whilst officiating at the Easter service was dragged by the hair from the altar by the deacon? Is it possible for the people to respect priests who spend their time in the gin-shop, write fraudulent petitions, fight with the cross in their hands, and abuse each other in bad language at the altar? One might fill several pages with examples of this kind—in each instance naming the time and place—without overstepping the boundaries of the province of Nizhni-Novgorod. Is it possible for the people to respect the clergy when they see everywhere amongst them simony, carelessness in performing the religious rites, and disorder in administering the sacraments? Is it possible for the people to respect the clergy when they see that truth has disappeared from it, and that the Consistories, guided in their decisions, not by rules, but by personal friendship and bribery, destroy in it the last remains of truthfulness? If we add to all this the false certificates which the clergy give to those who do not wish to partake of the Eucharist, the dues illegally extracted from the Old Ritualists, the conversion of the altar into a source of revenue, the giving of churches to priests' daughters as a dowry, and similar phenomena, the question as to whether the people can respect the clergy requires no answer."

This bears marks of the exaggeration of an enthusiastic standard; but the priest from whom Mr. Wallace learnt the language, admitted how little satisfactory was his condition, and how unable the priest is, from the nature of his circumstances, to acquire moral influence over his flock.

"'Perhaps,' said the priest, 'you have heard that the parish priests extort money from the peasants—refusing to perform the rites of baptism or burial until a considerable sum has been paid. It is only too true; but who is to blame? The priest must live and bring up his family, and you cannot imagine the humiliations to which he has to submit in order to gain a scanty pittance. I know it by experience. When I make the periodical visitation, I can see that the peasants grudge every handful of rye and every egg that they give me. I can overhear their sneers as I go away, and I know they have many sayings, such as—"The priest takes from the living and from the dead." Many of them fasten their doors, pretending to be away from home, and do not even take the precaution of keeping silent till I am out of hearing.'

'You surprise me,' I said, in reply to the last part of this long tirade; 'I have always heard that the Russians are a very religious people—at least, the lower classes.'

'So they are; but the peasantry are poor and heavily taxed. They set great importance on the sacraments, and observe rigorously the fasts, which comprise nearly a half of the year, but they show very little respect for their priests, who are almost as poor as themselves.'"

We only realize the sagacity of the great directors of the Roman church, above all of Hildebrand, after we have studied the degradation both of doctrine and ecclesiastical organization which marks the history of Eastern Christianity. There is no better way of bringing home to men's minds how much more the advantages conferred

on civilisation by Christianity have been due to discipline than to dogma. On the other hand, Mr. Wallace's description of the Molokani (i. p. 444), leads us to suppose that a purgation of the superstitious dogma, however much of superstition remains behind, may lead to a more austere morality and a more vigorous social supervision. Others of the Heretics whom he describes seem to go off into fantastic abominations, that are worse than anything to be found in Mr. Nordhoff's book on the Communistic societies of the United States. On the whole, Christianity in Russia is not a pleasing affair.

We have no space for Mr. Wallace's interesting pictures of the Artel,—the association of a number of artisans for the execution of a given piece of work,—of the rural doctor, of the manners and domestic ways of the peasantry. If De Tocqueville had lived to read these pages, he would hardly have said, as he said after reading Haxthausen, that not only would ennui make Russian society unendurable, but that one inhaled ennui merely in reading a description of it.[1] There is one rather interesting psychological question on which one would have been glad to hear anything that Mr. Wallace might have to say. The ordinary notion is that despotism breeds in those who are subject to it a great many harsh vices. How is it that the Russian peasant, the subject of a double despotism, patriarchal and imperial, the despotism of the Head of the House and that of the Head of the State, is yet a model of gentleness, cheerfulness, and docile resignation? Arthur Young notices at the conclusion of his travels in France that though he did not find the French either more polite, or more vivacious, or more talkative than the English, yet he did find them better tempered; and then he puts the general question, how it is that absolute governments seem favourable to good humour?

The singular society in the midst of which the author passed six years was not merely in his eyes a field for superficial observation and lively description: it was also the propounder of a series of problems, such as the better sort of historians now discern to constitute the true interest of all social study, whether its object lie in the past or the present. A hundred years ago, when the germs of a broader conception of human society had come fairly into existence with such books as the Esprit des Lois, the Essai sur les Mœurs, and the Wealth of Nations, the notion was still wanting that the two great controlling and transforming elements of society are religious ideas and economic forces. History or sociology

(1) *Œuv.*, vi., 245. He also said that the sight of Russian society, where all is so uniform, from ideas and laws down to the smallest details of external nature, affected him like America, minus its liberty and enlightenment—*une société démocratique à faire peur.*

was thought of by Montesquieu as something of which the centre was politics, constitutions, and varieties of government. Voltaire went further, and saw that the condition of society was the real matter of interest; but then he was too inclined to measure the condition of society by arts and letters, and he relied on anecdotes and gossip, only showing his superiority over others by being careful to get his anecdotes and his gossip from the most important people. It was a great gain, no doubt, to displace the dynastic by the democratic way of thinking about a nation; to put kings and battles below peoples and manners. But the democratic notion has in turn been overshadowed by another, which we may perhaps call the institutional. What engages the attention of the best kind of modern observer in any society, whether his access to it be direct or only indirect and through books, is not merely the surface of manners and daily usage, but the deeper causes of such things,—the institutions, the laws, the economic distribution and administration, and the relations between these decisive matters and the moral, religious, and social ideas that lie at the bottom of them all. It is scarcely too much to say that individual men or groups of men are thus of less interest than the great institutional forces, which wrap them about from the moment of their birth, and make them what they are down to the hour of their death. While the metaphysicians are splitting their straws about the Freedom of the Will, the student of man in society solves their problem by walking away from it, and proceeding to those spacious controlling influences of which the vaunted will is no more than the instrument and the tool. This is the point of view from which Mr. Mackenzie Wallace went to work, and what he has done is one more proof of the fertility and value of the method in competent hands.

If a foreigner were to come to England as Mr. Wallace went to Russia, he would be well advised to begin his studies by mastering the position of the landed aristocracy. The control exercised by that great body over economic movements, over ecclesiastical policy, over legislation, and over manners, is one of the dominant and central facts in our social organisation. In Russia, on the contrary, a traveller is well advised who banishes from his mind the western notion of an aristocracy. One of the most interesting chapters in Mr. Wallace's book is that in which he describes the men whom for want of a better name he calls the Noblesse. Everybody knows the story of the Emperor's reply to Dumouriez, though most people set it down to Nicholas instead of to Paul I. Dumouriez had spoken of some Court personage as considerable. "Apprenez," said the Emperor angrily, "qu'il n'y a pas de considérable ici que la personne à laquelle je parle, et pendant le temps que je lui parle!" This illustrates the abject relation of the nobles to the autocrat. On the other hand they are

without any of that exclusiveness in face of the bourgeoisie which marks German nobles, and some absurd families in England; and they have no haughty feeling of caste superiority over the lower orders.

"The Russian Noblesse," says Mr. Wallace in a pregnant passage, "was formed out of more numerous and heterogeneous materials, and these materials did not spontaneously combine to form an organic whole, but were crushed into a conglomerate mass by the weight of the autocratic power. It never became a semi-independent factor in the State. What rights and privileges it possesses it received from the Monarchy, and consequently it has no deep-rooted jealousy or hatred of the Imperial prerogative. On the other hand, it has never had to struggle with the other social classes, and therefore it harbours towards them no feelings of rivalry or hostility. If we hear a Russian noble speak with indignation of autocracy or with acrimony of the bourgeoisie, we may be sure that these feelings have their source, not in traditional mediæval conceptions, but in principles learned from the modern schools of social and political philosophy. The class to which he belongs has undergone so many transformations that it has no hoary traditions or deep-rooted prejudices, and always willingly adapts itself to existing conditions. Indeed, it may be said in general that it looks more to the future than the past, and is ever ready to accept any new ideas that wear the badge of progress. Its freedom from traditions and prejudices makes it singularly susceptible of generous enthusiasm and capable of vigorous spasmodic action, but calm moral courage and tenacity of purpose are not among its prominent attributes. In a word, we find in it neither the peculiar virtues nor the peculiar vices which are engendered and fostered by an atmosphere of political liberty.

"However we may explain the fact, there is no doubt that the Russian Noblesse has little or nothing of what we call aristocratic feeling—little or nothing of that haughty, domineering, exclusive spirit which we are accustomed to associate with the word Aristocracy. We find plenty of Russians who are proud of their wealth, of their culture, or of their official position, but we scarcely ever find a Russian who is proud of his birth, or imagines that the fact of his having a long pedigree gives him any right to political privileges or social consideration. Such ideas appear to the ordinary Russian noble absurd and ridiculous. Hence there is a certain amount of truth in the oft-repeated saying that there is in reality no aristocracy in Russia.

"Certainly the Noblesse as a whole cannot be called an aristocracy. If the term is to be used at all, it must be applied to a group of families which cluster around the Court and form the highest ranks of the Noblesse. This social aristocracy contains many old families, but its real basis is official rank and general culture rather than pedigree or blood. Though it has no peculiar legal privileges, its actual position in the Administration and at Court gives its members great facilities for advancement in the public service. On the other hand, its semi-bureaucratic character, together with the law and custom of dividing landed property among the children at the death of their parents, deprives it of stability. New men force their way into it by official distinction, whilst many of the old families are compelled by poverty to retire from its ranks. The son of a small proprietor or even of a parish priest may rise to the highest offices of State, whilst the descendants of the half-mythical Rurik may descend to the rank of peasants. It is said that not long ago a certain Prince Krapotkin gained his living as a cabman in St. Petersburg!" (i. 430—2.)

The absence of caste spirit and caste prejudice—Mr. Wallace illustrates this very strikingly in his account of the district administration, in which nobles and peasants are members of the same Board

and work together in unbroken amity (a picture to be remembered by those who look for elective County Boards in our own country) —is due to a certain peculiarity in her historical development, namely that until lately she remained an almost exclusively agricultural Empire, with abundance of unoccupied land. "Her history presents, therefore, few of those conflicts which result from the variety of social conditions and the intensified struggle for existence. Certain social groups were, indeed, formed in the course of time, but they were never allowed to fight out their own battles. The irresistible autocratic power kept them always in check and fashioned them into whatever form it thought proper, defining minutely and carefully their obligations, their rights, their mutual relations, and their respective positions in the political organization. Hence we find in the history of Russia almost no trace of those class-hatreds which appear so conspicuously in the history of Western Europe."

We shall not attempt to follow Mr. Wallace into what some one has well called "the deep sea of agrarian history in Russia." His chapter on The Serfs (vol. ii., ch. xxix) is a most instructive account of the origin and working of Russian serfage. And it sheds a flood of light, not merely on what went on in Russia during the eighteenth century, but on the great social movement in the Roman Empire twelve or thirteen centuries before. We see the constancy with which economic causes work, and the uniformity with which fiscal exigencies, in an absolute and centralised political State, reproduce the course of social transformation. The reader of Mr. Wallace's chapter on Serfage will do well to turn from it to Mr. Finlay's explanation of the double origin of serfage under the old imperial administration.[1] With very slight changes of detail the process was substantially identical with that described by Mr. Wallace. The responsibility of the proprietors to the imperial fisc for the poll-tax was the decisive fact in each case; and it seems to us as if we might apply unaltered to Russia Finlay's words about the effect of this responsibility upon the common people: "Even when the land was cultivated by free peasants, the proprietor was responsible to the fisc for their capitation tax. As the interest of the government and of the proprietor, therefore, coincided to restrain the free labourer employed in agriculture from abandoning the cultivation of the land, he was attached to the soil, and gradually sank into the condition of the serf; while, on the other hand, in the case of slaves employed in farming, the government had an interest in preventing the proprietors from withdrawing their labour from the cultivation of the soil; these slaves, therefore, rose to the rank of serfs."

The most important part of Mr. Wallace's book is that which treats of the next great event in the history of serfage—its abolition.

(1) *Greece under the Romans* (B.C. 146 to A.D. 716), p. 183 and p. 241.

His arrangement of his matter does not always seem quite satisfactory. The reader will probably have a more organic idea of the whole subject if, before beginning the chapters on serfage in the second volume (xxix.—xxxii.), he turns back and reads over again the excellent chapters in the first volume (viii.—ix.) treating of the Commune; chapters which give us a more vivid idea of what the Communal system is, than anything published in England before.

The Emancipation of the serfs in Russia may rank along with the abolition of slave labour in the United States and the extinction of the temporal power of the Popes, as one of the three great transformations of our time. In some respects the emancipation of the serfs is the most remarkable event of the three. Neither of the other two great changes is likely to generate a new social type; neither of them is more than negative, more than a removal of restrictions, though a removal of the most important kind for the western world. But the emancipation of the serfs in Russia has led at once to a condition of society and to a group of possibilities of the most interesting and unparalleled kind. It needs a moment of vigorous reflection for us to realize the existence of a nation now in such close relations with western forms of thought and institution, yet which has never passed through anything at all resembling our feudal stage, and which is entirely without anything at all corresponding to our proletarian class. Russia is so near western civilisation in some respects, and yet in the ideas that are fundamental assumptions with us as to property, she is as far from us as the wandering bands of Tacitus's Germania. Here more than anywhere else do we understand the force of Mr. Wallace's remark, that the student of the strange conglomeration of products which make up Russian civilisation, is not seldom as much surprised as a naturalist would be, who should unexpectedly stumble upon antediluvian Megatheria grazing tranquilly in the same field with prize Southdowns.

Nearly thirty years ago Mr. Mill talked about a general reconsideration of all the first principles of society being felt to be inevitable. The miseries and iniquities of a state of much inequality of wealth are not less glaring in 1877 than they were in 1848, though men are for the moment less sanguine of inventing a panacea. The elections, however, to the new German parliament show that the socialist torch, whether it be for illumination or for conflagration, is still alight in western Europe. The wisest statesman—unless he is over sixty—is he who keeps his mind most on the alert for new economic forms. The French showed Europe in 1792 how a political revolution could shake a continent while saving a realm. A great economic revolution would convulse the earth; and such a revolution is, sooner or later, a certainty, possibly even in our own tranquil, conservative, and unspeculative England.

The articulate classes in Russia—or at least one most important and enthusiastic school among them—had long been possessed by the idea that Individualism and unrestricted competition had now reached in the West a monstrous and perilous development. These principles must always lead to the impoverishment of the masses for the benefit of the few, and to the formation of a hungry Proletariate. "Let us," they argue, "avoid this evil. If the peasants be emancipated without land, or if those Communal institutions, which give to every man a share of the soil and secure this inestimable boon for the generations still unborn, be now abolished, a Proletariate will be rapidly formed, and the peasantry will become a disorganized mass of homeless wanderers like the English agricultural labourers. If, on the contrary, a fair share of land be granted to them, and if the Commune be made proprietor of the land ceded, the danger of a Proletariate is for ever removed, and Russia will thereby set an example to the civilised world! The Western nations have discovered their error when it is too late—when the peasantry have been already deprived of their land, and the labouring classes of the towns have already fallen a prey to the insatiable cupidity of the capitalists. But Russia may avoid all these dangers, if she but act wisely and prudently in this great matter. The peasants are still in actual, if not legal, possession of the land, and there is as yet no Proletariate in the towns. All that is necessary, therefore, is to abolish the arbitrary authority of the proprietors without expropriating the peasants, and without disturbing the existing Communal institutions, which form the best barrier against pauperism." (ii. 285).

This points to the considerations which make Russia so exceedingly interesting to the sociologist. The great problem for all western nations of Europe—and it is already becoming a problem even for the United States of America—is that of industrial organization. Some of us think that this will, in England at any rate, partially conform to the feudal type which it displaces; that the capitalist performs functions with which the workmen will never be able to dispense; that the immediate need of the time is the growth of vigorous combination among all kinds of labouring people, until capitalists come to be guided by those moral and social motives, for which a useful temporary substitute is found in the pressure put upon them by Trade Unions. But it would argue the infection of a doctrinaire spirit in its worst form, to insist that there can be no more than one wholesome and normal type for the industrial future of civilised countries. On the contrary, it would be very astonishing, and very opposite to what all social studies would have led us to expect, if Russia, whose political and social antecedents are so profoundly unlike those of England, France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, should

in spite of that exhibit the same consequents in her later development. The circumstance of the Commune in Russia having survived in full vigour as the social unit, down to a time when the English economist comes upon no more than broken traces of it in other lands, makes it certain that Russia will move along a path of her own,—whether to higher social forms than our own or not, none of us will live to know.

Mr. Wallace gives a full account of the steps by which the great measure of 1861 was gradually shaped and finally consummated. It is not necessary for us to repeat his story. It is enough to enumerate the three fundamental principles of the Emancipation Law. These were:—

1. That the serfs should at once receive the civil rights of the free rural classes, and the authority of the proprietor be replaced by Communal self-government. 2. That the rural Communes should as far as possible retain the land they actually held, and should in return pay to the proprietor yearly dues in money or labour. 3. That the Government should by its credit assist the Communes to redeem these dues, or, in other words, to purchase the lands ceded to them in usufruct. With regard to the domestic serfs, they were to continue to serve their masters during two years, and thereafter to be free, but with no claim to a share of the land.

Thus, as Mr. Wallace puts it, "the serfs were not only liberated, but made possessors of land and put on the road to becoming Communal proprietors, and the old Communal institutions were preserved and developed. In answer to the question, who effected this gigantic reform? we may say that the chief merit undoubtedly belongs to the Emperor. Had he not possessed a very great amount of energy he would neither have raised the question nor allowed it to be raised by others, and had he not shown a decision and energy of which no one suspected him to be capable, the solution would have been indefinitely postponed. Among the members of his own family he found an able and energetic assistant in his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine—a man who would be remarkable in any sphere of life—and a warm sympathizer with the cause in the Grand Duchess Helena, a German Princess, thoroughly devoted to the welfare of her adopted country. But we must not overlook the important part played by the nobles. As soon as the question was raised, a large number of proprietors threw themselves enthusiastically into the work, and as soon as it became evident that emancipation was inevitable, all made a holocaust of their ancient rights, and demanded to be liberated at once from all relations with the serfs. And when the law was passed, it was the proprietors who faithfully put it into execution. Lastly, we should remember that considerable merit is due to the peasantry for the patience and long-

suffering which they displayed, as soon as they understood the law." (ii. 309).

Hence it may fairly be said that the whole nation worked together, sovereign, proprietors, and common people alike. What has been the effect of this immense metamorphose of the relations between the peasantry and the proprietors, and of the peasantry to the land that they cultivate? As might have been expected, there are two contradictory answers, and Mr. Wallace is too careful an inquirer, and too keenly alive to the complexities of a great agrarian revolution, to admit that any terse and definite answer at all is yet possible. But although he does not sum up in any single formula either of enthusiasm or despondency, his account of the main features of the new position is definite enough. First, as to the consequences of emancipation to the landed proprietors. These proprietors may, like any other portion of the human race, be divided into the solvent, rational, and circumspect, on the one hand, and the insolvent, foolish, and improvident on the other. The latter class have no doubt good reason to deplore emancipation, but no sensible man will allow pity for a small number of individual cases to be the measure of his judgment upon so vast a matter as this. "So long as serfage with all its extremely elastic relations existed, many proprietors lived constantly in an atmosphere of debt, but contrived to keep their heads above water, like merchants who are thoroughly insolvent and prolong their commercial existence by means of accommodation bills and similar desperate expedients. Formerly they lived on their estates in comfort and plenty, or lived in the towns and drew a large revenue from their estates, and now all their landed property has been sold by auction to satisfy the demands of importunate creditors. For these men the emancipation, like a crisis in the commercial world, brought a day of reckoning. It did not really ruin them, but it showed them that they were ruined." (ii. 343.)

Let us turn to the proprietors who took their position seriously. How has the emancipation of the serfs affected them? One good consequence it has certainly had. "Formerly," said a member of this class, "we kept no accounts and drank champagne; now we keep accounts and content ourselves with beer." Or, as Mr. Wallace expands this laconic summary, "the hereditary listlessness and apathy, the traditional habit of looking on the estate with its serfs as a kind of self-acting machine which must always spontaneously supply the owner with the means of living, the inveterate practice of spending all ready money, and of taking little heed for the morrow —all this, with much that resulted from it, was rudely swept away." Nobody of sense will be likely to deny that the substitution of orderly for disorderly habits of life and domestic administration must in the long run prove advantageous to the community, however

irksome the process may be to an existing generation. The great question for every proprietor was what he should do with the land that remained in his possession. He had two courses. He could either farm the land on his own account, or he could let it to the peasants for a fixed yearly sum. The disadvantage of the latter course is that the peasants are bad cultivators, and exhaust the land recklessly. Strange as it may sound in Lincolnshire and Suffolk and Salisbury Square, such an animal as a farmer,—bound down by covenants, with no security of tenure, and liable to have his unexhausted improvements confiscated without recompense,—does not exist in Russia. A proprietor, then, who should adopt the other alternative and farm his land on his own account, might do so in one of the following ways. 1. He might release the Commune from their dues on account of the Communal land, in consideration of a definite amount of field-labour; an amount carefully settled in the Emancipation Law. 2. He might make an agreement with the Commune, or with individual peasants, according to which a certain definite amount of agricultural work should be executed for a fixed sum, or for a certain amount of pasturage or firewood. When this system is adopted, the peasants always use their own horses and agricultural implements, and the calculation is made, as we should say, *per acre*. 3. He might agree to supply the land and the seed, the peasants doing all the work with their own horses and implements, the harvest being divided between the contracting parties either equally or in some other proportion previously agreed upon—one of the many variations of the Métayer system. 4. Or lastly the proprietor might replace the serf-labour of which the new law deprived him, by the western system of hired labour, letting the Commune attend to its own affairs, and seeking his labour wherever he could get it.

At first the proprietors contented themselves, as might have been anticipated, with a continuance of the old ways, under the new restrictions. But the labourers took the unfamiliar obligations of contract very loosely. Force of circumstances compelled the proprietors to resort to the other solutions. The transition was difficult, though not equally difficult in all parts of the country alike. In the Northern Zone, defined in Mr. Wallace's map, the soil is too exhausted to support a free labour system with a profit, unless costly improvements in culture were introduced, for which the proprietor had neither capital nor credit. In the Southern or Black-Earth Zone, on the contrary, the soil is fertile enough to give a good return even to poor farming. What has happened then is this. "In the Northern Zone the proprietors have nearly all given up farming, and let as much of their land as possible to the neighbouring peasantry. The houses in which they formerly lived—many of them as *grands seigneurs*—are for the most part deserted and left exposed to the

ravages of time, while the owners live in the towns, earning a livelihood in the public service, or in those numerous commercial and industrial undertakings which have sprung up in recent years with such marvellous rapidity. If a moralist were to make a sentimental journey through this part of the country, he would find abundant materials for edifying reflections on the instability of earthly greatness, and the folly of living carelessly from day to day without taking thought for the morrow. In the Southern Zone, on the contrary, the estates now present more activity than formerly. Nearly all the proprietors cultivate at least a part of their property, and can easily let to the neighbouring peasantry the land which they do not wish to farm on their own account. Some have adopted the system of *métayage*, others get the field-work done by the peasants at so much per acre, and a considerable number have succeeded in organising farms with hired labourers on the West-European model. In some of the densely-populated districts the proprietors are in the habit of letting the whole of their land, and derive from this a large revenue. The Russian peasant likes the risk and chances of farming on his own account, and is ready to pay a high rent for land rather than work as a labourer." (ii. 328—9.)

In the southern section of the Black-Earth Zone, where the experiment of farming with hired labour is being tried in good earnest, the most serious difficulty lies in the scarcity of labour. For the preparation of the land and the sowing of the grain the ordinary population suffices; but for the harvest the services of the nomadic reapers are always required, and when the harvest is plentiful the price of labour rises to such an extent that the proprietor has sometimes reason to regret the exceptional bounty of nature. "I know at least of one case," says Mr. Wallace, "where an unusually abundant harvest ruined many farmers. This happened in the province of Samára in the year 1868. The harvest was so abundant that the reaping cost about twenty-five shillings per acre, and the grain was afterwards spoiled by continuous rains, so that the reaping expenses became a dead loss."

Many proprietors send agents to the north in early spring to hire reapers at a moderate price for the harvest time; but the labourers so hired fail to come at the stipulated time, and they decamp when it suits their convenience. People of a certain temperament, which is as familiar in other lands as it is in Russia, think the government might remedy this by a more complicated system of passports; but proprietors of a more active stamp seek a remedy of a surer kind in the introduction of reaping machines, and by sowing their wheat at two seasons. Meanwhile, the safest remedy of all is at work, for the population is rapidly increasing.

Hence in the South we may look forward to seeing the proprietors

successfully conducting the cultivation of their own land. 'In the northern agricultural zone, Mr. Wallace thinks it probable that the arable land will gradually pass into the hands of the peasantry, who can often extract from it a fair revenue, when the proprietor can only farm at a loss.

Next, we have to ask what the effect of emancipation has been upon the peasantry? "In truth," says Mr. Wallace, "it is no easy matter to sum up the two sides of the account and draw an accurate balance, except in those exceptional cases in which the proprietor flagrantly abused his authority. The present money-dues and taxes are often more burdensome than the labour-dues in the time of serfage. If the serfs had a great many ill-defined obligations to fulfil—such as the carting of the master's grain to market, the preparing of his firewood, the supplying him with eggs, chickens, home-made linen, and the like—they had, on the other hand, a good many ill-defined privileges. They grazed their cattle during a part of the year on the manor-land; they received firewood and occasionally logs for repairing their huts; sometimes the proprietor lent them or gave them a cow or a horse when they had been visited by the cattle-plague or the horse-stealer; and in times of famine they could look to their master for support. All this has now come to an end. Their burdens and their privileges have been swept away together, and been replaced by clearly-defined, unbending, unelastic legal relations. They have now to pay the market-price for every stick of fire-wood which they burn, for every log which they require for repairing their houses, and for every rood of land on which to graze their cattle. Nothing is now to be had gratis. The demand to pay is encountered at every step. If a cow dies or a horse is stolen, the owner can no longer go to the proprietor with the hope of receiving a present, or at least a loan without interest, but must, if he has no ready money, apply to the village usurer, who probably considers twenty or thirty per cent. as a by no means exorbitant rate of interest. Sometimes it even happens that the peasant has to pay without getting any return whatever, as, for instance, when his cattle stray into the proprietor's fields—an accident that may easily occur in a country where walls and hedges are almost unknown. Formerly, on such an occasion, he escaped with a scolding or with a light castigation, which was soon forgotten; but now he has to pay as a fine a sum which is for him considerable. Thinking of all this and of the other advantages and disadvantages of his new position, he has naturally much difficulty in coming to a general conclusion, and is perhaps quite sincere when, on being asked whether his new position is better than the old, he scratches the back of his head and replies, in a mystified, doubtful tone, 'How shall I say to you? It is both better and worse.'" (ii. 353—4.)

Mr. Wallace when he comes to sum up his own conclusions admits much of what is said as to the profoundly unsatisfactory condition of the peasantry, and makes no attempt to deny their drunkenness and improvidence. But he sets these vices down, and we may well suppose that he does so with good reason, to the conditions of the serfage from which the people have just emerged. It would be wonderful if, considering the few years that the new system has been in operation, the habits engendered by the old system had already had time to die out. The parish clergy have as little influence in making the people sober, as if they were in a large English town. "If the orthodox church," says Mr. Wallace significantly, "could make the peasantry refrain from the inordinate use of strong drink as effectually as it makes them refrain during a great part of the year from the use of animál food, and if it could instil into their minds a few simple moral principles as successfully as it has inspired them with a belief in the efficacy of the sacraments, it would certainly confer on them an inestimable benefit. But this is, for the present at least, not to be expected. The great majority of the parish clergy are men utterly unfit for such a task, and the few who have any aspirations in that direction rarely, if ever, acquire a perceptible moral influence over their parishioners." (ii. 355.)

Nor does Mr. Wallace deny that the Russian peasant is lazy and shiftless compared with the stout and tenacious labourer of the West; he only says, and it is just to remember it, that to one coming from the East the Russian peasant seems a very industrious person indeed.

Nor again—to come to the pith of the matter—does Mr. Wallace deny the evils that are as yet incident to the system of peasant self-government which the Emancipation Law set up. Such evils are these. "The more laborious and well-to-do peasants do all in their power to escape election as office bearers, and leave the administration in the hands of the less respectable members. In the ordinary course of affairs there is little evidence of administration of any kind, and in cases of public disaster, such as a fire or a visitation of the cattle-plague, the authorities seem to be apathetic and powerless. Not unfrequently a Volost Elder trades with the money he collects as dues or taxes; and sometimes, when he becomes insolvent, the peasants have to pay their taxes and dues a second time. The Volost Court is very often accessible to the influence of *vódka* and other kinds of bribery, so that in many districts it has fallen into utter discredit, and the peasants say that any one who becomes a judge 'takes a sin on his soul.' The village assemblies, too, have become worse than they were in the days of serfage. At that time the heads of households—who, it must be remembered, have alone a voice in the decisions—were few in number, laborious, and well-to-do, and they kept the lazy, unruly members under strict control;

now that the large families have been broken up, and almost every adult peasant is head of a household, the communal affairs are often decided by a noisy majority; and almost any communal decision may be obtained by 'treating the *Mir*'—that is by supplying a certain amount of *vódka*." (ii. 358).

All this deserves to be borne in mind, as against those idyllic images which are not without their influence over even so careful and scientific a writer as M. de Laveleye.[1] But Mr. Wallace proceeds to point out that not a few of the most common complaints are due to the fact of people demanding from the peasant administration a great deal that no sort of administration could possibly effect. And he further adduces what he rightly calls a very significant circumstance to show the exaggeration of some of the complaints against the Village Assembly.

"If," he says, "the lazy, worthless members of the Commune had really the direction of Communal affairs, we should find that in the Northern Agricultural Zone, where it is necessary to manure the soil, the periodical re-distributions of the Communal land would be very frequent; for in a new distribution the lazy peasant has a good chance of getting a well-manured lot in exchange for the lot which he has exhausted. Now, so far as my observations extend, I have found—much, I confess, to my astonishment—nothing of the kind. In all, or nearly all, of the Communes which I have visited throughout this part of the country I have found that no general re-distribution has taken place since the Emancipation." Again, the Russian peasant is shrewd enough, and like other shrewd persons he is sure to profit by experience. When they find, for instance, that the Volost Elder has not been paying into the Treasury the money collected as taxes and dues, and that they have in consequence to pay the taxes and dues a second time, they will insist in future on seeing the Treasury receipts.

Even, however, if the abuses incident to communal administration do in time disappear, many persons contend, with the economists of the West, that there is an inherent obstructiveness in the system of common ownership. Dr. Leon Faucher, for instance, who gave the English public a short account of the Russian land-system some years ago,[2] is of this opinion. The books tell us that the Commune prevents good cultivation according to the methods in use, and second, that it prevents permanent improvements and the passage to a higher kind of agriculture. We may notice in passing that our own artificial and detestable system is open to exactly the same objections; the farmer is tied down by a number of restrictive

(1) *De la Propriété et de ses Formes Primitives.* Ch. ii. and iii.
(2) *Systems of Land Tenure.* Essays published by the Cobden Club. London Macmillan. 1870.

covenants, that prevent him—not only from using up the land, and carrying off the straw, etc.—but from distributing his crops as he may judge best; and he is checked in permanent improvements by the knowledge that he may be turned out of his farm without compensation. This by way of illustration of the homely jingle, that—

> "The faults of our neighbours with freedom we blame,
> But tax not ourselves though we practise the same." [3]

Mr. Wallace's answer to the second of the two objections of *à priori* reasoners, is conclusive. "When the peasants," he says, "begin to think of permanent improvements, such as drainage, irrigation, and the like, they will find the Communal institutions a help rather than an obstruction; for such improvements, if undertaken at all, must be undertaken on a large scale, and the Mir is an already existing association. The only permanent improvements which can be for the present profitably undertaken consist in the reclaiming of waste land; and such improvements are already sometimes attempted. I know at least of one case in which a Commune has reclaimed a considerable tract of waste land by means of hired labourers. Nor does the Mir prevent in this respect individual initiative. In many Communes of the northern provinces it is a received principle of custom law that if any member reclaims waste land he is allowed to retain possession of it for a number of years proportionate to the amount of labour expended."

To the other of the two general objections, that the peasant, as co-proprietor, does not cultivate well according to existing lights, Mr. Wallace's reply is that the peasants put as much manure in their soil as they possess, and if they do not put enough, it is usually because he has not enough cattle. But it is the Commune, say its enemies, which keeps the stock of cattle low; it gives the peasant reason to fear two things. In the first place, part of his cattle may be sold by the Imperial police for Communal arrears, though he may have paid his own share of the taxes and dues; and in the second place, the Commune may make a general re-distribution of the land, and give to others the plots or strips which he has carefully manured for several years. The former contingency, however, is the result of a bad fiscal system, and occurs in parts of the country where the Commune does not exist. The second apprehension appears to Mr. Wallace to have much less influence on the peasant than is supposed

(3) Another illustration is our fashion of objecting to the compulsory partition of property in France. Partition destroys the true family spirit, weakens paternal authority, periodically ruins industry, and the like. The English system does not limit paternal authority by compulsory partition, but by what usage has made tantamount to compulsory prevention of partition: its economic effects are still more injurious. French and English Liberals may well agree in the same cry for *droit de tester*.

by theorizers. It implies, for one thing, an absence of Communal good faith, which is an unproved assumption. In the next place it is contrary to fact. "In the southern provinces, where no manure is required, the periodical re-distributions take place almost every year; as we travel northward, we find the term lengthens; and in the Northern Agricultural Zone, where manure is indispensable, general re-distributions are almost unknown. In the province of Yaroslav, for example, the Communal land is generally divided into two parts; the manured land lying near the village, and the unmanured land lying beyond. The latter alone is subject to frequent re-distribution."

It is not necessary to labour these various points further. Readers who are specially interested in the matter will pursue it in Mr. Wallace's careful pages. He is as far as possible from the vague enthusiasm of some Russians for the Commune; he even believes that some day the periodical re-distribution of land will disappear, though it is the case that hitherto very few Communes have used the privilege, which they all possess, of transferring invariably a lot to each family. But Mr. Wallace deprecates any legislative interference, hurrying or distorting the slow normal dissolution, if dissolution there must ultimately be, of what he emphatically describes as "the only institution which has genuine, spontaneous, independent life in it, and does not require to draw galvanic vitality from the central authority,—the only piece of real self-government which exists in the country. All the other organs of self-government in Russia are more or less artificial and ornamental, and the power which created them might at once demolish them without producing any serious perturbation; the Commune alone has deep roots in the traditions, the habits, and the everyday interests of the people."

Here we must leave this valuable and instructive book. It is one of the stoutest and most honest pieces of work produced in our time, and the man who has produced it may securely enjoy the reflection, which is by no means given to all of us, that even if he never does anything more, he will not have lived for nothing.

EDITOR.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

The defiance of Europe by the worst government in Europe is now an achieved fact. The issue for England is one of the most humiliating strokes that she has ever undergone. We might have said, in the first instance, "The misgovernment of the Turkish provinces is to be deplored, but we cannot undertake to set the world to rights: you who are nearer must see to it. So long as Constantinople is not immediately threatened, we wish you well." This might not have been very exalted language, but it would have been humanity and good sense. England might have gone farther than this. She might have followed the policy of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, and actively co-operated with Russia in making the Turk put his house in order. That would have been—that would still be—a policy worthy of a great people, who have courage and faith enough to be willing to use their strength for great causes, as their forefathers had. There was a third course: to withstand Russia from motives of a mean, ugly, and childish jealousy and dogged suspicion; to abstain from coercing Turkey ourselves, and to prevent others from coercing her; to say to Europe, "We cannot afford to allow the government of outrage and massacre to be put down in Turkey, because there are some who think that it might possibly hinder us in keeping down outrage and massacre in India." The government chose to follow the third of these courses. It was the worst; its result to England has been moral humiliation, and its results to Europe will be to precipitate the conflagration. Everybody sees that the end of the Conference is the end of nothing else. It is the beginning of a more violent stage than any that has gone before.

Yet it is not surprising to learn that the Turks are already beginning to be afraid of the results of their own daring. They may well stand aghast when they come to realize their isolation. The repulse of the far too moderate proposals of the Plenipotentiaries, and the fact that the director of the abominations in Bulgaria still goes unpunished and manifestly will continue to go unpunished, have set the opinion of the English constituencies once for all against the Turkish power. The popular instinct is marvellously clear. Fifteen years ago, while Pall Mall, and culture, and the Philistine, and the men of the sword were all for the South in the American war, the great constituencies were steadfast for the North. They saw that the government of the Confederates meant Slavery; and they see now that the government of the Turk means periodical Massacre. They turn aside now from the nonsensical jargon about the government of Turkey being an integral and independent power, just as then they brushed away the sophisms about the Southern States having a right to secede. The same classes and groups that raged for the right of the planter to hold slaves, are now raging again for the right of the Turk to have his massacre. But

the bulk of the nation is sound now as it was then, and the abrupt dissolution of the Conference only makes the issue clearer.

At the first meeting of the Conference, the principal Turkish Plenipotentiary read a statement in vindication of the Porte, which is supposed to have been drawn up by the ablest of its Christian servants, Alexander Karatheodori Effendi. We may recall the words of O'Connell, "Whenever a Christian is to be roasted, another Christian will always be found to turn the spit." The audacity of the allusions to the Bulgarian massacres provoked an indignant protest from Lord Salisbury, who, to the astonishment of his diplomatic colleagues, reminded the Turkish ministers that the antecedents of their Government were well-known. England will be grateful to Lord Salisbury for this ebullition, and perhaps it may prove to be the only satisfactory incident in the history of his mission. That Lord Salisbury can be incisive in speech we all know: what requires to be proved is that he is equally strenuous in action. His patriotism is beyond question. No unfriendly criticism was published upon his consenting again to serve under Mr. Disraeli, after having at two periods, separated by an interval of co-operation in the Cabinet of 1866, exposed and denounced him. But some of the best men on his own side were none the less unfavourably impressed by such unexpected pliancy. In his struggle to save his ritualistic friends from Mr. Disraeli and the Public Worship Regulation Bill in 1874, he was again worsted, not without humiliation; and, by an odd coincidence, the same week which witnesses the inefficacy of Lord Salisbury's championship of the Eastern Christians, sees Mr. Tooth put into prison. A complete judgment cannot be formed until the records of the Conference are in our hands, if even then; but it seems that after the Guildhall speech, to which Lord Salisbury is believed to have objected, he would have better consulted his own dignity and that of England, had he declined the mission unless furnished with the complete power which he appears to have lacked. The statement comes to us at once from St. Petersburg, from Vienna, and from the inspired organs of Turkey, that, as there were two English ambassadors at Constantinople, so there has been a dual policy. We may doubt the assertion so far as relates to Sir Henry Elliot, although it is disappointing to observe that Lord Salisbury failed to acquire ascendancy over the very subaltern mind of his colleague. But there are many ways in which the secret intentions of Lord Beaconsfield may have been made known. Not to speak of the accredited agents of the Porte, or even of Odian Effendi, the trusted emissary of Midhat Pasha, who has lately been here, it is impossible to overlook the significance of the line taken by the semi-official press in London, especially by the *Morning Post*, a journal not now for the first time the depository of the intimate desires of a premier. In an article, which derived peculiar importance from the simultaneous publication of official documents connected with the Conference, of which it was the only journal that obtained communication, the *Morning Post* announced in double-leaded type that Lord Salisbury had exceeded his instructions; but that happily the terms of

pacification, which he had elaborated with General Ignatieff, had not been protocolled.

The original error, which has led to this lamentable discomfiture, lastingly injurious to the reputation of Lord Derby, was a fallacious view of England's interest. Even what is called our traditional policy cannot be made answerable for the assumption that we are specially concerned in what may be called the Danubian part of the problem. In 1828 the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston saw no occasion to oppose the passage of the Danube by the Russian army, and if it be urged that Lord Palmerston's opinions became subsequently modified in a sense unfavourable to Russia, we would point to what occurred at the commencement of the Crimean War. At that time, Lord Palmerston decidedly objected to our engaging in any military operations to prevent the advance of the Russians through the Principalities to the Balkan. He sagaciously discerned that it was the interest of others to act in that direction, and that by putting ourselves forward we should only be enabling them to indulge with impunity in convenient inaction. Lord Palmerston succeeded in persuading Lord Aberdeen's Government to abandon the idea of confronting Russia in the Principalities or in Bulgaria; and in the work lately published by Mr. Ashley, a letter will be found written by Mr. Gladstone early in October, 1854, handsomely acknowledging how much the Cabinet was indebted to Lord Palmerston for the wise counsel which he had given. If in the subsequent negotiations and in the final Treaty, stipulations securing the freedom of the Danube were admitted, it was evidently in the main in order to obtain the co-operation of Austria, who became a party with England and France to the Treaty of April 15, 1856, guaranteeing the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. The changes which have since taken place in the constitution of Germany, could not but have strengthened Lord Palmerston's judgment in this respect.

Lord Derby was mistaken in so readily accepting the part which foreign Powers are always eager to thrust upon us as the opponents *quand même* of Russian policy. On the other hand, no English Government in the present state of public opinion would be justified in allowing the question of Constantinople to be prejudged. It was obvious duty to receive with satisfaction the Czar's declarations upon this point, which were doubtless sincere, and to hail them as removing a possible cause of misunderstanding between the two governments; but, at the same time, inasmuch as sovereigns, with the most loyal intentions, may by the force of circumstances or by the current of public opinion be carried beyond their own landmarks, we might have taken measures of adequate precaution to support our policy if necessary by arms.

In the position in which we are now placed, it has been urged, that as we cannot consent to submit to so great a rebuff from the Porte, we ought to co-operate actively with Russia in acts of coercion. Many months ago Mr. Gladstone proposed that with our fleet we should blockade the European shore of the Bosphorus, and there is no doubt that even recently some

demonstration that England was really in earnest would have quickly brought Turkey to submit. At the same time there are many obvious difficulties attendant on our entering upon any course which might involve us for an unlimited term in operations of indefinite extent. Mr. Cobden said of nations going to war, that they know who is their partner in the first dance, but that they cannot tell with whom they may be dancing at the end of the ball. In the first place, while denouncing the tripartite treaty of the 15th of April, 1856, we should declare that England will not interfere to save Turkey from the consequences of her misdeeds in Bosnia, Herzegovina, or Bulgaria. We are not called upon to war in defence of those provinces, but we can at least remove any obstacle supposed to exist in us, which might impede the action of the neighbouring powers who are more immediately concerned. For the rest, as a proof of our sincerity and as a vindication of our authority, we might follow the precedent of the course adopted towards France in 1815, after the Congress of Vienna had been dispersed by the return of Napoleon I. from Elba. We might subject the Porte to a penal loss of territory. We are precluded by our circumstances from taking part in military operations on the mainland. But there are the islands. The misgovernment there is as cruel as it is elsewhere in that weltering empire of disorder and hate. There is Crete, for example. Everybody remembers the odious part once played by Lord Derby in connection with that unfortunate island. We might reverse the policy of which he made himself the instrument; we might occupy Crete, and, if it were thought desirable, by-and-by cause it to be annexed, in accordance with the wishes of the Greek population, to the Hellenic kingdom. By naval action in this direction, England would keep herself clear of the dangerous complexities of the three empires, while she would be earning a right to have a voice in the ultimate settlement.

As regards the position occupied by the Great Powers respectively at the end of the Conference, it may be said that Russia, if prepared to advance, has improved her position, having obtained the moral sanction of Europe to her immediate demands, and having shown an almost excessive desire to arrive at an understanding by the methods of conciliation and compromise. By the end of the present winter, one half of the whole period of the armistice will have expired, but if a milder season be considered necessary for the recommencement of hostilities, they could hardly be resumed on the first of March. In the bleak lands of the Lower Danube, the latter part of the winter is often the colder; March is generally more to be feared than December, and it is not unusual to see the weather pass, after a short interval of late spring, from the extreme rigour of winter to the summer heats. The later accounts of the state of the Russian army in Bessarabia are favourable, but although the first failings may have been designedly exaggerated, Russia is probably experiencing the inconvenience of having hastily adopted the Prussian military system. For foreign service, on a distant field, a manageable force, highly disciplined, perfectly equipped, is more useful than a citizen army, especially when, by reason of deficient education, the soldier requires a longer training. No English journal has

sent a correspondent to the Russian army, and we are without information as to its numbers or condition on the Asiatic frontier. As to the Turks, the want of money cannot but tell heavily against them. Hitherto they have been living upon the treasures found in the palaces of Abdul Aziz, which were much more considerable than the government gave them out to be at the time; but these will soon come to an end, and when the late Sultan's plate and jewels have all been sold or pawned, it will be difficult to find new resources. Midhat Pacha has cancelled Mahmoud's decree of partial repudiation, but he does not even pay the surviving moiety of interest on the debt. It is even said that persons with but trifling claims upon the Government, in spite of frequent promises, are sent empty away. With convenient scrupulosity the Grand Vizier is waiting for the sanction of the Ottoman Parliament, but the Stock Exchange refuses to discount his assurances, and Turkish quotations remain as obstinately unimproved as Turkish ministers.

We assume in these reflections that matters cannot rest where they are left by the late Conference. In truth, simply to revert to the *status quo* is impossible. The events of the last month have rendered the *status quo* obsolete. The government of Turkey since 1856 has been that of an Asiatic despotism, mitigated by the control of ambassadors. Their sole authority was derived from the dread of that armed intervention, which, in the last resort, was supposed to be ready to back their representations. The abortive Conference has shown the vanity of the fears by which the Porte has hitherto been awed. If assembled Europe is powerless to enforce a mild measure of reform, called forth by appalling revelations of tyranny and outrage, will not the daily routine of isolated acts of oppression and wrong be secure of impunity? Those Powers, at least, who are chiefly responsible, cannot with any self-respect allow it to be said that their action has only aggravated the lot of the suffering peoples. We cannot be consoled by the suggestion that the disgrace is one which we share alike with all the great Powers, for it is clearly to England and to Russia that it mainly attaches. Germany may be playing an occult game, but, tried by her previous acts and declarations, she is open to no reproach, and the same may be said of France and of Italy. As regards England and Russia, on the other hand, the case is wholly different. It has been generally believed, and as we think, rightly believed, that, but for the opposition of England, the Czar would have succeeded in ameliorating the position of the Turkish Slavs. It has been believed that England herself would have been able to obtain the necessary concessions from the Porte, had she not been apprehensive of seeing them used to further the ends of Russian ambition. When, therefore, it was announced that Lord Salisbury and General Ignatieff had arrived at an agreement, it was hoped that the only obstacle was removed and that their joint influence at Constantinople would prove irresistible. It was unreasonable to anticipate that their combined diplomatic forces would be repulsed by Turkey.

It is of no avail to say that our government was always Turkish in

inclination, and that in making demands upon the Porte it was only yielding to a pressure which it considered impolitic. As Mr. Gladstone once said, "the bond of England is good, by whomsoever it may be given." Lord Derby's fulminating dispatch, Lord Salisbury's mission, his proposals concerted with Russia, are all the acts of England, and it is no satisfaction to be told, as the ministerial organs imply, that Lord Beaconsfield's dignity is vindicated. What is Lord Beaconsfield's dignity? It is the political foresight and the moral worth of the country that are compromised. Any Government incurs the contempt of Europe which goes so far in negotiation, without meaning anything serious, and without intending to carry its policy through. Such a course saps diplomatic action, and is incompatible with national self-respect. We may soon stand in need of the credit, which we have been gratuitously wasting at Constantinople.

The misleading language, used not only by the Conservative party, but even by some Liberals as respects Russia, appears to be suggested by some strange misconception, or rather, by a former state of things, which has now become doubly obsolete. Before the Crimean War, Russia was formidable on account of the influence which the Emperor Nicholas was exercising over the many States which then made up the weak and distracted Germany, and again because the whole power of Russia herself and that which she derived from influence over dependent allies, was wielded in furtherance of absolutist objects by a single autocratic will. At the present moment it is clear—all writers of authority, Mr. Kinglake, Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, and M. Leroy Beaulieu prove it—that the Russian Emperor is obliged to take great account of the opinion of the people of Russia much more unfortunately than Lord Beaconsfield has taken of the opinion of the people of England; and it cannot be said that since the Crimean War he has favoured the cause of reaction abroad. Indeed his course, in this respect, will favourably compare with that of our own Conservative aristocracy. It cannot be said that he endeavoured to impede the unification of Italy, or the consolidation of Germany, or that he sympathized with the rebellion of the slave-holding American States. In spite of very tempting overtures, he honourably shunned the alliance of the French Empire. Even as regards its domestic life, it would be no less erroneous to speak of the Russia of our day as if it were still the Russia of the Emperor Nicholas, than it would have been to treat the France of 1789 as if she were still what she had been under Louis XV. Even if Russia were as despotic at home and as friendly to despotism abroad as ever, all would be changed, as regards her influence, by the transformation of Germany. By sea the German Empire is at least twice as powerful as Russia, and as a maritime State its resources are rapidly increasing; while by land it is no exaggeration to say that in a fortnight Germany could place four armies upon her frontiers, any one of which would be superior to the best that, upon any single point it would take Russia little less than two months to collect. If we look to the facilities and prospects of expansion in Europe of the two Empires, the advantage still remains equally great on the side of Germany. The magnitude of the change which the wars of 1866 and 1870 have wrought in Europe is not even yet fully realized.

If any one wishes to take the measure of the delusions which may be entertained even by able men, in such matters, let him go back to the Russian episode of November 1870. When Prince Gortschakoff denounced the Black Sea stipulations of the treaty of 1856, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg told him that he expected to receive instructions to ask for his passport in forty-eight hours. For a considerable time opinion in England was inclining to war, and the Cabinet, even Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, appears to have hesitated. Many men, whose judgment in general is entitled to much respect, for a long time censured the supineness of our government, and yet, if we are to believe what is confidently stated, this ambitious and aggressive power has made so little use of the licence it then claimed, that the Russian naval forces in the Black Sea are at this moment unquestionably inferior to those even of Turkey. At any rate, no one now professes to regret that we acquiesced, and, indeed, the *Edinburgh Review*, in an article which is in other respects penetrated by Russophobia, quietly admits that the change which Mr. Gladstone allowed to be effected at the London Conference in 1871, is if anything more favourable to us than the original article in the superseded treaty.

More than ever is it apparent, however, that the real centre of gravity is at Berlin. The strong man armed is stronger than ever, and so far as public opinion in Germany is concerned, he has unshackled liberty to contract any alliance, *Tros Rutulusve fuat*, and espouse any cause that he may think conducive to the aims of German policy. The apprehension that Lord Salisbury's mission would succeed, cannot have appeared sufficiently plausible to cause Prince Bismark a single sleepless night. If England had taken the side of Turkey, Russia might have drawn back and the turmoil, for which the great minister has been longing, might have been put off to some distant day. But with England formally admitting the justice of her cause, Russia has only to ask the permission of Germany before going to war,—a permission which, if sincerely given, would guarantee the neutrality at least of Austria. There have lately been symptoms of a desire on the part of the German Government to pick a quarrel with France. It has actively excited suspicion that, considering how often the French have dreamt of a Russian alliance since the Eastern question was reopened, their journals and public opinion, in as far as there was any, were favourable to Turkey, and this has been explained in part by the influence of the Jews, but chiefly by the conviction that a compact existed between the two Northern empires which was to allow Germany to carry out those designs against France which are said to have been thwarted in the opening of 1875. An unprovoked attack upon pacific France would be an outrage which we could hardly suppose Prince Bismark seriously to meditate. However ambitious in his designs and cynical in the choice of means, he has always shown a certain regard for the public opinion of Europe. That he would be glad to weaken Russia or to strengthen Germany, at the expense of Austrian independence, is still possible, and the declarations which he made at the beginning of December were not reassuring. Prince Bismark can hardly be said to have spoken; he only equivocated.

Parliament reassembles in a few days, and, according to present appearances, the session will owe its interest to the debates upon our foreign policy. In the relative strength of parties there has been little numerical change, and the fatal band of Irish Home Rulers remains unabsorbed in either of the old parties. But the loss of moral authority on the part of ministers has been enormous. Besides this, which is only felt at its full value when an election is close at hand, they are under the disadvantage at the same time of having to commit their fortunes in the House of Commons to the guidance of a new leader. Sir Stafford Northcote, in a passage borrowed from the profligate Tory gladiator of the last century, has compared himself to a master of hounds; perhaps the sport with which he is most familiar is that which consists in hunting with the hounds and running with the hare. Seeing Mr. Disraeli in the robes of Burke's intended honours, Sir Stafford Northcote may have been tempted to borrow the plumage of Lord Bolingbroke; he would do better to trust to those qualities which have hitherto stood him in good stead—flexibility of principle, affected candour, sly urbanity. The Liberal leader, on the other hand, has been gradually rising in reputation, and although Sir Stafford Northcote, his senior by many years, may surpass him as a practised speaker, Lord Hartington possesses surer and sounder elements of strength.

Whatever may be murmured in clubs by those who wish to give themselves an air of profound statesmanship, the attitude of the Liberal party towards the Government, in the Eastern question, has been throughout perfectly consistent and patriotic. The principle which should guide an opposition in dealing with Foreign Affairs was admirably stated by Mr. Disraeli when, in 1864, in the midst of the sittings in London of the Conference upon Danish affairs, he made an animated attack upon the Government, which he justified by urging that the silence of an opposition could only be expected, as long as the negotiations were conducted upon a basis which Parliament had approved. The Liberal party, whether leaders or following, were acquiescent in the policy of Ministers, until it became evident from their conflicting declarations that there was really no settled policy at all, but merely a strong inclination to screen and condone the worst acts of an iniquitous government. When a question is referred to the people, it cannot be treated in the measured style of diplomatic notes, nor when we consider the character of "the Bulgarian Accidents," as Edhem Pacha, the irascible colleague of Safvet Pacha, chooses to call them, can any one with a free mind admit that Mr. Gladstone has spoken with exaggerated vehemence.

Besides that of the Premier, another familiar form will be missed from the benches of the House of Commons—that of the late Mr. Horsman, whose disappearance from the scene coincides not inappropriately with that of Lord Beaconsfield. Some sixteen or seventeen years ago a small band of Conservatives, who had occasionally shown a wise preference for Lord Palmerston to Mr. Disraeli, were anxious that Mr. Horsman should become the leader of their party. It is now almost forgotten that, at that epoch, he was one of the foremost orators of the House, and that at the time of the French

Treaty of Commerce he showed a successful alacrity in encountering Mr. Gladstone in debate, which Mr. Disraeli only displayed in subsequent years. But Mr. Horsman, the very type of the sort of politician that parliamentary institutions are supposed to bring to the surface, cared only for the excitements of party strategy and rhetorical display, and the House itself becomes at last impatient of gentlemen who, when there was no chance of making or unmaking a government, appeared to look upon public affairs as a pastime to fill up the gap between the end of the hunting season and the opening of the shooting season. Too slothful in business, too fervent in intrigue, at once indolent and eager, he seemed to care more for the struggle than for the victory. Compared with Mr. Disraeli, he had the recommendation, in the eyes of the country party, of being more English in his pleasures, in his studies, in his style. Nevertheless the Tories were wise in their generation in sticking to Mr. Disraeli; not by Mr. Horsman nor by any one else has be been approached in persistent tactics and sustained manœuvres, in imperturbable effrontery, and least of all in the politic distribution of accepted flatteries.

The elections to the German Parliament are not likely to produce any immediate effect upon the foreign policy of the Empire, for Prince Bismark must have been well aware of the wide prevalence of discontent. With a view to the future, however, it is a pregnant fact that this uneasy feeling should so largely have found expression in a heavy Socialist vote. If we allow for the places which were not contested, but where nevertheless there must generally have been some members of the constituencies attached to the party, it may be estimated that one elector in every eight throughout the Empire is a Socialist. Even this does not give an adequate idea of the numbers enlisted under this banner, for in Germany a man to be entitled to a vote must have completed his twenty-fifth year, and in France it has been found that revolutions have in general been principally made by young men below that limit of age. Much of the programme which has found so many adherents could be adopted by any party of strong democratic opinions, even where no communistic tendency existed, but there can be no doubt that the lower, middle, and working classes are much fascinated by Socialist schemes. The obligations to the omnipresent State are so burdensome in Germany, that it is not surprising that the suffering people should look for relief to some form of State intervention in favour of labour. Prince Bismark's majority will probably be little affected, for it appears that the recent elections have been taken as a warning by the various Liberal sections and that they are already more disposed to pull together. Accordingly, in the Prussian Diet, the National-Liberals have allowed a Progressive (Klotz) to be chosen as the first Vice-President, and a member of the Free-Conservative party (Bethusy-Huc) as the second. We cannot regret that the National-Liberals should receive a check, for a Parliament of National-Liberals would be an assembly of Roebucks.

The year closed in France with a signal victory of M. Jules Simon over M. Gambetta and the Extreme Left. The latter seems to have been imprudent

in raising issues, which without being sufficiently important to interest the country, brought them into collision with the Senate. It was in vain that M. Gambetta endeavoured to animate the dry bones of a quarrel as to privilege between the two chambers: the public did not care about the matter, and as opinion was not considered ripe for the final separation of Church and State, it was perhaps hardly worth while to object to the payment of the military chaplains. M. Jules Simon is essentially the Minister of Opportunism, but it is the statesmanlike conduct of M. Gambetta, since the fall of M. Thiers, which alone could have rendered a government with such principles possible. No orator is more insinuating than M. Jules Simon, and no one knows better how to envelope his hearers in the soft folds of an unctuous rhetoric. Perhaps after a year of such a régime, France will no more know what has been going on, than sometimes a listener at the end of one of M. Jules Simon's speeches could give an account of what he has been saying. In many respects the new Cabinet has begun well. M. Martel, the Minister of Justice, although hardly recovered from a serious illness, obtained a real parliamentary success by his vindication of the dismissal of the Imperialist Avocat-Général Bailleul, and there is no reason to fear that undue leniency will be shown to the partisans of Buonapartism. With the example of Spain before them, nothing can be more necessary than that the French should keep military men in strict subordination to the civil power. It is, therefore, satisfactory to find that General Maurice, who made himself conspicuous last year by an attack upon the Chamber, has been deprived of his post. The French budget for 1878 shows an estimated revenue of nearly one hundred and twelve million pounds sterling, which we suppose is the largest sum ever raised by a State from taxation within the year. The increase of expenditure amounts, according to the estimate, to something under two million pounds; but yet M. Léon Say is able to propose a reduction of burdens, to the extent of some thirty millions of francs. His remissions appear to be judiciously selected, and include a diminution of postal rates and the abolition of the vexatious tax upon merchandise carried by goods trains.

*Jan.* 27, 1877.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

*The Canon of the Bible, its Formation, History, and Fluctuations.* By Samuel Davidson, D.D. King & Co.

Advanced Biblical criticism in a popular form.

*Ruling Ideas in Early Ages, and their Relation to Old Testament Faith.* By J. B. Mozley. Rivingtons.

Apologetic lectures, extenuating the ordinary objections to Old Testament morality on the plea of the progressive development of Revelation.

*Twelve Years' Study of the Eastern Question in Bulgaria and its Results.* By S. G. B. St. Clair and C. A. Brophy. Chapman and Hall.

Intimate personal experience and its results.

*The History of the Struggle for Parliamentary Government in England.* By Andrew Bisset. 2 vols. King & Co.

Relates entirely to the contentions between Charles I. and his Parliaments previous to the outbreak of the Civil War.

*Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator.* By R. H. Major. Low and Marston.

A re-issue of the author's standard work on this subject in a more popular form. Remarkable for the unreserved retractation of the Portuguese claim to the discovery of Australia.

*Bernardino Ochino of Siena: a Contribution towards the History of the Reformation.* By Karl Benrath. Translated from the German, by Helen Zimmern. Nisbet & Co.

The biography, laboriously put together from researches amid rare books of controversy and Italian archives, of one who in his day represented the principle of free religious inquiry in opposition to Protestant, as well as Catholic, orthodoxy.

*Shakespeare from an American Point of View.* By George Wilkes. Sampson Low.

The "American view" is, that Shakespeare's genius was seriously limited by his deficiency in sympathy for the mass of the people. Great part of the book is occupied by a refutation of the Bacon hypothesis.

*The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age. Virgil.* By W. Y. Sellar. Oxford. Clarendon Press.

The most complete examination ever made of Virgil's literary character from all points of view. Its cardinal purpose is the indication of his claim to rank among the representative poets of the world, in virtue of the peculiarity of the Æneid as a typical representation of universal human life.

*The Poetical and Dramatic Works of* Samuel Taylor Coleridge. 4 vols. Pickering.

The first absolutely complete edition, although the additional matter is not important. Preceded by a new memoir of adequate compass, gracefully and tastefully written from the point of view hereditary in Coleridge's family.

*Basque Legends; collected chiefly in the Labourde.* By the Rev. Wentworth Webster. *With an Essay on the Basque Language.* By M. Julien Vinson. Griffith and Farran.

These traditions of a Turanian people do not vary materially from the ordinary Aryan type.

*Études historiques sur les religions, les arts, la civilisation de l'Asie Mineure et de la Grèce.* Par Jules Soury. Reinwald: Barthes and Lowell.

Comprises an essay on the Hebrew religion from the point of view of comparative mythology; and a reconstruction of Phœnician civilisation after recent archæological researches; with cognate matter of less interest.

*Étude sur la Philosophie en France au XIXe siècle. Le Socialisme, le Naturalisme, et le Positivisme.* Par M. Ferraz. Didier: Barthes and Lowell.

A temperate and, for an opponent, impartial account of the principal Socialist, Materialist, and Positivist thinkers in France of recent times. Interesting as affording a collective view of schools usually treated apart, and for the consistency with which all heterodoxy is referred to the sensation philosophy of Locke.

*Histoire générale des Hongrois.* Par E. Sayous. 2 tom. Didier: Barthes and Lowell.

The history is very fully narrated down to the revolution of 1848; and prefaced by a useful bibliographical notice of the chief authorities. Recent events are merely summarised. The author thinks that "la réconciliation a réussi."

*Kléber: sa vie, sa correspondance.* Par le Comte Pajol. Didot: Barthes and Lowell.

A copious biography; chiefly from the military point of view.

*L'Algérie et les Colonies Françaises.* Par Jules Duval. Guillemin: Barthes and Lowell.

The collected works of an ardent philanthropist, economist, and colonial reformer, recently deceased, with a preface by M. Laboulaye.

*Marcus König.* Von Gustav Freytag. Leipzig: Hirzel.

The latest instalment of the author's great national romance, "The Ancestors." The scene is laid in Prussia in the sixteenth century: the historical subject is the extinction of the Order of the Teutonic Knights.

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# FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. CXXIII. NEW SERIES.—MARCH 1, 1877.

## ON THE HABITS OF ANTS.

THE Anthropoid apes no doubt approach nearer to man in bodily structure than do any other animals; but when we consider the habits of Ants, their social organisation, their large communities, elaborate habitations, their roadways, their possession of domestic animals, and even in some cases of slaves, it must be admitted that they have a fair claim to rank next to man in the scale of intelligence. They present, moreover, not only a most interesting but also a very extensive field of study. In this country we have nearly thirty species; but ants become more numerous, in species as well as individuals, in warmer countries, and more than seven hundred kinds are known. Even this large number certainly is far short of those actually in existence.

I have kept in captivity nearly half of our British species of ants, and at the present moment have in my room more than thirty nests, belonging to about twenty species, some of which, however, are not English. No two species are identical in habits, and on various accounts their mode of life is far from easy to unravel. In the first place, most of their time is passed underground: all the education of the young, for instance, is carried on in the dark. Again, ants are essentially gregarious; it is in some cases difficult to keep a few alive by themselves in captivity, and at any rate their habits under such circumstances are entirely altered. If, on the other hand, a whole community is kept, then the greater number introduces a fresh element of difficulty and complexity. Moreover, within the same species, the individuals seem to differ in character, and even the same individual will behave very differently under different circumstances. Although, then, ants have attracted the attention of many naturalists—Gould, De Geer, Swammerdam, Latreille, Leuwenhoeck, Huber—and have recently been the object of interesting observations by Frederick Smith, Belt, Moggridge, Bates, Mayr, Emery, Forel, and others, they still present one of the most promising fields for observation and experiment.

The larvæ of ants, like those of bees and wasps, are small, white, legless grubs, somewhat conical in form, being narrower towards the head. They are carefully tended and fed, being carried about from chamber to chamber by the workers, probably in order to secure the most suitable amount of warmth and moisture. I have observed also that they are very often sorted according to age. It is sometimes very curious in my nests to see them divided into groups according to size, so that they remind one of a school divided into five or six classes. When full grown they turn into pupæ, sometimes naked, sometimes covered with a silken cocoon, constituting the so-called "ant eggs." After remaining some days in this state, they emerge as perfect insects. In many cases, however, they would perish in the attempt, if they were not assisted, and it is very pretty to see the older ants helping them to extricate themselves, carefully unfolding their legs and smoothing out the wings, with truly feminine tenderness and delicacy.

Under ordinary circumstances an ants' nest, like a beehive, consists of three kinds of individuals: workers, or imperfect females (which constitute the great majority), males, and perfect females. There are, however, often several females in an ants' nest; while, as we all know, there is never more than one queen in a hive. The queens have wings, but after a single flight they tear off their own wings, and do not again quit the nest. In addition to the ordinary workers there is in some species a second, or rather a third, form of female. In almost any ants' nest we may see that the workers differ more or less in size. The amount of difference, however, depends upon the species. In *Lasius niger*, the small brown garden ant, the workers are, for instance, much more uniform than in the little yellow meadow ant, or in *Atta barbara*, where some of them are more than twice as large as others. But in certain ants there are differences still more remarkable. Thus, in a Mexican species, besides the common workers, which have the form of ordinary neuter ants, there are certain others in which the abdomen is swollen into an immense sub-diaphanous sphere. These individuals are very inactive, and principally occupied in elaborating a kind of honey.[1] In the genus *Pheidole*—very common in Southern Europe—there are also two distinct forms without any intermediate gradations; one with heads of the usual proportion, and a second with immense heads provided with very large jaws. These latter are generally supposed to act as soldiers, and the size of the head enables the muscles which move the jaws to be of unusual dimensions, though the little ones are also very pugnacious. This differentiation of certain individuals so as to adapt them to special functions seems

(1) Westwood, "Modern Class. of Insects," vol. ii. p. 225.

to me very remarkable; for it must be remembered that the difference is not one of age or sex.

The food of ants consists of insects—great numbers of which they destroy—of honey, honeydew, and fruit; indeed, scarcely any animal or sweet substance comes amiss to them. Some species—such, for instance, as the small brown garden ant—ascend bushes in search of aphides. The ant then taps the aphis gently with her antennæ, and the aphis emits a drop of sweet fluid, which the ant drinks. Sometimes the ants even build covered ways up to and over the aphides, which, moreover, they protect from the attacks of other insects. Our English ants do not collect provision for the winter—indeed, their food is not of a nature which would admit of this. Some southern species, however, collect grain, occasionally in considerable quantities. Moreover, though our English ants cannot be said exactly to lay up stores, some at least do take steps to provide themselves with food in the future. The small yellow meadow ant (*Lasius flavus*), for instance, lives principally on the honeydew of certain aphides which suck the roots of grass. The ants collect the aphides in the nest, not only watching over them themselves, but, as I have been able to satisfy myself, even over their eggs—an act which one is much tempted to refer to forethought, and which in such a case implies a degree of prudence superior to that of some savages. Besides these aphides, many other insects live in ants' nests. If they are to be regarded as domestic animals, then ants have more domestic animals than we have. The majority of these ant-guests are beetles. Some of them—as, for instance, the curious little *Claviger*—are quite blind, and are only found in ants' nests, the ant taking just as much care of them as of their own young. It is evident, therefore, that in some way they are useful or agreeable to the ants. The subject, however, is one as yet but little understood, and very difficult to study. Grimm and Lespés consider that some of these beetles secrete a sweet fluid like the aphides, and from analogy this seems probable. Other creatures which habitually live in ants' nests, like the little *Beckia albinos* or the blind woodlouse (*Platyarthrus*), perhaps make themselves useful as scavengers.

Nor are ants without their enemies. In addition to birds and other larger foes, if you disturb a nest of the brown ants at any time during the summer you will probably see some very small flies hovering over them, and every now and then making a dash at some particular ant. These flies belong to the genus *Phora*, and to a species hitherto unnamed, which Mr. Verrall has been good enough to describe for me. They lay their eggs on the ants, inside which the larvæ live. Other species of the genus are in the same way parasitic on bees. On the 14th of October last I observed that one of my ants had a mite attached to the underside of its head. The mite,

which is still in the same position, is almost as large as the head. The ant cannot remove it herself. She has never come out of the nest, so that I could not do it for her, and none of her own companions from that day to this have thought of performing this kind office.

In character the different species of ants differ very much from one another. *F. fusca*, the one which is pre-eminently the enslaved ant, is, as might be expected, extremely timid; while the nearly allied *F. cinerea* has, on the contrary, a considerable amount of individual audacity. *F. rufa*, the horse ant, according to M. Forel, is especially characterised by the want of individual initiative, and always moves in troops; he also regards the genus *Formica* as the most brilliant, though some others excel it in other respects, as, for instance, in the sharpness of their senses. *F. pratensis* worries its slain enemies; *F. sanguinea* never does. The slave-making ant (*P. rufescens*) is, perhaps, the bravest of all. If a single individual finds herself surrounded by enemies, she never attempts to fly, as any other ant would, but transfixes her opponents one after another, springing right and left with great agility, till at length she succumbs, overpowered by numbers. *M. scabrinodis* is cowardly and thievish; during wars among the larger species they haunt the battle-fields and devour the dead. *Tetramorium* is said to be very greedy; *Myrmecina* very phlegmatic.

In industry ants are not surpassed even by bees and wasps. They work all day, and in warm weather, if need be, even at night too. I once watched an ant from six in the morning, and she worked without intermission till a quarter to ten at night. I had put her to a saucer containing larvæ, and in this time she carried off no less than a hundred and eighty-seven to the nest. I once had another ant, which I employed in my experiments, under observation several days. When I came up to London in the morning, and went to bed at night, I used to put her in a small bottle, but the moment she was let out she began to work again. On one occasion I was away from home for a week. On my return I let her out of the bottle, placing her on a little heap of larvæ about three feet from the nest. Under these circumstances I certainly did not expect her to return. However, though she had thus been six days in confinement, the brave little creature immediately picked up a larva, carried it off to the nest, and after half an hour's rest returned for another.

We have had hitherto very little information as to the length of life in ants. So far, indeed, as the preparatory stages are concerned, there is little difficulty in approximately ascertaining the facts—namely, that while they take only a few weeks in summer, in some species, as our small yellow meadow ants, the autumn larvæ remain with comparatively little change throughout the winter. It is much

more difficult to ascertain the length of life of the perfect insect, on account of their gregarious habits, and the difficulty of recognising individual ants. It has, however, generally been supposed that they live about a season, and this is probably the case; but I have still some workers of *F. cinerea*, which I captured at Castellamare in November, 1875, and some of *F. sanguinea* and *F. fusca* since September in that year. They must now, therefore, be at least a year and a half old. I have also some queens of *F. fusca* which have been with me since December, 1874, and still seem in perfect health. If they lived much longer, and could compare their experiences, ants would, from their immense numbers, even in temperate regions, contend with mankind on no such very unequal terms.

The behaviour of ants to one another differs very much according as they are alone or supported by numerous companions. An ant which would run away in the first case, will fight bravely in the second.

It is hardly necessary to say that, as a general rule, each species lives by itself. There are, however, some interesting exceptions. The little *Stenamma Westwoodii* is found exclusively in the nests of the much larger *F. rufa* and the allied *F. pratensis*. We do not know what the relations between the two species are. The *Stenammas*, however, follow the *Formicas* when they change their nest, running about among them and between their legs, tapping them inquisitively with their antennæ, and even sometimes climbing on to their backs, as if for a ride, while the large ants seem to take little notice of them. They almost seem to be the dogs—or rather cats—of the ants. Another small species, *Solenopsis fugax*, which makes its chambers and galleries in the walls of the nests of larger species, is the bitter enemy of its hosts. The latter cannot get at them, because they are too large to enter the galleries. The little *Solenopsis*, therefore, are quite safe, and, as it appears, make incursions into the nurseries of the larger ant, and carry off the larvæ as food. It is as if we had small dwarfs, about eighteen inches to two feet long, harbouring in the walls of our houses, and every now and then carrying off some of our children into their horrid dens.

Most ants, indeed, will carry off the larvæ and pupæ of others if they get a chance; and this explains, or at any rate throws some light upon, that most remarkable phenomenon, the existence of slavery among ants. If you place a number of larvæ and pupæ in front of a nest of the Horse ant, for instance, they are soon carried off; and those which are not immediately required for food remain alive for some days, though I have never been able to satisfy myself whether they are fed by their captors. Both the horse ant and the slave ant (*F. fusca*) are abundant species, and it must not unfrequently occur that the former, being pressed for food, attack the latter and carry off some of their larvæ and pupæ. Under these circumstances it occa-

sionally happens that the pupæ come to maturity in the nests of the horse ant, and nests are sometimes, though rarely, found in which with the legitimate owners there are a few *F. fuscas*. With the horse ant this is, however, a very rare and exceptional phenomenon; but with an allied species, *F. sanguinea*, a species which exists in our southern counties and throughout Europe, it has become an established habit. The *F. sanguineas* make periodical expeditions, attack neighbouring nests of *F. fusca*, and carry off the pupæ. When the latter come to maturity, they find themselves in a nest consisting partly of *F. sanguineas*, partly of *F. fuscas*—the results of previous expeditions. They adapt themselves to circumstances, assist in the ordinary household duties, and, having no young of their own species, feed and tend those of the *F. sanguinea*. But though the *F. sanguineas* are thus aided by the *F. fuscas*, they have not themselves lost the instinct of working. It seems not improbable that there is some division of functions between the two species, but we have as yet no distinct knowledge on this point, and at any rate the *F. sanguineas* can "do" for themselves, and carry on a nest, if necessary, without slaves.

In another species, however, *Polyergus rufescens*, which is not British, this is not the case. They present a striking lesson of the degrading tendency of slavery, for they have become entirely dependent on their slaves. Even their bodily structure has undergone a change: their mandibles have lost their teeth, and have become mere nippers—deadly weapons indeed, but useless except in war. They have lost the greater part of their instincts: their art, that is, the power of building; their domestic habits, for they take no care of their own young, all this being done by the slaves; their industry—they take no part in providing the daily supplies; if the colony changes the situation of its nest, the masters are all carried by the slaves to the new one; nay, they have even lost the habit of feeding. Huber placed thirty of them with some larvæ and pupæ and a supply of honey in a box.

"At first," he says, "they appeared to pay some little attention to the larvæ; they carried them here and there, but presently replaced them. More than one half of the Amazons died of hunger in less than two days. They had not even traced out a dwelling, and the few ants still in existence were languid and without strength. I commiserated their condition, and gave them one of their black companions. This individual, unassisted, established order, formed a chamber in the earth, gathered together the larvæ, extricated several young ants that were ready to quit the condition of pupæ, and preserved the life of the remaining Amazons."[1]

This observation has been fully confirmed by other naturalists. However small the prison, however large the quantity of food, these stupid creatures will starve in the midst of plenty rather than feed

(1) Huber, "Natural History of Ants."

themselves. I have had a nest of this species under observation for a long time, but never saw one of the masters feeding. I have kept isolated specimens for weeks by giving them a slave for an hour or two a day to clean and feed them, and under these circumstances they remained in perfect health, while but for the slaves they would have perished in two or three days. I know no other case in nature of a species having lost the instinct of feeding.

In *P. rufescens*, the so-called workers, though thus helpless and stupid, are numerous, energetic, and in some respects even brilliant. In another slave-making species, however, *Strongylognathus*, the workers are much less numerous, and so weak that it is an unsolved problem how they contrive to make slaves.

Lastly, in a fourth species, *Anergates atratulus*, the workers are absent, the males and females living in nests with workers belonging to another ant, *Tetramorium cæspitum*. In these cases the *Tetramoriums*, having no queen, and consequently no young of their own, tend the young of the *Anergates*. It is therefore a case analogous to that of *Polyergus*, but it is one in which slave-owning has almost degenerated into parasitism. It is not, however, a case of true parasitism, because the *Tetramoriums* take great care of the *Anergates*, and if the nest is disturbed, carry them off to a place of safety.

M. Forel, in his excellent work on ants, has pointed out that very young ants devote themselves at first to the care of the larvæ and pupæ, and that they take no share in the defence of the nest or other out-of-door work until they are some days old. This seems natural, because at first their skin is comparatively soft; and it would clearly be undesirable to undertake rough work or run into danger until their armour had had time to harden. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the division of labour is carried still further. I do not allude merely to those cases in which there are completely different kinds of workers, but even to the ordinary workers. In *L. flavus*, for instance, it seems probable that the duties of the small workers are somewhat different from those of the large ones, though no such division of labour has yet been detected. In *F. fusca* I made an observation which surprised me very much. In the autumn of 1875 I noticed an ant out feeding alone. The next day the same ant was out by herself, and I could easily recognise her because by some accident she had lost the claws of one of her hind feet. My attention being roused, I watched the nest for some weeks, and saw this same ant out repeatedly, but no other. This winter I have kept two nests under close observation —that is, I arranged with my daughters and their governess, Miss Wendland, most conscientious observers, that we should look at the nest once every hour throughout the day, and this has been done since the middle of November, with a few exceptions not enough

to affect the conclusion. The former nest contains about two hundred, the second about four hundred individuals; but as they are somewhat torpid, and there are no larvæ to be fed, much food is not required. In each case only two or three individuals came out for food, each about twice a day, though some days they did not come out at all. Thinking that possibly these specimens were unusually voracious, or in some other way abnormal, I imprisoned the foragers belonging to one of the nests. The following day two others came out for food, and continued coming for several days. I then imprisoned them also, when two others came out—showing, I think, that the community requires food, and that it was the function of certain individuals to obtain it.

One of the most interesting problems about ants is, of course, to determine the amount of their intelligence. In order to test this, it seemed to me that one way would be to ascertain some object which they would clearly desire, and then to interpose some obstacle which a little ingenuity would enable them to overcome. With this object in view, I placed food in a porcelain cup on a slip of glass surrounded by water, but accessible to the ants by a bridge, consisting of a strip of paper two-thirds of an inch long and one-third wide. Having then put a *F. nigra* from one of my nests to this food, she began carrying it off, and by degrees a number of friends came to help her. I then, when about twenty-five ants were so engaged, moved the little paper bridge slightly, so as to leave a chasm just so wide that the ants could not reach across. They came to the edge and tried hard to get over, but it did not occur to them to push the paper bridge, though the distance was only about one-third of an inch, and they might easily have done so. After trying for about a quarter of an hour they gave up the attempt, and returned home. This I repeated several times. Then, thinking that paper was a substance to which they were not accustomed, I tried the same with a bit of straw one inch long and one-eighth of an inch wide. The result was the same. I repeated this twice. Again I placed particles of food close to and directly over the nest, but connected with it only by a passage several feet in length. Under these circumstances it would be obviously a saving of time and labour to drop the food on to the nest, or at any rate to spring down with it, so as to save one journey. But though I have frequently tried the experiment, my ants never adopted either of these courses. I arranged matters so that the glass on which the food was placed was only raised one-third of an inch above the nest. The ants tried to reach down, and the distance was so small that occasionally, if another ant passed underneath just as one was reaching down, the upper one could step on to its back, and so descend; but this only happened accidentally, and they did not think of throwing the particles down,

nor, which surprised me very much, would they jump down themselves. I then placed a heap of fine mould close to the glass, but just so far that they could still not reach across. It would have been of course quite easy for any ant, by moving a particle of earth for a quarter of an inch, to have made a bridge by which the food might have been reached, but this simple expedient did not occur to them. On the other hand, I then put some provisions in a shallow box with a glass top, and a single hole on one side, and put some specimens of *Lasius niger* to the food. As soon as a stream of ants was at work, busily carrying supplies off to the nest, and when they had got to know the way thoroughly, I poured some fine mould in front of the hole so as to cover it up to a depth of about half an inch. I then took out the ants which were actually in the box. As soon as they had recovered from the shock of this unexpected proceeding on my part, they began to run all round and about the box, looking for some other place of entrance. Finding none, however, they began digging down into the earth just over the hole, carrying off the grains of earth one by one, and depositing them, without any order, all round at a distance of from half an inch to six inches, until they had excavated down to the doorway, when they again began carrying off the food as before. This experiment I repeated on following days three or four times, always with the same result.

As evidence both of their intelligence and of their affection for their friends, it has been said by various observers that when ants have been accidentally buried they have been very soon dug out and rescued by their companions. Without for a moment doubting the facts as stated, we must remember the habit which ants have of burrowing in loose fresh soil, and especially their practice of digging out fresh galleries when their nests are disturbed. It seemed to me, however, that it would not be difficult to test whether the excavations made by ants under the circumstances, were the result of this general habit, or really due to a desire to extricate their friends. With this view I tried (20th August) the following experiments. I placed some honey near a nest of *Lasius niger* on a glass surrounded with water, and so arranged that in reaching it the ants passed over another glass covered with a layer of sifted earth about one-third of an inch in thickness. I then put some ants to the honey, and by degrees a considerable number collected round it. Then, at 1.30 P.M., I buried an ant from the same nest under the earth, and left her there till 5 P.M., when I uncovered her. She was none the worse, but during the whole time not one of her friends had taken the least notice of her.

Again, September 1st, I arranged some honey in the same way. At 5 P.M. about fifty ants were at the honey, and a considerable number were passing to and fro. I then buried an ant as before, of

course taking one from the same nest. At 7 P.M. the number of ants at the honey had nearly doubled. At 10 P.M. they were still more numerous, and had carried off about two-thirds of the honey. At 7 A.M. the next morning the honey was all gone; two or three ants were still wandering about, but no notice had been taken of the prisoner, whom I then let out. In this case I allowed the honey to be finished, because I thought it might perhaps be alleged that the excitement produced by such a treasure distracted their attention; or even, on the principle of doing the greatest good to the greatest number, that they were intelligently wise in securing a treasure of food before they rescued their comrade, who, though in confinement, was neither in pain nor danger. So far as the above ants, however, are concerned, this cannot be urged. I may add that I repeated the same experiment several times, in some cases with another species, *Myrmica ruginodis*, and always with the same results.

Ants have been much praised on account of their affection for their friends. In this respect, however, they seem to vary greatly. At any rate, any one who has watched them much must have met with very contradictory facts. I have often put ants which were smeared with a sticky substance on the boards attached to my nests, and very rarely indeed did their companions take any notice of, or seek to disentangle them.

I then tried the following experiment. A number of the small yellow ants (*L. flavus*) were out feeding on some honey. I took five of them, and also five others of the same species, but from a different nest, chloroformed them, and put them close to the honey, and on the path which the ants took in going to and from the nest, so that these could not but see them. The glass on which the honey was placed was surrounded by a moat of water. This, then, gave me an opportunity of testing both how far they would be disposed to assist a helpless fellow-creature, and what difference they would make between their nest companions and strangers from a different community. The chloroformed ants were put down at ten in the morning. For more than an hour, though many ants came up and touched them with their antennæ, none of them did more. At length one of the strangers was picked up, carried to the edge of the glass, and quietly thrown, or rather dropped, into the water. Shortly afterwards a friend was taken up and treated in the same way. By degrees they were all picked up and thrown into the water. One of the strangers was, indeed, taken into the nest, but in about half an hour she was brought out again and thrown into the water like the rest. I repeated this experiment with fifty ants, half friends and half strangers. In each case twenty out of the twenty-five ants were thrown into the water as described. A few were left lying where they were placed, and these also, if we had watched

longer, would no doubt have been also treated in the same way. One out of the twenty-five friends, and three out of the twenty-five strangers, were carried into the nest, but they were all brought out again and thrown away like the rest. Under such circumstances, then, it seems that ants make no difference between friends and strangers.

It may, however, be said in this experiment, that as ants do not recover from chloroform, and these ants were therefore to all intents and purposes dead, we should not expect that much difference would be made between friends and strangers. I therefore tried the same experiment, only, instead of chloroforming the ants, I made them intoxicated. This was a rather more difficult experiment. No ant would voluntarily degrade herself by getting drunk, and it was not easy in all cases to hit off the requisite degree of this compulsory intoxication. In all cases they were made quite drunk, so that they lay helplessly on their backs. The sober ants seemed much puzzled at finding their friends in this helpless and discreditable condition. They took them up and carried them about for awhile in a sort of aimless way, as if they did not know what to do with their drunkards, any more than we do. Ultimately, however, the results were as follows. The ants removed twenty-five friends and thirty strangers. Of the friends, twenty were carried into the nest, where no doubt they slept off the effect of the spirit—at least we saw no more of them—and five were thrown into the water. Of the strangers, on the contrary, twenty-four were thrown into the water; only six were taken into the nest, and four of these were shortly afterwards brought out again and thrown away.

The difference in the treatment of friends and strangers was, therefore, most marked.

Dead ants, I may add, are always brought out of the nest, and I have more than once found a little heap on one spot, giving it almost the appearance of a burial-ground.

I have also made some experiments on the power possessed by ants of remembering their friends. It will be recollected that Huber gives a most interesting account of the behaviour of some ants, which, after being separated for four months, when brought together again, immediately recognised one another, and "fell to mutual caresses with their antennæ." Forel, however, regards these movements as having indicated fear and surprise rather than affection, though he also is quite inclined to believe, from his own observation, that ants would recognise one another after a separation of some months. The observation recorded by Huber was made casually; and neither he nor any one else seems to have taken any steps to test it by subsequent experiments. The fact is one, however, of so much interest, that it seemed to me desirable to make

further experiments on the subject. On the 4th of August, 1875, therefore, I separated one of my nests of *F. fusca* into two halves, which I kept entirely apart.

I then from time to time put an ant from one of these nests into the other, introducing also a stranger at the same time. The stranger was driven out, or sometimes even killed. The friend, on the contrary, was never attacked, though I am bound to say that I could see no signs of any general welcome, or that she was taken any particular notice of.

I will not trouble you with all the evidence, but will content myself with one case.

On the 12th November last—that is to say, after the ant had been separated for a year and three months—I put a friend and a stranger into one of the divisions. The friend seemed quite at home. One of the ants at once seized the stranger by an antenna, and began dragging her about. At—

11.45. The friend is quite at home with the rest. The stranger is being dragged about.

12.0. The friend is all right. Three ants now have hold of the stranger by her legs and an antenna.

12.15. Do. do.

12.30. Do. do.

12.45. Do. do.

1.0. Do. do.

1.30. Do. One now took hold of the friend, but soon seemed to find out her mistake and left go again.

1.45. The friend is all right. The stranger is being attacked. The friend also has been almost cleaned; while on the stranger the colour has been scarcely touched.

2.15. Two ants are licking the friend, while another pair are holding the stranger by her legs.

2.30. The friend is now almost clean, so that I could only just perceive any colour. The stranger, on the contrary, is almost as much coloured as ever. She is now near the door, and I think would have come out, but two ants met her and seized her.

3.0. Two ants are attacking the stranger. The friend was no longer distinguishable from the rest.

3.30. Do.

4.0. Do.

5.0. Do.

6.0. The stranger now escaped from the nest, and I put her back among her own friends.

The difference of behaviour to these two ants was most marked. The friend was gradually licked clean, and except for a few moments, and that evidently by mistake, was never attacked. The stranger,

on the contrary, was not cleaned, was at once seized, was dragged about for hours with only a few minutes' interval, by one, two, or three assailants, and at length made her escape from the nest at a time when no other ant was out.

In most species of ants the power of smell is very keen. I placed ants on a strip of paper, each end of which was supported on a pin, the foot of which was immersed in water. They then ran backwards and forwards along the paper, trying to escape. If a camel's-hair pencil be suspended just over the paper, they pass under it without taking any notice of it; but if it be scented, say with lavender-water, they at once stop when they come near it, showing in the most unmistakable manner that they perceive the odour. This sense appears to reside, though not perhaps exclusively, in the antennæ. I tethered, for instance, a large specimen of *Formica ligniperda* with a fine thread to a board, and when she was quite quiet I approached a scented camel's-hair pencil slowly to the tip of the antenna, which was at once withdrawn, though the antenna took no notice of a similar pencil, if not scented.

On the other hand, as regards their sense of hearing, the case is very different. Approaching an ant which was standing quietly, I have over and over again made the loudest and most shrill noises I could, using a penny pipe, a dog-whistle, a violin, as well as the most piercing and startling sounds I could produce with my own voice, without effect. At the same time I by no means would infer from this that they are really deaf, though it certainly seems that their range of hearing is very different from ours. We know that certain allied insects produce a noise by rubbing one of their abdominal rings against another. Landois is of opinion that ants also make sounds in the same way, though these sounds are inaudible to us. Our range is, however, after all, very limited, and the universe is probably full of music which we cannot perceive. There are, moreover, in the antennæ of ants certain curious organs which may perhaps be of an auditory character. There are from ten to a dozen in the terminal segment of *Lasius flavus*, the small meadow ant, and indeed in most of the species which I have examined, and one or two in each of the short intermediate segments. These organs consist of three parts: a small spherical cup opening to the outside, a long narrow tube, and a hollow body shaped like an elongated clock-weight. They may serve to increase the resonance of sounds, acting, in fact, to use the words of Professor Tyndall, who was good enough to look at them with me, like microscopic stethoscopes.

The organs of vision are in most ants very complex and conspicuous. There are generally three eyes arranged in a triangle on the top of their heads, and on each side a large compound eye containing sometimes more than two thousand facets between them. Nevertheless the sight of ants does not seem to be very good. In order to

test how far ants are guided by vision I made the following experiments. I placed a common lead pencil on a board, fastening it upright, so as to serve as a landmark. At the base I then placed a glass containing food, and then put a *L. niger* to the food; when she knew her way from the glass to the nest and back again perfectly well, she went quite straight backwards and forwards. I then took an opportunity when the ant was on the glass, and moved the glass with the ant on it about three inches. Now, under such circumstances, if she had been much guided by sight, she could not of course have had any difficulty in finding her way to the nest. As a matter of fact, however, she was entirely at sea, and after wandering about for some time, got back to the nest by another and very round-about route. I then again varied the experiment as follows. I placed the food in a small china cup on the top of the pencil, which thus formed a column seven and a half inches high. When the ant once knew her way, she went very straight to and from the nest. This puzzled her very much: she went over and over the spot where the pencil had previously stood, retraced her steps several times almost to the nest, and then returned along the old line, showing great perseverance, if not much power of vision. I then moved the pencil six inches. She found the pencil at last, but only after many meanderings.

I then repeated the observation on three other ants, with the same result: the second was seven minutes before she found the pencil, and at last seemed to do so accidentally; the third actually wandered about for no less than half an hour, returning up the paper bridge several times.

Let us compare this relatively to man. An ant measuring say one-sixth of an inch, and the pencil being seven inches high, is consequently forty-two times as long as the ant. It bears, therefore, somewhat the same relation to the ant as a column two hundred and fifty feet high does to a man. The pencil having been moved six inches, it is as if a man in a country he knew well would be puzzled at being moved a few hundred feet, or if put down in a square containing less than an acre, could not find a column two hundred and fifty feet high, that is to say, higher than the Duke of York's Column.

Another evidence of this consists in the fact that if, when my *L. nigers* were carrying off food placed in a cup on a piece of board, I turned the board round so that the side which had been turned towards the nest was away from it, and *vice versâ*, the ants always returned over the same track on the board, and consequently directly away from home. If I moved the board to the other side of my artificial nest, the result was the same. Evidently they followed the road, not the direction.

It is remarkable that we do not even now know exactly how an ants' nest is begun. Whether they always commence as a colony from some older establishment; whether wandering workers who chance to find a queen, under certain circumstances remain with her and begin a new nest; or whether the queen ant, like the queen wasp, forms a cell for herself, and then brings up a few workers, who afterwards take upon themselves the labours of the family—as yet we know not. When once started, the communities last for years, being kept up by a succession of individuals. The queens themselves rarely or never quit the nest, but receive their food from the workers, and indeed appear to do nothing except lay eggs.

A nest of ants must not be confused with an ant-hill in the ordinary sense. Very often indeed a nest has only one dwelling, and in most species seldom more than three or four. Some, however, form numerous colonies. M. Forel even found a case in which one nest of *F. exsecta* had no less than two hundred colonies, and occupied a circular space with a radius of nearly two hundred yards. Within this area they had exterminated all the other ants, except a few nests of *Tapinoma erraticum*, which survived, thanks to their great agility. In these cases the number of ants thus associated together must have been enormous. Even in single nests Forel estimates the numbers at from five thousand to half a million.

In their modes of fighting, different species of ants have their several peculiarities. Some also are much less military than others. *Myrmecina Latreillii*, for instance, never attack, and scarcely even defend themselves. Their skin is very hard, and they roll themselves into a ball, not defending themselves even if their nest is invaded, to prevent which, however, they make the entrances small, and often station at each a worker, who uses her head to stop the way. The smell of this species is also, perhaps, a protection. *Tetramorium cæspitum* has the habit of feigning death. This species, however, does not roll itself up, but merely applies its legs and antennæ closely to the body.

*Formica rufa*, the common horse ant, attacks in serried masses, seldom sending out detachments, while single ants scarcely ever make individual attacks. They rarely pursue a flying foe, but give no quarter, killing as many enemies as possible, and never hesitating, with this object, to sacrifice themselves for the common good.

*Formica sanguinea*, on the contrary, at least in their slave-making expeditions, attempt rather to terrify than to kill. Indeed, when they are invading a nest, they do not attack the flying inhabitants unless they are attempting to carry off pupæ, in which case they are forced to abandon the pupæ. When fighting, they attempt to crush their enemies with their mandibles.

*Formica exsecta* is a delicate, but very active species. They also

advance in serried masses, but in close quarters they bite right and left, dancing about to avoid being bitten themselves. When fighting with larger species they spring on to their backs, and then seize them by the neck or by an antenna. They also have the instinct of combining in small parties, three or four seizing an enemy at once, and then pulling different ways, so that she on her part cannot get at any one of her foes. One of them then jumps on her back and cuts, or rather saws, off her head. In battles between this ant and the much larger *F. pratensis*, many of the latter may be seen each with a little *F. exsecta* on her back, sawing off her head from behind.

One might, at first sight, be disposed to consider that the ants with stings must have a great advantage over those with none. In some cases, however, the poison is so strong that it is sufficient for it to touch the foes to place them *hors de combat*, or at least to render them incapacitated, with every appearance of extreme pain. Such species have the abdomen unusually mobile.

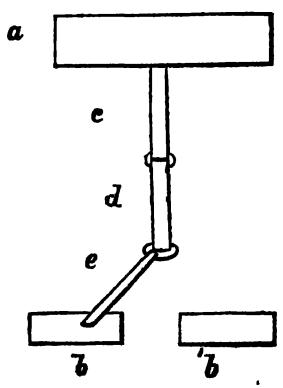
The species of *Lasius* make up in numbers what they want in strength. Several of them seize an enemy at once, one by each of her legs or antennæ, and when they have once taken hold they will suffer themselves to be cut in pieces rather than leave go.

*Polyergus rufescens*, the celebrated slave-making or Amazon ant, has a mode of combat almost peculiar to herself. The jaws are very powerful, and pointed. If attacked—if, for instance, another ant seizes her by a leg—she at once takes her enemy's head into her jaws, which generally makes her quit her hold. If she does not, the *Polyergus* closes her mandibles, so that the points pierce the brain of her enemy, paralysing the nervous system. The victim falls in convulsions, setting free her terrible foe. In this manner a comparatively small force of *Polyergus* will fearlessly attack much larger armies of other species, and suffer themselves scarcely any loss.

Much of what has been said as to the powers of communication possessed by bees and ants depends on the fact that if one of them in the course of her rambles has discovered a supply of food, a number of others soon find their way to the store. This, however, does not necessarily imply any power of describing localities. If the bees or ants merely follow their more fortunate companion, or if they hunt her by scent, the matter is comparatively simple; if, on the contrary, the others have the route described to them, the case becomes very different. To determine this, therefore, I have made a great number of experiments, of which, however, I will here only mention a few. Under ordinary circumstances, if an ant discovers a stock of food she carries as much as possible away to the nest, and then returns for more, accompanied generally by several friends. On their return these bring others, and in this way a string of

ants is soon established. Unless, therefore, various precautions are taken—and this, so far as I know, has never been done in any of the previous observations—the experiment really tells very little.

I therefore made the following arrangement. One of my nests of the small brown garden ant, *Lasius niger*, was connected with a board, on which I was in the habit of placing a supply of food and water. At a short distance from the board I placed two glasses (*b b'*), and on *b* I placed some food. I then connected the glass *b* with the board *a* by three slips of paper, *c*, *d*, *e*, and put an ant to the food. She carried off a supply to the nest, returning for more, and so on. Several friends came with her, and I imprisoned them till the experiment was over. When she had passed several times over the paper bridges, I proceeded as follows. Any friends who came with her were excluded from the bridges when she was on them. If she was not there, as soon as a friend arrived at the bridge *c*, I took up *e* in my fingers and rubbed it lightly, with a view of removing or blurring the scent; and as soon as the ant arrived on *d* I took up the bridge *c*, and put it across the chasm from *d* to *b'*. Now, if the ant went by description, she would of course cross *e* to *b*. If, on the other hand, she went by scent, then she would be at the least as likely to go over *c* to *b'*. The results were that out of about one hundred and twenty friends who passed over *d*, only twenty went to the food, while nearly one hundred passed over *c* to the empty glass. In this case the friends generally came more or less in sight of one another to the bridge *c*, and once there, could hardly avoid arriving either at *b* or *b'*. I therefore modified the experiment as follows. I established and endowed an ant as before, imprisoning the friends who came with her. When she got to know her way thoroughly, I allowed her to return to the nest on her own legs, but as soon as she emerged again I took her up and transferred her to the food.




Under these circumstances, as will be seen, very few ants indeed ever found their way to the food. I began this at 5.30, when she returned to the nest. At 5.34 she came out with no less than ten friends, and was then transferred to the food. The others wandered about a little, but by degrees returned to the nest, not one of them finding her way to the food. The first ant took some food, returned, and again came out of the nest at 5.39 with eight friends, when exactly the same happened. She again came out—

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| At | 5.44 | with | 4 | friends. | At | 6.44 | with 0 friends. |
| „ | 5.47 | „ | 4 | „ | „ | 6.46 | „ 3 „ |
| „ | 5.49 | „ | 1 | „ | „ | 6.49 | „ 2 „ |
| „ | 5.52 | | | | „ | 6.56 | |
| „ | 5.54 | „ | 5 | „ | „ | 6.59 | |
| „ | 5.58 | „ | 2 | „ | „ | 7.2 | „ 2 „ |
| „ | 5.59 | „ | 2 | „ | „ | 7.4 | |
| „ | 6.1 | „ | 5 | „ | „ | 7.6 | „ 3 „ |
| „ | 6.4 | „ | 1 | „ | „ | 7.8 | „ 3 „ |
| „ | 6.7 | | | | „ | 7.10 | „ 5 „ |
| „ | 6.11 | „ | 3 | „ | „ | 7.13 | |
| „ | 6.14 | „ | 4 | „ | „ | 7.17 | „ 3 „ |
| „ | 6.17 | „ | 6 | „ | „ | 7.19 | „ 7 „ |
| „ | 6.20 | | | | „ | 7.21 | „ 5 „ |
| „ | 6.23 | „ | 5 | „ | „ | 7.24 | |
| „ | 6.25 | „ | 6 | „ | „ | 7.26 | „ 3 „ |
| „ | 6.29 | „ | 8 | „ | „ | 7.29 | „ 1 „ |
| „ | 6.32 | „ | 2 | „ | „ | 7.31 | „ 2 „ |
| „ | 6.35 | | | | „ | 7.35 | |
| . | 6.42 | .. | 4 | .. | | | |

(39 journeys: 11 alone, 28 with 120 friends.)

Thus, during these two hours more than one hundred and twenty ants came out of the nest, in company with the one under observation. She knew her way perfectly, and it is clear that if she had been left alone all these ants would have accompanied her to the store of food. Three of them were accidentally allowed to do so, but of the remainder only five found their way to the food; all the others, after wandering about awhile, returned empty-handed to the nest.

I conclude, then, that when large numbers of ants come to food they follow one another, being also to a certain extent guided by scent. The fact, therefore, does not imply any considerable power of intercommunication. There are, moreover, some circumstances which seem to point in an opposite direction. For instance, I have already mentioned that if a colony of *Polyergus* changes the situation of its nest, the masters are all carried to the new one by the slaves. Again, if a number of *F. fusca* are put in a box, and in one corner a dark place of retreat is provided for them with some earth, one soon finds her way to it. She then comes out again, and going up to one of the others, takes her by the jaws. The second ant then rolls herself into a heap, and is carried off to the place of shelter. They then both repeat the same manœuvre with other ants, and so on until all their companions are collected together. Now it seems to me difficult to imagine that so slow a course would be adopted if they possessed any power of communicating description.

On the other hand, they certainly can, I think, transmit simpler ideas. In support of this I may adduce the following experiment. Two strips of paper were attached to the board just mentioned (p. 303) and parallel to one another, and at the other end of each I placed a piece of glass. In the glass at the end of one tape I placed a considerable number (three to six hundred) of larvæ. In the second I put two or three larvæ only. I then took two ants, and placed one of them to the glass with many larvæ, the other to that with two or three. Each of them took a larva and carried it to the nest, returning for another, and so on. After each journey I put another larva in the glass with only two or three larvæ to replace that which had been removed. Now, if other ants came under the above circumstances as a mere matter of accident, or accompanying one another by chance, or if they simply saw the larvæ which were being brought, and consequently concluded that they might themselves also find larvæ in the same place, then the numbers going to the two glasses ought to be approximately equal. In each case the number of journeys made by the ants would be nearly the same; consequently, if it were a matter of smell, the two routes would be in the same condition. It would be impossible for an ant, seeing another in the act of bringing a larva, to judge for itself whether there were few or many larvæ left behind. On the other hand, if the strangers were brought, then it would be curious to see whether more were brought to the glass with many larvæ than to that which only contained two or three. I should also mention that every stranger was imprisoned until the end of the experiment. I will select a few of the results:—

Exp. 1. Time occupied, one hour. The ant with few larvæ made 6 visits, and brought no friends. The one with many larvæ made 7, and brought 11 friends.

Exp. 3. Time occupied, three hours. The ant with few larvæ made 24 journeys, and brought 5 friends. The one with many larvæ made 38 journeys, and brought 22 friends.

Exp. 5. Time occupied, one hour. The ant with few larvæ made 10 journeys, and brought 3 friends. The other made 5 journeys, and brought 16 friends.

Exp. 9. Time occupied, one hour. The ant with few larvæ made 11 journeys, and brought 1 friend. The one with many larvæ made 15 journeys, and brought 13 friends.

Exp. 10. I now reversed the glasses, the same two ants being under observation; but the ant which in the previous observation had few larvæ to carry off now consequently had many, and *vice versâ*. Time occupied, two hours. The ant with few larvæ made 21 journeys, and brought 1 friend. The one with many larvæ made 22 journeys, and brought 20 friends. These two experiments are, I think, especially striking.

Taken as a whole, I found that in about fifty hours the ants which had access to many larvæ brought 257 friends, while those visiting a glass with few larvæ only brought 82. The result will appear still more striking if we remember that a certain number, say perhaps 25, would have come to the larvæ anyhow, which would make the numbers 232 as against 57, a very striking difference.

I have elsewhere discussed the relations of flowers to insects, and especially with bees, and particularly the mode in which the flowers were modified so that the bees might transfer the pollen from one flower to another. Ants are also of considerable importance to plants, especially in keeping down the number of insects which feed on them. So far as I know, however, there are no plants which are specially modified in order to be fertilised by ants; and, indeed, even to those small flowers which any little insect might fertilise, the visits of winged insects are much more advantageous, because, as Mr. Darwin has shown in his excellent work on cross and self fertilisation of plants, it is important that the pollen should be brought, not only from a different flower, but also from a different plant, while creeping insects, such as ants, would naturally pass from flower to flower of the same plant.

Under these circumstances it is important to plants that ants should not obtain access to the flowers, for they would otherwise rob them of their honey without conferring on them any compensating advantage. Accordingly, we not only find in flowers various modes of attracting bees, but also of excluding ants; and in this way ants have exercised more influence on the vegetable kingdom than might be supposed. Sometimes, for instance, the flowers are protected by *chevaux de frise* of spines and fine hairs pointing downwards (*Carlina*, *Lamium*); some have a number of glands secreting a glutinous substance over which the ants cannot pass (*Linnæa*, Gooseberry); in others the tube of the flower is itself very narrow, or is almost closed either by hairs or by internal ridges, which just leave space for the proboscis of a bee, but no more. Lastly, some, and especially pendulous flowers (*Cyclamen*, Snowdrop), are so smooth and slippery that ants cannot easily enter them, but often slip off in the attempt, and thus are excluded, just as the pendulous nests of the weaver-birds preclude the entrance of snakes. This, however, is a large subject, into which I cannot now enter.

Let me in conclusion once more say that, as it seems to me, notwithstanding the labours of those great naturalists to whom I gratefully referred in commencing, there are in natural history few more promising or extensive fields for research than the habits of Ants.

JOHN LUBBOCK.

## HAVE WE ABOLISHED IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT?

We confess to no little misgiving as to the feeling that we may raise by thus boldly propounding this question. Was there not passed, in 1869, an Act intituled "An Act for Abolishing Imprisonment for Debt, for the punishment of Fraudulent Debtors, and for other purposes," an Act which has never been repealed, an Act which declares in its fourth section that with the exceptions thereinafter mentioned—which, with the exception of the last, have no bearing on the present question—no person shall, after the commencement of this Act, be arrested or imprisoned for making default in the payment of any sum of money? And yet we are prepared to maintain that so far from being abolished, imprisonment for debt is still the law under which the far greater number of the people of this country live, and that there is no abuse more urgently requiring correction than this, which we have been taught to believe has been so long ago completely reduced to nothing.

We, whose good fortune it has been to live in days when the attention of the nation has been earnestly directed to the improvement of our institutions, have been accustomed to hear, from zealous reformers, lamentations as to the stupendous vitality of bad laws and institutions, and the difficulty of finding time or opportunity for their extinction. But here we are confronted with a more startling phenomenon, nothing less than the revival, at the very moment of its supposed extinction, of a gross abuse in a worse form than ever.

> "The time hath been
> That when the brains were out the man would die,
> And there an end; but now they rise again
> With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,
> And push us from our stools."

But it is time that we should do something more than lament over this strange case of recidive, and we will proceed without further prelude to prove its existence.

The fourth section of the Act for Abolishing Imprisonment for Debt contains six exceptions, the last of which alone is material for our purpose. This fourth section absolutely abolishes imprisonment for debt, whenever the debt exceeds the sum of £50. Even if the debt be less than £50, yet if the debtor owes altogether more than £50, the law of imprisonment for debt has no terrors for him. If he is unable to pay his debts in full, it is easy for him to be made a bankrupt. If this course be taken, and it is the severest course that is open to the creditor, the debtor once made a bankrupt is very

fairly and even leniently dealt with. The man who has been able to persuade any one to trust him to the amount of £50 is admitted into a privileged class, the aristocracy of insolvency. He is free from arrest; all suits against him are stayed; bedding, tools, and clothes to the amount of £20 are left to him; he may receive from his creditors an allowance for maintenance; he may be, and often is, employed at a salary in the winding up of his estate. If he is able to pay one-half of his debts, or if his creditors desire his discharge, he may be released from his liability altogether. At any rate he is allowed three years' grace, during which his new debts take precedence of the old. These proceedings are creditable to the justice and humanity of our law, which in this case at least refuses to see, in the mere fact that a trader in a commercial country is unable to meet his engagements, a justification for harsh or severe treatment, and, while ready to punish fraud, refuses to assume its existence from the mere fact of misfortune.

The case against imprisonment for debt may be stated in a very small compass. Such imprisonment can only be justified on one of two grounds, either as a punishment for the offence of not being able to pay the debt, or as a method of compelling payment. The former ground fails totally, when it has once been admitted that mere inability to pay is not in itself a crime. The ground of compulsion fails absolutely, unless it is shown that the prisoner is able to pay the debt, and pay it without doing injustice to any other creditor. And as this can only be shown by a complete balance sheet of assets and liabilities, which imprisonment not only does not provide, but generally renders impossible, the result is that when a man cannot pay his debt there is but one honest and just course, a compulsory cession of his estate for the benefit of all his creditors. From the moment that he becomes unable to pay his debts in full, the debtor becomes in honour and conscience a trustee for all his creditors, and it is the duty of the law to place his estate in this fiduciary position as soon as possible.

With these few preliminary remarks, we can now proceed to examine the case of the person who is unable to pay a debt of a less amount than £50. There is no bankrupt law for him. Unless he has been so fortunate as to contract debts which amount to £50 or upwards, there is no provision for the division of his assets, whatever they may be, among his creditors. He is after all a human creature, but he is so small that the law cannot see him. *De minimis non curat lex*, and so in the ample immunities allowed to larger, and therefore more mischievous defaulters, he is not allowed to participate. And yet it would seem to the non-legal mind as if the relief of a poor man from the intolerable burden of a debt which he is utterly unable to pay, and the dis-

tributing what property he has among the very humble class of persons who are likely to be his creditors, were a task by no means below the dignity of a benevolent and far-sighted legislature. But though entirely ignored and disregarded as far as any alleviation of his forlorn condition is concerned, the poor debtor may have the satisfaction of knowing that though overlooked for the purposes of mercy, he has not been entirely forgotten by the law; nay, that for his especial use has been devised a system of oppression hitherto unknown in England. The old law of imprisonment for debt on final process, harsh and even barbarous as it was, had in it at any rate this alleviation, that the arrest of the prisoner was a satisfaction of the debt. Whenever the prisoner was let out of prison, he came out a free man as far as the debt for which he was imprisoned was concerned. It will be seen that of this privilege the law has, under the benevolent title of abolition of imprisonment for debt, found means to deprive him.

The fifth section of the so-called Act for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt, enacts in substance as follows: Subject to the provisions hereinafter mentioned and to the prescribed rules, any court may commit to prison for a term not exceeding six weeks, or until payment of the sum due, any person who makes default in payment of any debt, or instalment of any debt, due from him in pursuance of any order or judgment of that or any other competent court. The jurisdiction is limited to debts not exceeding £50. The court must be satisfied that the defaulter has, or has had, means to pay the sum, and has refused or neglected to do so. The debtor may be examined against himself. The jurisdiction is limited to debts under £50. The court may direct any debt adjudged to be due from any person to be paid by instalments. And finally, *No imprisonment under this section shall operate as a satisfaction or extinguishment of any debt or demand.*

Upon these clauses the following observations suggest themselves. In the first place, the first clause, as it is drawn, seems to convey to the court a power of perpetual imprisonment. The words of the Act seem to give the court power to commit the defaulter for six weeks certain, or till he pays the debt; and if that be the right construction, and if the debtor is unable to pay, the sentence may amount to perpetual imprisonment. It may be that the courts in favour of liberty would hold that the section ought to be read as if there had been inserted after the words, "or until payment of the sum due," the clause "whichever of the two shall first happen;" and this supposition is strengthened by a year being fixed as the limit of imprisonment by a former section for a more serious offence. But it certainly is to be regretted that so very serious a question is left open even to a plausible doubt. A second remark is, that

the grounds on which the power to imprison is to arise are quite inadequate alone to support so harsh and summary a proceeding. A man may have had money in his possession, as wages for instance, and may have applied them to other purposes than the payment of the debt, for the non-payment of which he is to be imprisoned. He may have an execution in his house, and, in fear of having the bed sold from under a sick wife or child, may have paid the debt; or his credit being, by supposition, utterly gone, he may have applied the money to purchase the bare necessaries of life for his family.

Then look at the effect of the imprisonment for forty days. By limiting the Act to persons whose debts are less than £50, the measure is limited to the poor. It is no exaggeration to say, to persons subsisting on wages, to those who have no capital to fall back upon, an imprisonment for forty days is simply utter ruin. Persons who live on wages, especially persons, as is the case here, involved in debt, can ill bear the abrupt suppression of what is probably their only means of support. The enactment is purely penal, and falls with the greatest severity upon the family of the debtor, who may be forced to seek parish relief, because it is the pleasure of a creditor to keep the father of the family in compulsory idleness. When we add that all this misery may be inflicted to punish a man who may, after all, be guilty of nothing worse than yielding to a claim upon him even more urgent than the claim of the law, we have, we think, shown how cruel are the mercies of the law which comes forward in the name of humanity to abolish imprisonment for debt.

Our next criticism is less important, but is yet, as we venture to think, of considerable weight. The proceeding created by this Act is in its nature essentially penal. Now it has always been a rule of the law of England, to which we believe this to be the first exception, that a culprit shall not be bound to criminate himself. But in this case it is provided that the debtor may be examined to criminate himself. We allow the most serious crimes to go unpunished at every gaol delivery in the country, rather than violate the rule, *Nemo tenetur se ipsum accusare*. But just as the mild and just principles of the law of bankruptcy are too good for persons who cannot get credit to the amount of £50, so the principle which is uniformly applied to shield robbers and murderers is too good for persons who have perhaps, in the discharge of a higher duty, disobeyed the order of a court to pay a small debt.

Then the court has the power to order the debt to be paid by instalments, and by as many instalments as it may think proper. This appears at first sight to be an innocent and even beneficial provision. But the court has the power to imprison for forty days for non-payment of each instalment, and it can appoint as many instalments as it

pleases, and has thus placed in its hands the power of multiplying instalments to any extent it thinks proper. Its very mercies are cruel, for it is obvious that in a case of non-payment a debtor ordered to pay in eight instalments might undergo twice the amount of imprisonment that would be inflicted on a debtor who was ordered to pay his debt in four instalments.

Lastly, it is declared that no imprisonment under this section shall operate as a satisfaction or extinguishment of any debt, or deprive any person of the right to take out execution against the goods of the person imprisoned, in the same manner as if no such imprisonment had taken place. Under the old barbarous law, imprisonment for a single day would have cancelled the whole debt. We are of purer eyes than to endure imprisonment for debt, so we abolish it, and substitute for it a succession of imprisonments which shall leave the insolvent debtor—for whom, because he is poor, the law provides no means of extrication from his insolvency—still more at the mercy of his creditor, and liable, after he has undergone them all, to have any property which he may acquire afterwards seized and sold, just as if he had suffered nothing.

We have stated and commented upon the law of 1869, and shown, we trust conclusively, the gross and cruel disparity between the treatment of the poor and the rich—between the debtor who owes more than £50, and is therefore freed from arrest and forgiven his debts on as easy terms as can be devised, and the man whose poverty does not allow him to get into debt to the amount of £50, and who is liable to continual imprisonment, and has no means whatever of being discharged from debt which poverty may have forced him to contract, and which he is utterly unable to pay.

We will now pass from the mere legal aspect of the subject to consider what are the effects which this law must produce on the class of poor persons to whom alone it applies. The first effect which we observe, as proceeding from the extreme severity of the law, is that it has a tendency to create a spurious, factitious, and unwholesome credit. A man will not in general trust another, unless he believes that he will make a profit by the transaction. There are, as far as we can see, only two grounds of legitimate credit: the possession by the debtor of sufficient property, or the confidence of the creditor in the integrity of the debtor. These are legitimate grounds of confidence, and credit based on either of them is the very soul of industry and prosperity. The former of these must mainly depend on a fair and just law fairly administered; the latter, on the opinion which one man has of another. But besides this legitimate credit, resting either on property or character, there is a species of illegitimate credit which exists most frequently in a rude and barbarous

state of society—a credit based neither on character nor property, but on fear. The principle on which this kind of credit is given and taken is that a borrower shall bind himself to undergo consequences so serious, that rather than endure them he will in some way or other find means to pay his debt. Tacitus tells us that the ancient Germans, when they had gambled away land, horses, arms, children, and wife, set themselves as the stake, and, if they lost, contentedly resigned themselves to a life of slavery. The Roman creditor might cut his debtor in pieces in satisfaction of his debt. The English creditor might keep his debtor in perpetual imprisonment. All these things were the product of times in which, slavery being considered as a just and necessary institution, little regard was paid to the question how far it is right to allow a citizen to contract away, in exchange for money, his freedom or his life. As society advances, the power of the creditor over the debtor gradually diminishes. The right of the creditor to impose what terms he will as the condition of his loan is curtailed. Society acquiesces in the very sound doctrine laid down by Portia in the *Merchant of Venice*, that it is one thing to make conditions for the repayment of the debt, and another to practise against the life or liberty of a fellow-citizen. Thus the cruel law of the Twelve Tables ended in the wise, merciful, and, simple as it may seem now, ingenious device of the *cessio bonorum*, which we, after five centuries of barbarism, adopted in the reign of Henry VIII. into England, under the barbarous name of bankruptcy. As the commercial spirit advances—that is, as people lend and borrow, trust and are trusted more—the severity of the law for the fulfilment of these contracts diminishes; so that it is no exaggeration to say that the harshness or leniency of the law of debtor and creditor is an unerring guide for ascertaining the absence or presence of the true commercial spirit.

But it is argued that we are dealing here with poor people, that the poor have little ready money, and that it would be a great cruelty if in the name of humanity we were to deprive the poor of the power, right, and privilege of being imprisoned, by means of which alone they are able to borrow. This argument may be condensed thus: the harsher the law, the better for the debtor; the more cruel the treatment which he has to expect if he does not pay, the more likely he is to pay; and the more likely he is to pay, the more easily he will borrow. If this kind of reasoning is to prevail, it proves somewhat more than the justice and mercy of law which we are examining. Once grant that the legitimate object of the law is to enable people to borrow who have neither property nor character, and it will follow that we ought to do a great deal more. Why are people who can borrow to a greater amount than £50 to be deprived of the apparent harshness, but real bene-

ficence, of a law which, though stern and forbidding in its aspect, has the quality of turning everything it touches into gold? Let us abolish the law of bankruptcy, which, by making it so easy for a man to get rid of his debts, must make it so much more difficult to contract them. The restoration of imprisonment for debt is, according to this way of reasoning, good, but the law of the Twelve Tables would be much better; for not only would the debtor do his utmost to pay, but it is even conceivable that in the artificial and unphilosophical state at which we have arrived, persons might be guilty of the amiable weakness of paying the debt to save the life of a fellow-creature, and so the creditor would obtain an extra security.

It will be easily gathered from the preceding remarks that in our view the extension of credit to persons who have neither property nor character is not a legitimate object of legislation, and that all laws which aim at extending credit beyond these limits are only temptations held out to lure the poor to their ruin. Is it not far better that a man who is unable to support himself and his family should apply to the parish for relief, than that he should be thus invited by law to incur debts which he well knows he has no means of meeting? The curse of the poor is improvidence and intemperance. See how this spurious and factitious credit stimulates these two vices. The legislature, with the best intentions, has deprived the consumer of all credit at the public-house and beershop, and artificially extended his credit with the butcher, the baker, and the grocer. The intention was no doubt to stimulate the trade for necessaries, and to curtail it for superfluities and vicious indulgences. But what has been the result? By compelling the customer of the public-house to deal for ready money, or making any debt that may be contracted a debt of honour, the legislature has forced on the publican a sound and safe trade; and by providing an artificial credit for the real necessaries of life has enabled the labourer to devote all his ready money to the indulgence of intemperance. So anxious are many excellent and benevolent persons to diminish the vice of intemperance, that they are willing to sacrifice no small part of the natural liberty of mankind in the hope of attaining this object. Artificial obstacles of a physical and material kind are devised to meet this mental disease. We, on the other hand, believe that all such gross and palpable methods of dealing with what is in truth a disorder of the mind must meet with utter and ignominious failure. Instead of such superficial and clumsy devices as are now in vogue, we ought to try to implant in the minds of those poor people some principle which shall be a real antagonist to these tendencies to self-indulgence. If there be any antidote to the desire for sensual indulgence, that antidote is to be found in the cultivation of habits of providence and forethought. Once accustom a man to look to the future, and the

victory is won. Now we unhappily have not the power to minister to the mind diseased to this extent, but at any rate we need not pander to the tendency which we are unable to eradicate. We need not, by cruel laws, force upon the working classes a spurious credit. We need not go out of the way to make it easy for them to spend their money at the public-house, because we have enabled them to borrow more than they can pay, and thus devote their ready money to sensual indulgence. If we cannot be their preservers, we at least need not be their tempters. Nothing is more remarkable in legislation than the tendency to protect the rich and powerful against the poor and weak. If we are to interfere at all, it should be in the contrary direction. There is not the slightest occasion to make laws to protect the rich against the poor, in money matters at any rate.

We have yet to consider this state of things with reference to the interest of the tax-payer. The pauperising effect of a system such as we have seen fit to establish must be very great. By factitious credit we tempt people to incur expenses which they would not otherwise have incurred, and then we lock them up in gaol, where they are likely to learn nothing but evil, to acquire lazy habits, and to lose that self-respect which is the best defence of the poor against the numerous temptations that beset them. We deprive them and their families of the products of their labour, and accustom them to indolence and listlessness. They live during these periods of enforced idleness at the public expense; and mainly for the purpose of imprisoning these persons we maintain a subordinate judicial establishment at an expense which in 1864 amounted to £544,000 a year. The expense of sending each of these persons to prison is estimated by Mr. Russell, a County Court Judge, at 15*s.* each person. The number of persons imprisoned by the county courts in 1874 was 4,438, the number being made up thus:—

For debts above 40*s.*, 2,158;

For debts under 40*s.* and above 5*s.*, 2,257;

For debts above 1*s.* and under 5*s.*, 23.

It is difficult to read these figures without a strong feeling of indignation, whether we fix our attention on the unworthy object, the creation of a credit which ought never to have been given, the fearful disproportion between the sums recovered on the one hand, and the misery inflicted and the waste of life and labour on the other, or on the fact that these persons are imprisoned, not for debt, not for fraud, but for not preferring one claim to many others, all equally and perhaps many more entitled to consideration, and all at least entitled to a rateable dividend.

It was not to be expected that so flagrant an abuse should escape the notice of Parliament, and accordingly, in 1873, a committee was appointed which reported against the system that we have been

endeavouring to expose. In 1874 Mr. Bass introduced a bill to mitigate, though not entirely to eradicate, the mischief. But the time was unpropitious, and, though powerfully supported by Sir Henry James, the bill was lost. The bill was defended on the ground of the necessity of getting credit for the poor. To this it was replied, with unanswerable force, that in Scotland, where the necessity for credit for the poor must be at least as great as in England, there is no power of arrest at all for any sum under £8 6*s.* 8*d.*, or a hundred pounds Scots; so that not only are the poor of England subject to a law of arrest from which the rich are entirely exempt, but they are subject to imprisonments which do not exist on the other side of the border.

What, then, is the remedy for a state of the law which is a disgrace alike to the country and the times in which we live? The remedy is not far to seek nor difficult to apply. It is comprised in the single principle of uniformity of procedure between rich and poor. If it be considered unjust that a man who has been able to contract debts to the amount of £50 and upwards should, on disclosing his debts, and his means, if any, of discharging them, be delivered from arrest, and treated rather as an unfortunate than a criminal person, there can be no reason why the same treatment should not be applied to the poor as to the rich. Nay, the reason is much stronger in favour of a person who has so many more temptations, and means so very much smaller. If it be wrong for a large trader to prefer one creditor to another when he is conscious that he cannot pay them all, the same conduct must be equally wrong in a labourer; and though the sum be small, the loss to the poor person with whom he deals must relatively be as great. Since, then, the two leading qualities of bankruptcy, relief from arrest and a rateable division of assets, are just as much required in the case of persons whose debts are less, as in the case of those whose debts are more, than £50, there can be no valid reason for restricting the application of a sound principle to the one class, and denying it to the other. And if it be argued that these small sums are below the dignity of the law, we would answer that the question is to be decided, not by the value of the money in our eyes, but by the amount of happiness or misery involved, and that if a man is ruined and disgraced, the mental torture is much the same whether the sum be counted in tens, hundreds, or thousands. Of course in these cases the elaborate machinery of the Bankruptcy Act would be quite out of place. A single meeting before the County Court Judge, into which should be condensed the whole proceedings of an ordinary bankruptcy, is all that would be required. The bankrupt would, of course, only be discharged from the debts which he disclosed. Even if the claim of some creditor were overlooked, the injury done would

not be very serious, when it is considered that the whole amount of the estate could not attain the sum of £50. To these provisions must, of course, be added the clauses for the punishment of fraudulent debtors; only we hope that instead of, as is now most strangely done, permitting a bankrupt fraudulently to conceal from his creditors any amount of goods short of £10, that every really fraudulent act on the part of the debtor would meet with severe and summary punishment. By these very simple means we might make our law of insolvency just and uniform, might remove from our law a great disgrace and a great mischief, might make a very considerable advance towards generating among the poor a more provident and self-denying spirit, and, by the curtailment of a thoroughly unsound and vicious system of credit, raise them somewhat in their own estimation and in the social scale.

We are not sanguine as to the immediate result. The prices which are charged to the poor, when credit is indiscriminately given, are enormous. They must be so, when it is considered that the debts thus contracted are most frequently not collected by the persons to whom they are due, but that they are sold to persons to whose trade we are not very careful to supply a name, but who, after having paid enough to give a handsome profit to the original creditor, contrive, under the auspices of the law we have endeavoured to describe, to secure from the want and misery of the poor debtor a very handsome profit for themselves. Such profits are worth fighting for; and we cannot expect that they will be resigned without a serious struggle to retain them; but we have every confidence that in this, as in so many other cases, the cause of justice and humanity will in the end prevail, and it is in this faith and with this view that this paper has been written.

ROBERT LOWE.

## THE COURSE OF MODERN THOUGHT.[1]

MODERN Philosophy has moved along two increasingly divergent lines. One traversed by Galileo, Descartes, Newton, and Laplace, had for its goal the absolute disengagement of the physical from the mental, *i.e.* the objective from the subjective aspect of phenomena, so that the physical universe, thus freed from all the complexities of Feeling, might be interpreted in mechanical terms. As a preliminary simplification of the problem this was indispensable; only by it could the First Notion of primitive speculation be replaced by the Theoretic Conception of scientific speculation.[2] The early thinker inevitably invested all external objects with properties and qualities similar to those he assigned to human beings; their actions he assigned to human motives. Sun, moon, and stars seemed living beings; flames, streams, and winds were supposed to be moved by feelings such as those known to move animals and men. Nor was any other conception then possible: men could only interpret the unknown by the known, and their standard of all action was necessarily drawn from their own actions. Not having analysed Volition and Emotion, above all not having localised these in a neuro-muscular system, men could not suspect that the movements of planets and plants, and of streams and stones, had motors of a different kind from the movements of animals. The scientific conception of inert insensible Matter was only attained through a long education in abstraction; and is assuredly never attained by animals, or by savages. But no sooner were vital conditions recognised, than the difference between vital and mechanical movements emerged. When men learned that many of their own actions were unaccompanied either by Love or Hate, by Pleasure or Pain, and that many were unprompted by conscious intention, while others were unaccompanied by conscious sensation, they easily concluded that wherever the special conditions of Feeling were absent, the actions must have some other motors. Intelligence, Emotion, Volition, and Sensation being one by one stripped away from all but a particular class of bodies, nothing remained for the other bodies but insensible Matter and Motion. This was the Theoretic Conception which science substituted for the First Notion. It was aided by the observation of the misleading tendency of interpreting physical phenomena by the human standard, substituting our fancies in the place of facts, manipulating the order of the

(1) From a forthcoming volume on *The Physical Basis of Mind.*

(2) On the distinction between first notions and theoretic conceptions, see *Problems of Life and Mind*, vol. ii. p. 251.

universe according to our imagination of what it might be, or ought to be. Hence the vigilance of the new school in suppressing everything pertaining to the subjective aspect of phenomena, and the insistance on a purely objective classification, so that by this means we might attain to a knowledge of things as they are. By thus withdrawing Life and Mind from Nature, and regarding the universe solely in the light of Motion, and the laws of Motion, two great scientific ends were furthered, namely, a classification of conceptions, and a precision of terms. Objective phenomena made a class apart, and the great aim of research was to find a mathematical expression for all varieties under this class. Masses were conceived as aggregates of Atoms, and these were reduced to mathematical points. Forces were only different modes of Motion. All the numberless differences which perception recognised as *qualities* in things were reduced to mere variations in *quantity*. Thus all that was particular and concrete became resolved by analysis into what was general and abstract. The Cosmos then only presented a problem of mechanics.

During this evolution, the old Dualism (which conceived a material universe sharply demarcated from the mental universe) kept its ground, and attained even greater precision. The logical distinction between Matter and Mind was accepted as an essential distinction, *i.e.* representing distinct reals. There was on the one side a group of phenomena, Matter and Force; on the other side an unallied group, Feeling and Thought; between them an impassable gulf. How the two were brought into relation, each acting and reacting on the other, was dismissed as an "insoluble mystery"—or relegated to Metaphysics for such minds as chose to puzzle over questions not amenable to experiment. Physics, confident in the possession of mathematical and experimental methods which yielded definite answers to properly restricted questions, peremptorily refused to listen to any suggestion of the kind. And the career of Physics was so triumphant that success seemed to justify its indifference.

In our own day this analytical school has begun to extend its methods even to the mental group. Having reduced all the objective group to mathematical treatment, it now tries to bring the subjective group also within its range. Not only has there been more than one attempt at a mathematical Psychology, but also attempts to reduce Sensibility, in its subjective no less than in its objective aspect, to molecular movement. Here also the facts of Quality are translated into facts of Quantity; and all diversities of Feeling are interpreted as simply quantitative differences.

Thus far the one school. But while this Theoretic Conception stripped Nature of consciousness, motive, and passion, rendering it a mere aggregate of mathematical relations, a critical process was going on, which, analysing the nature of Perception, was rapidly

moving towards another goal. Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant, directing their analysis exclusively to the subjective aspect of phenomena, soon broke down the barriers between the physical and mental, and gradually merged the former in the latter. Matter and its qualities, hitherto accepted as independent realities, existing where no Mind perceived them, were now viewed as the creations of Mind—their existence was limited to a state of the percipient. The old Dualism was replaced by Idealism. The Cosmos, instead of presenting a problem of Mechanics, now presented a problem of Psychology. Beginning with what are called the secondary qualities of Matter, the psychological analysis resolved these into modes of Feeling. "The heat which the vulgar imagine to be in the fire and the colour they imagine in the rose are not there at all, but are in us—mere states of our organism." Having gained this standing-place, there was no difficulty in extending the view from the secondary to the primary qualities. These also were perceptions, and only existed in the percipient. Nothing then remained of Matter save the hypothetical unknown $x$ — the postulate of speculation. Kant seemed for ever to have closed the door against the real Cosmos when he transformed it into a group of mental forms—Time, Space, Causality, Quantity, &c. He propounded what may be called a theory of mental Dioptrics, whereby a pictured universe became possible, as Experience by its own *à priori* laws moulded *itself* into a consistent group of appearances, which produced the illusion of being a group of realities. He admitted, indeed, that by the operation of Causality we are compelled to believe in a Real underlying the appearances; but the very fact that this Causality is a *subjective law* is proof, he said, of its not being an *objective truth*. Thus the aim of the mechanical conception was to free research from the misleading complexities of subjective adulterations, and view *things as they are* apart from their *appearances;* but this aim seemed illusory when Psychology showed that Time, Space, Matter, and Motion were themselves not objective reals except in so far as they represented subjective necessities; and that, in short, things *are* just what they *appear*, since it is only in the relation of external reals to internal feelings that objects exist for us.

Idealism has been the outcome of the psychological method. It has been of immense service in rectifying the dualistic conception, and in correcting the mechanical conception. It has restored the subjective factor, which the mechanical conception had eliminated. It has brought into incomparable clearness the fundamental fact, that all our knowledge *springs from*, and is *limited by*, Feeling. It has shown that the universe represented in that knowledge can only be a picture of the system of things as these exist in relation to our Sensibility. But equally with the mechanical conception it has

erred by incomplete analysis. For a complete theory of the universe, or of any one phenomenon, those elementary conditions which analysis has provisionally set aside must finally be restored. When Quality is replaced by Quantity, this is an artifice of method, which does not really correspond with fact. The quality is the fact given in feeling, which we analytically refer to quantitative differences, but which can never be wholly resolved into them, since it must be presupposed throughout. One colour, for example, may be distinguished from another as having more or fewer undulations; and so we may by abstraction, letting drop all qualitative characters, make a scale of undulations to represent the scale of colours. But this is an ideal figment. It is the representation of one series of feelings by another series of different feelings. No variation of undulations will really correspond with variation in colour, unless we re-introduce the suppressed *quality* which runs through all colour. Attempt to make one born blind feel, or even understand, Colour by describing to him the kind of wave-movement which it is said to be, and the vanity of the effort will be manifest. Movement he knows, and varieties of movement as given in *tactile and muscular sensations;* but no combination and manipulation of such experiences can give him the specific sensation of colour. That is a purely subjective state, which he is incapable of experiencing, simply because one of the essential factors is absent. One set of objective conditions is present, but the other set (his sense-organ) is defective. Without the "greeting of the spirit" undulations cannot become colours (nor even undulations, for these also are forms of feeling). Besides the sense-organ there is needed the feeling of Difference, which is itself the product of past and present feelings. The reproduction of other colours, or other shades of colour, is necessary to this perception of difference; and this involves the element of Likeness and Unlikeness between what is produced and reproduced. So that a certain mental co-operation is requisite even for the simplest perception of quality. In fact, psychological analysis shows that even Motion and Quantity, the two objective terms to which subjective Quality is reduced, are themselves Fundamental Signatures of Feeling;[1] so that here, as elsewhere, it is only by analytical artifice that the objective can be divorced from the subjective. Matter *is* for us the Felt; its Qualities are differences of Feeling.

Not that this result is to be interpreted as freeing our Theoretic Conception from its objective side, and landing us in Idealism, which suppresses the real universe. The denial of all reality apart from our minds is a twofold mistake: it confounds the conception of general relations with particular relations, declaring that because the External in its relation to the sentient organism can only be

[1] Not transcendental and *à priori*, as Kant teaches, but immanent in Feeling.

what it is felt to be, therefore it can have no *other* relations to other individual reals. This is the first mistake. The second is the disregard of the constant presence of the objective real in every fact of Feeling: the Not-Self is emphatically present in every consciousness of Self.

The legitimate conclusion is neither that of Dualism nor of Idealism, but what I have named Reasoned Realism ("Problems," vol. i. p. 176), which reconciles Common Sense with Speculative Logic, by showing that although the *truth* of things (their *Wahrheit*) is just what we perceive in them (our *Wahrnehmung*), yet their *reality* is this, and much more than this. *Things* are what they are felt to be; and what they are thought to be, when thoughts are symbols of the perceptions. Idealism declares that they are *nothing but* this. It is against this *nothing but* that Common Sense protests; and the protest is justified by Reasoned Realism, which, taking a comprehensive survey of the facts, thus answers the idealist: "Your synthesis is imperfect, since it does not include *all* the data — notably it excludes the fact of an objective or Not-Self element in every feeling. You may, conceivably, regard the whole universe as nothing but a series of changes in your consciousness; but you cannot hope to convince me that I myself am simply a change in yourself, or that my body is only a fleeting image in your mind. Hence, although I conclude that the Not-Self is to you, as to me, undivorceable from Self, inalienable from Feeling, in so far as it is felt, yet there must nevertheless be for both of us an existence not wholly coextensive with our own. *My* world may be my picture of it; *your* world may be your picture of it; but there is something common to both which is more than either—an existent which has different relations to each. *You* are not *me*, nor is the pictured Cosmos *me*, although I picture it. Looking at you and it, I see a vast whole of which you are a small part; and such a part I conclude myself to be. It is at once a picture and the pictured; at once subjective and objective. To me all your modes of existence are objective aspects, which, drawing from my own experience, I believe to have corresponding subjective aspects; so that your emotions, which to me are purely physical facts, are to you purely mental facts. And psychological analysis assures me that all *physical facts are mental facts expressed in objective terms*, and *mental facts are physical facts expressed in subjective terms.*"

But while Philosophy thus replaces the conceptions of Dualism and Idealism by the conception of the Twofold Aspect, the special sciences in their analytical career have disregarded the problem altogether. The mechanical theory of the universe not only simplified research by confining itself solely to the objective aspect of phenomena, but by a further simplification set aside all vital and

chemical relations, to deal exclusively with mechanical relations. In ascertaining the mathematical relations of the planetary system, no elucidation could possibly be gained from biological or chemical conceptions; the planets therefore were provisionally stripped of everything not mechanical. In systematising the laws of motion, it was necessary to disengage the abstract relations from everything in any way resembling spontaneity, or extra-mechanical agency: Matter was therefore, by a bold fiction, declared to be inert, and its Motion regarded as something superadded from without.

And this was indispensable for the construction of those ideal laws which are the objects of scientific research. Science, as we often say, is the systematisation of Experience under the forms of ideal constructions. Experience implies Feeling, and certain fundamental Signatures, all reducible to the primary discernment of Likeness and Unlikeness. Hence Science is first a *classification* of qualities or discerned likenesses and differences; next a *measurement* of quantities of discerned likenesses and differences. Although measurement is itself a species of classification, it is distinguished by the adoption of a standard unit of comparison, which, being precise and unvarying, enables us to express the comparisons in precise and unvarying symbols. Whether the unit of length adopted be an inch, a foot, a yard, a mile, the distance of the earth from the sun, or the distances of the fixed stars, the quantities thus measured are symbols admitting of one invariable interpretation. The exactness of the mathematical sciences is just this precision and invariability of their symbols, and is not, as commonly supposed, the source of any superior certainty as to the facts. The classificatory sciences, which deal with qualities rather than with quantities, may be equally *certain*, and represent fuller *knowledge*, because involving more varied feelings, but they cannot pretend to exactness. Even on the quantitative side, certainty is not identical with exactness. I may be quite certain that one block of marble is larger than another—meaning that it affects me more voluminously—but I cannot know how much larger it is without interpreting my feelings by the standard of quantity—the how-muchness as represented by that standard. The immense advantages of exact measurement need not be insisted on. The Biological Sciences, which are predominantly classificatory, can never rival the Cosmological Sciences in exactness; but they may reach a fuller knowledge; and their certainty will assume more and more the character of exactness as methods of measurement are applied to their classifications of qualities. The qualitative and quantitative aspects of phenomena are handled by the two great instruments, Logic and Mathematics, the second being only a special form of the first. These determine the general conceptions which are derived from our perceptions, and the whole constitute Experience.

What is the conclusion to which these considerations lead? It is that the separation of the quantitative from the qualitative aspect of phenomena—the objective mechanical from the subjective psychological—is a logical artifice indispensable to research; but it is only an artifice.[1] In pursuance of this artifice, each special science must be regarded as the search after special analytical results; and meanwhile this method should be respected, and no confusion of the boundaries between one science and another should be suffered. Mechanical problems must not be confused by the introduction of biological relations. Biological problems must not be restricted to mechanical relations. I do not mean that the mechanical relations present in biological phenomena are not to be sought, and, when found, to be expressed in mechanical terms; I mean that such an inquiry must be strictly limited to mechanical relations. Subjective relations are not to be denied, because they are provisionally set aside, in an inquiry into objective relations; but we must carefully distinguish which of the two orders we are treating of, and express each in its appropriate terms. This is constantly neglected. For example, nothing is more common than to meet such a phrase as this: "A *sensory impression* is transmitted as a *wave* of *motion* to the brain, and there being transformed into a state of *consciousness*, is again reflected as a *motor* impulse."

The several sciences having attained certain analytical results, it remains for Philosophy to co-ordinate these into a doctrine which will furnish general conceptions of the World, Man, and Society. On the analytical side a mechanical theory of the universe might be perfected, but it would still only be a theory of mechanical relations, leaving all other relations to be expressed in other terms. We cannot accept the statement of Descartes that Nature is a vast mechanism, and Science an universal application of mathematics. The equation of a sphere, however valuable from a geometrical point of view, is useless as an explanation of the nature and properties of the spherical body in other relations. And so a complete theory of the mechanical relations of the organism, however valuable in itself, would be worthless in the solution of a biological problem, unless supplemented by all that mechanical terms are incompetent to express.

The course of biological speculation has been similar to the cosmological. It also began with a First Notion, which compendiously expressed the facts of Experience. Nor can any Theoretic Conception be finally adopted which does away with these facts, known with positive certainty, and popularly expressed in the phrase: "I

(1) The reader will understand that although mechanical relations are modes of Feeling, as all other relations are, yet their aspect is exclusively objective, referring to objects ideally detached from subjects.

have a body, and a soul." We may alter the phrase either into, "I *am* a body, and I *am* a soul;" or into, "My body is only the manifestation of my soul;" or, "My soul is only a function of my body;" but the fundamental experiences which are thus expressed are of absolute authority, no matter how they may be interpreted. That I have a body, or am a body, is not to be speculatively argued away. That I move my arm to strike the man who has offended me, or stretch out my hand to seize the fruit which I see, is unquestionable; that these movements are determined by these feelings, and are never thus effected unless thus determined, is also unquestionable. Here are two sets of phenomena, having well-marked differences of aspect; and they are grouped respectively under two general heads, Life and Mind. Life is assigned to the physical organism, or Body—all its phenomena are objective. Mind is assigned to the psychical organism, or Soul—all its phenomena are subjective. Although what is called my Body is shown to be a group of qualities which are feelings—its colour, form, solidity, position, motion—all its physical attributes being what is felt by us in consequence of the laws of our organisation; yet inasmuch as these feelings have the characteristic marks of objectivity, and are thereby referred to some objective existence, we draw a broad line of demarcation between them and other feelings having the characteristic marks of subjectivity, and referring to ourselves as subjects. Psychological analysis shows us that this line of demarcation is artificial, only representing a diversity of aspect; but as such it is indispensable to science. We cannot really separate in a sensation what is objective from what is subjective, and say how much belongs to the Cosmos apart from Sensibility, and how much to the subject pure and simple; we can only view the sensation alternately in its objective and subjective aspects. What belongs to extra-mental existence in the phenomenon of Colour, and what to the "greeting of the spirit," is utterly beyond human knowledge; for the ethereal undulations which physicists presuppose as the cosmic condition are themselves subjected to this same greeting of the spirit: they too are ideal forms of sensible experiences.

This conclusion, however, was very slowly reached. The distinction of aspects was made the ground of a corresponding distinction in agencies. Each group was personified and isolated. The one group was personified in Spirit—an existent in every respect opposed to Matter, which was the existent represented in the other group. One was said to be simple, indestructible; the other compound, destructible. One was invisible, impalpable, beyond the grasp of Sense; the other was visible, tangible, sensible. One was of heaven, the other of earth. Thus a biological Dualism, analogous to the cosmological, replaced the First Notion. It was undermined by

advances in two directions. Psychology began to disclose that our conception of matter was, to say the least, *saturated* with Mind, its Atoms confessedly being ideal figments; and that all the terms by which we expressed *material qualities* were terms which expressed *modes of Feeling;* so that whatever remained over and above this was the unknown *x*, which speculation required as a postulate. Idealism, rejecting this postulate, declared that Matter was simply the projection of Mind, and that our Body was the objectivation of our Soul. Physiology began to disclose that all the mental processes were (mathematically speaking) *functions* of physical processes, *i.e.* varying with the variations of bodily states; and this was declared enough to banish for ever the conception of a Soul, except as a term simply expressing certain functions.

Idealism and Materialism are equally destructive of Dualism. The defects of particular idealist and materialist theories we will not here touch upon; they mainly result from defects of Method. Not sufficiently recognising the primary fact testified by Consciousness, namely, that Experience expresses both physical and mental aspects, and that a Not-Self is everywhere indissolubly interwoven with Self, an objective factor with a subjective factor, the idealist reduces Existence to a mere panorama of mental states, and the Body to a group in this panorama. He is thus incapable of giving a satisfactory explanation of all the objective phenomena which do not follow in the same order as his feelings, which manifest a succession unlike his expectation, and which he cannot class under the order of his mental states hitherto experienced. He conceives that it is the Mind which *prescribes* the order in Things; whereas experience assures us that the order is *described*, not prescribed by us: described in terms of Feeling, but determined by the laws of Things. The genesis of subjective phenomena is determined by the action of the Cosmos on our Sensibility, and the reaction of our Sensibility. He overlooks the evidence that the mental forms or laws of thought which determine the character of particular experiences, were themselves evolved through a continual action and reaction of the Cosmos and the Soul, precisely as the laws of organic action which determine the character of particular functions were evolved through a continual adaptation of the organism to the medium. These immanent laws are declared to be transcendental, antecedent to all such action and reaction.

A similar exclusiveness vitiates the materialist doctrine. Overlooking the primary fact that Feeling is indissolubly interwoven with processes regarded as purely physical because they are considered solely in their objective aspect, the materialist fails to recognise the operation of psychological laws in the determination of physiological results; he hopes to reduce Biology to a problem of

Mechanics. But Vitality and Sensibility are coefficients which must render the mechanical problem insoluble, if only on the ground that mechanical principles have reference to quantitative relations, whereas vital relations are qualitative. His error is the obverse of the vitalist's error. The vitalist imagines that the speciality of organic phenomena proves the existence of a cause which has no community with the forces operating elsewhere; so, turning his back on all the evidence, he attempts to explain organic phenomena without any aid from Physics and Chemistry. The materialist, turning his back on all the evidence of quite special conditions, only found at work in living organisms, tries to explain the problem solely by the aid of Physics and Chemistry. It is quite certain that physiological and psychological problems are not to be solved if we disregard the laws of Evolution through Epigenesis. The mental structure is evolved, as the physical structure is evolved. It is quite certain that no such evolution is visible in anorganisms, nor will any one suppose it to be possible in machines. From the biological point of view we must therefore reject both Idealism and Materialism. We applaud the one when it says, "Don't confuse mental facts by the introduction of physical hypotheses;" and the other when it says, "Don't darken physical facts with metaphysical mists." We say to both: "By all means make clear to yourselves which aspect of the phenomena you are dealing with, and express each in its own terms. But in endeavouring to understand a phenomenon you must take into account all its ascertainable conditions. Now these conditions are sometimes only approachable from the objective side; at other times only from the subjective side."

While it is necessary to keep the investigation of a process on its objective side limited to objective conditions, and to express the result in objective terms, we must remember that this is an artifice; above all, we must remember that even within the objective limits our analyses are only provisional, and must be finally rectified by a restoration of all the elements we have provisionally set aside. Thus rectified, the objective interpretation of vital and mental phenomena has the incomparable advantage of simplifying research, keeping it fixed on physical processes, instead of being perturbed by suggestions of metaphysical processes. And as all physical investigation naturally tends to reduce itself to a mechanical investigation, because Mechanics is the science of Motion, and all physical processes are motions, we may be asked, Why should not the mechanical point of view be the rational standing-point of the biologist? Our answer is, Because Mechanics concerns itself with abstract relations, and treats of products without reference to modes of production, *i.e.* with motions without reference to all the conditions on which they depend. Every physical change, if expressed in physical terms, is a change of posi-

tion, and is determined by some preceding change of position. It is a movement having a certain velocity and direction, which velocity and direction are determined by the velocity and direction of a force (a pressure or a tension) compounded with the forces of resistance, *i.e.* counter-pressures. Clearly, the nature of the forces in operation must be taken into account; and it is this which the mechanical view disregards, the biological regards. The mechanical view is fixed on the ascertained adjustment of the parts, so that the working of the organism may be explained as if it were a machine, a movement here liberating a movement there. The biological view includes this adjustment of parts, but takes in also the conditions of molecular change in the parts on which the adjustment dynamically depends. Mechanical actions may be expressed as the enlargement or diminution of the angle of two levers; but chemical actions are not thus expressible; still less vital and mental actions.

The organism is on the physical side a mechanism, and so long as the mechanical interpretation of organic phenomena is confined to expressing the mechanical principles involved in the mechanical relations, it is eminently to be applauded. But the organism is something more than a mechanism, even on the physical side; or, since this statement may be misunderstood, let me say, what no one will dispute, that the organism is a mechanism of a very special kind, in many cardinal points unlike all machines. This difference of kind brings with it a difference of causal conditions. In so far as the actions of this mechanism are those of a dependent sequence of material positions, they are actions expressible in mechanical terms; but in so far as these actions are dependent on vital processes, they are not expressible in mechanical terms. Vital facts, especially facts of sensibility, have factors neither discernible in machines nor expressible in mechanical terms. We cannot ignore them, although for analytical purposes we may provisionally set them aside.

In the course of the development of the mechanical theory, the history of which has just been briefly sketched, biological problems have more and more come under its influence. There has always been a fierce resistance to the attempt to explain vital and sentient phenomena on mechanical, or even physical principles, but still the question has incessantly recurred, How far is the organism mechanically interpretable? And while the progress of Biology has shown more and more the machine-like adjustment of the several parts of which the organism is composed, it has also shown more and more the intervention of conditions not mechanically interpretable.

GEORGE HENRY LEWES.

# BALTHASAR GRACIAN.

Amongst the papers of Schopenhauer there was discovered by Dr. Julius Frauenstädt a manuscript quite ready for the printer. On examining it he found that it contained three hundred maxims by Balthasar Gracian, translated by Schopenhauer himself from the Spanish, and accompanied by a short notice of that author and his work. From this notice it is evident that Schopenhauer attached great importance to the original, and prided himself upon having been the only person who ever made a readable translation of it. It is, he says, absolutely unique, and no book on exactly the same subject was ever written before, "nor could any one but a Spaniard (*ein Individuum aus der feinsten aller Nationen*) have attempted it. It teaches the art which all would fain practise, and is therefore a book for every one; but it is especially fitted to be the manual of those who live in the great world, and peculiarly of young people who wish to prosper in that world. To them it gives at once and beforehand that teaching which they could otherwise only obtain through long experience. To read it once through is obviously not enough; it is a book made for constant use as occasion serves—in short, to be a companion for life."

Schopenhauer's translation was published in 1862, and a copy of it was given to me soon afterwards; but it is only within the last few weeks that I have succeeded, through the kindness of a friend at Madrid, in getting the Spanish original, and in comparing it with the translation, which I find to be absolutely faithful in every case to the spirit, and in all but a very few quite insignificant instances to the letter, of the original. It is indeed a most finished piece of work, and one can quite understand why its author, unwilling to be confounded with the tribe of ordinary translators, kept it by him for long years.

I do not think that any one who takes the pains to become acquainted with the *Oraculo Manual*, either in Schopenhauer's translation or in Spanish, will think that the words of commendation which I have quoted above are at all too strong. It would be easy to find, especially in the works of the great French maxim writers, higher truths and truths more brilliantly expressed;[1] but taking the

(1) Nay, there are certain merits in quite subordinate French writers of that class to which Gracian has little claim. I open, for example, almost at random the "Pensées Grises," by M. D'Yzarn Freissinet, and I find at once, "Il ne faut pas être trop incrédule: il y a des faits réels quelque'ils soient dans l'histoire." "On se conduit comme étant certain de la mort des autres et doutant un peu de la sienne." "Une coquette, cet être élégamment disgracieux, entraîne des gens d'esprit quelquefois vengés par un imbécile." "Les

book as a guide, especially for those who intend to enter public life, I have never chanced to meet with anything which seemed to me even distantly to approach it.

Balthasar Gracian was a Jesuit, who was born in 1584 at Calatayud, in Aragon. Calatayud, in spite of its Moorish name, which means the Castle of Ayub, or Job, is the modern representative of Roman Bilbilis; so that Gracian was a townsman, or nearly a townsman, of Martial, for the modern town is about two miles from the ruins of the ancient, which are at a place called Bambola.

He published his works, which are numerous, under the name of his brother Lorenzo, and died at Tarragona in 1658, where he was rector of a school.

The *Oraculo Manual* was thrown into its present form by Don Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa. An English version of it seems to have appeared in 1694, but I have never been able to pick up either that, or the French translations or paraphrases by Amelot de la Houssaye and Courbeville.

Ticknor, in his history of Spanish literature, criticises at some length one of Gracian's books, *El Criticon*, and just alludes to the *Oraculo Manual*, but it is clear that he had no very intimate acquaintance with the latter, and that Schopenhauer's strong language would have startled him not a little.

Gracian seems to have been the first important writer who introduced into prose the affected style which is identified in poetry with the name of Gongora, and is known in Spanish literature as "Cultismo." I have no doubt that a certain grudge against him on this account made Ticknor pass him by with too little notice.

The Nouvelle Biographie Générale, speaking of Gracian's works, observes, "Les observations exactes qu'ils renferment, leur style élégant, n'ont pu compenser l'obscurité de quelques idées trop métaphysiques et la prolixité des réflexions morales."

Bouterwek seems to have given some little attention to the *Oraculo Manual*, and his opinion is as follows:—

"This has been more read than any other of the author's works. It is intended to be a collection of maxims of general utility, but it exhibits good and bad precepts, sound judgments and refined sophisms, all confounded together. In this work Gracian has not forgotten to inculcate his practical principles of Jesuitism,[1] to be all things to all men ('hacerse a todos'), nor to recommend his favourite maxim, 'to be common in nothing'

diamants sur une tête laide sont comme un phare sur un écueil! Ils avertissent." "Ceux dont la seule occupation est de tuer le temps doivent être des bourreaux bien malheureux." "Un titre dont les événements de notre époque ont dissous la valeur est celui d'homme d'État. A présent, un homme d'État n'est qu'un ministre dans un État."

"Vauvenargues a dit vrai: Les grandes pensées viennent du cœur, mais c'est l'esprit qui va les y chercher."

(1) He might have added—of St. Paul, and of reasonable people everywhere.

('en nada vulgar'), which, in order to be valid, would require a totally different interpretation from that which he has given it."

The reader will judge for himself as to how far these criticisms are well founded; but it is clear that, from one cause or another, a writer who was once widely known has become practically forgotten. The last Spanish edition was published, as far as I can discover, in the year 1773, but I venture to think that Balthasar Gracian is decidedly not one of those people of whom we can say with Omar Khayyám,—

> "And those who husbanded the golden grain,
> And those who flung it to the winds like rain,
> Alike to no such aureate earth are turn'd,
> As, buried once, men want dug up again."

His manner is to begin with two or three pithy words, "Saberse dexar ganando con la fortuna," "Obrar con buenos instrumentos," and the like, explaining each phrase by a short Tacitean paragraph, in which the greatest possible number of ideas are packed into the smallest possible number of words.

I translate in full a few maxims as specimens.

38. *Leave off the game with fortune while you are in luck.*—That is what all the best players do. A fine retreat is worth just as much as a gallant attack. Let a man bring his deeds, when there are a great many and enough of them, into safety. Felicity which lasts very long was ever suspicious. That which is interrupted is safer, and in that it has a certain sour sweetness, is even pleasanter to the taste. The more happiness heaps itself upon happiness, the more danger is there that some part of it will slip out of its place and the whole pile crush down. The intensity of the favour of fortune is often balanced by the shortness of its duration, for fortune gets tired of carrying any one very long upon her shoulders.

81. *Renew your brilliance.*—It is the privilege of the Phœnix. Excellence is wont to grow old, and with it fame. The staleness of custom diminishes admiration, and a novelty which does not pass mediocrity often eclipses the greatest eminence grown old. Let a man then work to be born again in valour, in genius, in fortune, in all things. Let him connect himself with novelties of a gallant and startling kind, dawning and re-dawning like the sun. He should alter, too, the theatre of his brilliance, that if here the want of it excite longing, there the novelty of it may excite applause.

101. *One half of the world laughs at the other, and fools are they all.*—Everything is good or everything is bad, as the suffrages of the world will have it. What one man follows another man persecutes. He is an intolerable blockhead who wishes to order everything according to his own ideas. Perfection does not depend upon what pleases a single person. As many tastes as heads, and as different. There is no fault which has not some one enamoured of it, nor must we lose courage if what we do does not please some, for there are sure to be others who will value it; and yet we should not be made vain by their applause, for there are equally

sure to be again others who will wholly disapprove. The real measure of true satisfaction is the applause of famous men, and men who have a right to speak about the matter in hand. One does not live dependent on one vote, or on one fashion, or on one century.

133. *Better be mad with everybody else than prudent alone.*—So say politicians. For if all are mad one is not behind anybody else, and if the prudent man is alone he will pass for mad, so important it is to follow the current. Sometimes the greatest wisdom lies in ignorance, or the affectation of it. We have got to live with others, and the ignorant are in the majority. To live alone one must be very like a god or quite like a beast; yet I would modify the aphorism, and say, better be prudent with the majority than mad by one's self. There are some people who seek for originality in chimeras and crotchets.

138. *Have the art to let it alone*, and the more so the wilder as are the waves of public or private life. In human intercourse there are whirlwinds and storms of passion, and before them it is wise to retire into a secure haven. Remedies often make illnesses worse; let us then leave in such cases free course to physical and moral influences. The physician requires as much knowledge not to prescribe as to prescribe, and sometimes the highest art consists in not applying remedies. The way to still storms in great multitudes is to hold one's hand and let them go down of themselves. A timely giving way for the present assures victory later. A fountain gets turbid by a little movement, and does not become clear by our trying to make it so, but by our leaving it to itself. The best remedy against discord and confusion is to let them run their course, for so they quiet down.

278. *Contradict not the contradictor.*—One must observe whether the contradiction comes from craft or from vulgarity. It is not always conceit, but sometimes artifice. One should in the first case be careful not to get into difficulties, and in the other not to be ruined. Care is never better expended than in dealing with spies, and against the picklocks of the mind there is no better defence than to leave inside in the lock the key of caution.

196. *Know the star of your fortune.*—There is no one so infirm as not to have one, and if any one is unfortunate it is because he knows it not. Some stand high in the favour of princes and of the powerful, without knowing why or wherefore, except just that good luck has facilitated their acquiring favour, helped and only helped a little by taking trouble. Others acquire the good-will of the wise. Sometimes a man is more acceptable in one nation than in another, and better seen in this city than in that. Just in the same way he has more fortune in this office or profession than in others, and all this although his merits in these respective positions are equal, nay, absolutely identical. Fortune shuffles the cards as and when luck wishes. Let every man know his own luck as well as his own peculiar talent, for on this it depends whether he loses or wins. Let him know how to follow his fortune and to help it, by no means exchanging or missing it, for that would be to miss the north, though its neighbour calls us to it like a speaking trumpet (*i.e.* to miss the north though the pole-star points to it.)

276. *Understand how to renew your spirit by the help of Nature and of Art.*

—They say that every seven years the disposition alters. Well, then, see that it does so by improving and making more noble the taste. Reason makes its appearance after the first seven years, so then let a new perfection be added with every *lustrum*. Man should observe this natural change, and help it on, and hope also for improvement in others. It comes from this that many have changed their behaviour with their profession or their office. Sometimes no one perceives it till it appears in the highest degree. At twenty a man will be a peacock; at thirty, a lion; at forty, a camel; at fifty, a snake; at sixty, a dog; at seventy, an ape; and at eighty —nothing.

111. *Have friends.*—It is the second existence. Every friend is good and wise for his friend, and among them all gets well managed. Every man will be worth just so much as other people please, and in order that they may please, one has to gain their mouths by their hearts. There is no enchantment more powerful than to do a good turn, and the best way to gain friendships is to do friendly things. The most and best that we have depends upon others; we must live either amongst friends or amongst enemies. Try every day to acquire one, not exactly to be a near friend, yet to be a well-wisher. Some will later, after they have gone through a period of probation, remain behind as confidential friends.

99. *Reality and appearance.*—Things pass not for what they are, but for that which they appear. Few are they who see into the inside of things. Many are they who hold wholly to appearances. It is not enough to be right, if that right have an appearance of falsity and ill.

20. *Be a man of your century.*—Extraordinary men are dependent upon their time. Not all have found the century of which they were worthy, and many have found it indeed, but have not been able to profit by it. Some were worthy of a better century, for it is not always that every good thing triumphs. Things have their periods, and even the highest qualities are subject to fashion. The wise man has, nevertheless, this advantage, that he is immortal. If this is not his century, at least a great many others will be.

The above will give an idea of Gracian's method, and I now proceed to run through his maxims, translating none of the others in their entirety except the last, but giving, I trust, enough of them to make some few people desire to possess the whole.

2. *Character and intellect.*—The two axes of the brilliance of our accomplishments. To possess one without the other is only to have half fortune. Understanding is not enough. There must be geniality.

3. *Leave people in uncertainty about your purposes.*— . . . Imitate the heavenly powers in keeping men full of speculation and unrest.

6. *Let a man reach his perfection.*—We are not born finished. With every day that passes we should perfect ourselves in ourselves and in our calling, till we reach the point of our completed being, when all our accomplishments and best qualities are at their highest.

7. *Take care not to attain victories over your superior.*—All conquest is detested, and to conquer your master is either a folly or a calamity. All superiority is abominated: how much more superiority over superiority!

9. *Avoid the faults of your nation.*—Water shares in the good or bad qualities of the veins through which it passes, and a man in those of the clime in which he is born. . . . There are family faults and faults of position, faults of office and faults of age. If they all meet in one person, and are not opposed by attention, they make an intolerable monster.

10. *Fortune and fame.*—The one is as enduring as the other is inconstant—the first for life, the second for the after-time; the one against envy, the other against forgetfulness. Fortune is wished for, and sometimes helped. Fame is won by diligent search. . . . Fame was, and is, the sister of the giants.

11. *Live with those from whom you can learn. Let friendly intercourse be a school of knowledge, and conversation a teaching that may fashion the mind.*—Make teachers of your friends, and let the profit of learning and the pleasure of conversation interpenetrate one another. . . . There be personages high in reputation for their discretion who are not only themselves, by their example and their intercourse, oracles of all nobleness, but even the people about them form a very academy of good and noble discretion in every kind.

14. *The thing, and the way the thing is done.*—*Substance* is not enough, *circumstance* is important too. A bad manner spoils everything, even justice and reason; a good one, on the contrary, supplies everything; gilds No, sweetens truth, and reddens the very cheek of age. The how is a mighty matter in affairs, and a good manner wins the affections like a lucky gamester.

15. *Keep ministering spirits.*—That is a privilege of the great ones of the earth which far transcends the barbarous taste of Tigranes, who had a fancy for having captive kings as his servants. . . . If, however, you cannot have sages in your service, have them for your friends.

18. *Application and ability* (Aplicacion y Minerva).—There is no attaining eminence without both, and when they unite there is the greatest eminence. With application a mediocrity goes farther than a superiority without it. Reputation is bought at the price of toil. What costs little is little worth. Even for the highest posts some have only wanted application. It is but rarely that they have failed from sheer lack of ability. To desire to be rather moderately successful in a great, than very successful in a humble employment, has the excuse of generosity of mind; but to be content with being moderately successful in the humblest employment, when one might be brilliant in the greatest, hath it not. Nature and art, then, are both wanted, and application sets on them the seal.

26. *Find every man's thumbscrew.*— . . . All are idolaters—some of honour, some of interest, some of pleasure. Have the knack of knowing what their idols are, so as to affect each through his idol.

28. *Be common in nothing, above all not in taste.*—Oh, what a great wise man he was who was wretched when what he said pleased the multitude!

29. *Be an upright man.*—Such an one stands always on the side of reason, with so much fixity of purpose that neither the passion of the masses nor the violence of tyrants forces him ever to cross the line of reason. Yet who is this Phœnix of rectitude, for uprightness has few adepts? Many praise it, but not for their own house.

30. *Have nothing to do with occupations which stand in ill repute*, and still less with crotchets which bring with them rather dishonour than credit. There are all sorts of fanciful sects from which the man of prudence keeps himself aloof. There are some exotic tastes which always take up with everything which the wise repudiate.

31. . . . Never open the door to an evil, however small, for other and greater ones will creep in after it from their ambush.

32. *Have the reputation of being gracious.*— . . . The only advantage of power is to be able to do more good than other people.

34. *A man should know in what he shines most*—his best accomplishment, so that he may cultivate that and improve his other qualities. Every one would have been eminent in something if he had known his vantage-ground. Each should observe his master attribute, and throw his energy in that direction. In some, judgment is the strong point, in others valour. The majority do violence to their natural turn, and so in nothing become superior.

43. *Think with the few, and speak with the many.*

46. *Overcome your antipathies.*

48. *Thoroughness and depth.*—Only in so far as one has these can one play a part with honour. What is within must always be as big again as that which is without.

55. *Be able to wait.*— . . . First be master of yourself if you would be master of others. Only through the spaces of time do we come to the centre of opportunity. . . . He spake a great word who said, Time and I against any two.

56. *Have presence of mind*, the child of a happy promptitude of spirit. There are natures of antiperistasis,[1] who work best in an emergency. They are a kind of monster which can do everything successfully if they do it off-hand, and nothing successfully if they take time to consider of it. What does not strike them at first, they never find at all. In their heads there is no court of appeal.

58. *Know how to suit yourself to your company.*— . . . There should be no unnecessary expenditure either of knowledge or of power. The clever falconer does not allow more birds to fly than the sport requires.

59. *Think of ending well.*—When one enters into the house of fortune by

(1) This word is used both in the original and in Schopenhauer's translation. It seems to have tried in vain to become a settler in England. Johnson thus defines it: "Antiperistasis: The opposition of a contrary quality, by which the quality it opposes becomes heightened or intended; or the action by which a body attacked by another collects itself and becomes stronger by such opposition, or an intention of the activity of one quality caused by the opposition of another. Thus quicklime is set on fire by the effusion of cold water; so water becomes warmer in winter than in summer; and thunder and lightning are excited in the middle region of the air, which is continually cold, and all by Antiperistasis." This is an exploded principle in the Peripatetic philosophy.

"Th' *antiperistasis* of age
More inflamed his am'rous rage."—COWLEY.

"The riotous prodigal detests covetousness; yet let him find the springs grow dry which feed his luxury, covetousness shall be called in; and so by a strange *antiperistasis* prodigality shall beget rapine."—*Decay of Piety.*

the gate of pleasure, one leaves it by that of sorrow, and vice versâ. . . . The important thing is not the vulgar applause at the outset—that comes to all—but the general feeling at the exit; for few are those who are wished back, and seldom does fortune conduct a parting guest as far as the threshold.

62. *Work with good instruments.*—Some are anxious that the keenness and subtlety of their wits should be conspicuous through the meanness of their instruments—a perilous satisfaction which deserves a punishment from Fate. . . . Fame always holds to the first personage. She never says "he had good or he had bad assistants;" but "he was a good or he was a bad artificer."

63. *It is an excellence to be the first of the sort, and a double excellence to be eminent in so being.*— . . . Those who are first in any line are the eldest sons of fame, and go off with the entailed estates.

64.— . . . Some people waste their ears on the sweetness of Flattery, others on the bitterness of Scandal, and there are people who cannot live without a daily annoyance, as Mithridates could not live without poison.

70. *Understand the art of refusing.*— . . . The No of some people is more esteemed than the Yes of others, for a gilded No satisfies more than a dry Yes. . . . . Let courtesy fill up the vacuum left by the want of favour, and let good words supply the want of works. . . . No and Yes are short to say, but they ask much thinking.

71. *Do not be unsociable.* In the most populous places live the true wild beasts.

75. *Choose a heroic ideal, but rather to emulate than to imitate.*

76. *Do not always be jesting.*— . . . Many people win themselves a reputation for being witty fellows at the cost of their credit for being sensible. Jest may have its little hour, but let all the rest of time belong to seriousness.

77. *Know how to adapt yourself to all men.*—Be a discreet Proteus, learned with the learned, a saint with a saint.

79. *Be of genial disposition.*—If you are so with moderation, it is an accomplishment, not a defect. A grain of gaiety seasons all.

80. *Attention in informing yourself.*—We live chiefly by information. It is but little that we can see for ourselves. We live on the faith of others, and while the sense of hearing is the back door of truth, it is the front entrance of lies.

82. *Drain nothing to the dregs, neither good nor evil.*

83. *Allow yourself some venial fault.*— . . . Let Homer sleep now and then, and affect a want of care either in intellect or in valour, but never in prudence, in order that you may lull malevolence, and so prevent it bursting with its own poison. That will be like throwing your cloak to the bull of Envy, so as to save your immortality.

84. . . . To the wise man his enemies are more useful than his friends to the foolish one.

90. *The art to live long is to live well.*—Two things soon make an end of life, folly and dissoluteness.

93. *Be a universal man.*—He who unites all perfection counts for many. He makes life very happy by communicating the enjoyment of his gifts to

those who live with him. Variety with perfection is the delight of life. . . . It is a great art to know how to assimilate to yourself all that is good.

100. *A man without illusions. A wise Christian, a philosophical denizen of Courts.*—Be these things, but do not appear to be them, let alone affecting to be them.

102. *Have a stomach able to digest great mouthfuls of fortune.*

104. . . . Have felt the pulse of various offices. It is a toilsome business to rule men, and especially madmen or boobies. It is necessary to have a double portion of wits when one is with those who have none.

105. *Don't be a bore.*—The man of one occupation and one way of speaking is tiresome. Brevity is fascinating, and better suited for business. . . . What is well said is soon said.

110. *Wait not till you are a sinking sun.*—It is a maxim of the prudent to leave affairs before affairs leave them. . . . Let the beauty wisely break her glass in time, that she may not do so with impatience when she sees herself undeceived.

112. *Win affection and regard.*— . . . Some trust so much to their worth that they despise winning people's good-will, but the man of experience knows that the road of merit without favour is a very long one.

117. *Never speak of yourself.*—Either you will praise yourself, which is vanity, or blame yourself, which is poverty of spirit.

115. *Accustom yourself to the faults in the dispositions of those with whom you live*, as you do to ugly faces.

120. *Live practically, and accommodate yourself to the times.*— . . . The prudent man should live as he can, if he cannot live as he would. He should deem of more importance what fate has conceded to him than what it has denied.

121. *Do not make a business of what is no business.*— . . . Many things which were really of some importance have become of none because they were left alone; and other things which were of no importance have become grave because people have occupied themselves about them. At the beginning everything can be easily quieted down, but afterwards not. It is frequently the remedy that causes the disease, and not the worst rule of living is to let it alone.

123. *Be without affectation.*— . . . Do not, however, out of fear of affectation, fall into it by affecting to be unaffected.

125. *Do not be a green book* (*i.e.* a register of other men's sins).—It is a symptom of having tarnished your own fame to be much occupied with the bad fame of others.

130. *Act, and let your acts be seen.*— . . . A good exterior is the best recommendation of the perfection within.

141. *Do not listen to yourself.*— . . . It is a weakness of the great to speak with a ground tone of "I say something worth hearing," to the torture of their hearers.

142. *Never out of obstinacy take the wrong side, because your opponent has got before you and taken the right one.*

148. *Do not, in trying to escape from the trite, become paradoxical.*

146. *Look into the inside of things.*—They are usually very different from

what they seem.— . . . Lies always come first in everything, dragging blockheads after them by the chain of their continued vulgarity. Truth comes in the last, and very late, limping along on the arm of Time.

148. *Have the art of conversation*, in which the perfected man shows himself. It is the commonest thing in life, and yet there is no human exercise that requires more attention.

151. *Think by anticipation* to-day for to-morrow, and even for many days. . . . The pillow is a silent sibyl, and it is better to sleep on things before they are begun than to lie awake about them afterwards.

153. *Avoid entering there where there is a great gap to be filled.*

154. *Do not believe and do not love lightly.*

155. *Understand the art of getting discreetly into a passion.*— . . . To master a passion you must always have the bridle in the hand of attention. If you do, you will be the first person who was ever prudent on horseback, not to say the last.

156. *Let your friends be the friends of your deliberate choice.*

158. *Know how to use your friends.*— . . . Some are good to be near, and some to be far. Many are useless for conversation, excellent as correspondents.

161. *Know your pet faults.*— . . . Even the most perfect man does not escape them, and lives with them either as a wife or as a mistress.

159. *Suffer fools.*— . . . Out of patience comes forth peace the priceless, which is the happiness of the world.

167. *Know how to take your own part.*— . . . In great dangers there is no better companion than a bold heart. . . . One must not surrender to evil fortune, for then it becomes intolerable. . . . The prudent man comes victoriously out of everything, and triumphs over even the stars.

165. *Be an honourable opponent.*— . . . Be able to boast that, if gallantry and generosity were lost out of the world, men might look for and find them in your breast.

51. *Know how to choose well.*—It is the most important thing in life. It needs good taste and a most accurate judgment, for neither study nor natural intelligence is enough. Without choice there is no perfection. . . . There are many of fruitful and subtle spirit, and keen judgment, and sharp intelligence, and learning and circumspection, who nevertheless, when they come to choose, go to wreck and ruin—they always choose the worst course, as if they tried to be wrong.

170. *Keep always something behind in store.*— . . . Even in one's knowledge there should be a force in reserve.

172. *Do not get into a contest with one who has nothing to lose.*

173. *Do not be like glass for fragility in your intercourse with others, and still less in your friendship.*— . . . Some people have a disposition more sensitive than the eye itself, and cannot be touched either in jest or earnest. . . . The disposition of the lover (*amante*) is half that of the diamond (*diamante*) in its power of duration and resistance.

178. *Believe your heart, especially when it has been proved.*

179. *Reticence is the seal of capacity.*—A breast without a secret is an open letter.

182. *A grain of boldness in everything is an important requisite of prudence.*—We should moderate our conceptions of others so as not to think so highly of them as to fear them. The imagination should never overmaster the heart. . . . No one overpasses the narrow limits of humanity. All have their imperfections, some in the intellect, some in the disposition.

183. *Do not hold your opinions all too firmly.*—Every blockhead is thoroughly persuaded that he is in the right, and every one who is all too firmly persuaded is a blockhead, and the more erroneous is his judgment the greater is the tenacity with which he holds it.

184. *Do not be devoted to ceremonies and etiquette.*— . . . The robe of folly is woven of such things.

185. *Never stake your credit on one single cast.*— . . . Things depend upon all sorts of chances. That is why the felicity of success is so rare.

186. *Know faults when you see them, however high they may stand in public estimation.*—Rectitude should not mistake vice, even when it clothes itself in brocade—nay, it will sometimes even wear a crown of gold, and not be able the more for that to hide its evil. . . . Vices may well be highly placed, but that will not make them high and splendid.

190. *Find some consolation in everything.*—Even useless people may find it in the fact of their being immortal. There is no trouble without its comfort. The stupid have the advantage of being fortunate, and the ugly woman is proverbially so. The best means to live long is to be worth little. It is the cracked vessel which never gets broken. . . . To the unfortunate man it seems that both good luck and death (la suerte e la muerte) conspire to forget him.

191. *Do not be carried away by excessive courtesy, for it is a kind of deceit.*—There are some people who, in order to bewitch, do not need the herbs of Thessaly, for they enchant and turn the head of the stupid by the mere grace with which they take off their caps.

192. *A man of great peace, a man of long life.*— . . . The peaceful-minded do not only live, they reign. Hear, see, but be silent. The day that passes without dispute brings peaceful sleep in the night.

194. *Have reasonable views about yourself and your affairs, especially at the commencement of life.*

195. *Understand how to value.*—There is no one who cannot be the teacher of another in something. . . . To understand how to pluck the fruits of every one is a useful science.

198. *Know how to transplant yourself.*— . . . Their native land is everywhere stepmotherly towards extraordinary talents. . . . The statue on the altar is never properly reverenced by him who has known it as a trunk in the garden.

200. *Have something left to wish for, so as not to be unhappy from very happiness.*— . . . If there is nothing to desire, there is everything to fear.

201. *They are all fools who seem to be so, and half of those who do not.*— . . . Yet the greatest fool is he who thinks that he is not one, and that everybody else is.

202. *Words and deeds make a perfected man.*— . . . Words are the shadows of deeds, the first feminine, the second masculine, in their nature.

203. *Know the great men of your century.*—There are not many of them. There is one Phœnix in a whole world. You have a great captain, a consummate orator, a sage, in a century; a really illustrious king in many centuries. . . . Many have taken the title of "the Great" from Cæsar and Alexander, but in vain, for without deeds words are nothing but a little air. There have been but few Senecas, and fame has told but of one Apelles.

204. *The easy should be undertaken as if it were difficult, and the difficult as if it were easy;* in the one case in order that confidence should not be put off her guard, in the other that she may not become faint of heart.

205. *Know how to play the card of contempt.*— . . . It is a firm maxim of the wise never to defend themselves with the pen, for such a defence leaves a mark, and tends more to the glorification of the opponent than to the punishment of his boldness. . . . Presumptuous persons dream of making themselves eternal by setting fire to the wonders of the world and of the centuries.

206. *Know that there are vile and vulgar natures everywhere, even in Corinth.*— . . . All folly is vulgarity, and the vulgar is composed of fools.

210. *Know how to play the card of truth.*—It is a dangerous thing, yet the honest man cannot omit to speak it, but in saying it art is wanted.

213. *Understand the art of contradiction.*— . . . An affected doubt is the most subtle pick-lock which curiosity can employ to find out what it wants to know.

214. *Do not turn one piece of stupidity into two.*—It is very common in remedying one to commit four others.

218. . . . There are people who out of everything make a little war —the very brigands of social intercourse. . . . The only way to manage with monsters of this kind is to flee from them, even to the Antipodes, for the barbarism of the people there is better than their wild-beastishness.

223. *Neither from affectation nor carelessness be all too individual and eccentric.*

224. *Understand how not to take things against the grain, however they come.*

227. *Do not be the slave of first impressions.*—There are people who marry the very first account they hear, so that all the accounts that follow come to them only as concubines.

229. *Know how to divide your life prudently: not as chance would have it, but with foresight and choice.*— . . . The first day's journey of a noble life should be passed in conversing with the dead. We live to know and to know ourselves, and books faithfully used make us men. The second day's journey should be passed with the living, in seeing and noting all that is good in the world. Everything is not found in one country. The Father of all has divided His gifts, and sometimes has most richly dowered a land which is ugly. On the third day's journey a man should belong wholly to himself. The last felicity is to philosophize.

232. *Have just a touch of the trader about you.*—Life should not be all contemplation; there should be action as well. . . . Let the prudent man accordingly take care to have something of the trader, just enough not to be cheated, and so to become a laughing-stock.

235. *Know how to ask.*—There are some people in dealing with whom nothing is so difficult, and some in dealing with whom nothing is so easy.

237. *Never share the secrets of your superiors.*—You may think that you are going to share pears with them, but you will only share pebbles. Many have perished because they were confidants. Such people are like spoons made of bread, and run the same risk afterwards that these do. It is no favour in a prince to communicate to you a secret; he does so to relieve the fulness of his heart. Many have broken the mirror because it has made them aware of their ugliness. We do not like to see a person who has had an opportunity to see through us, and he is not seen with pleasure who has seen evil in him that sees him.

238. *We should know what quality we want.*

239. *Do not be intensely acute and subtle.*—It is more important to be prudent. . . . Better is a good solid head which does not invent and imagine more than just what the matter in hand amounts to.

241. *Bear raillery; but do not practise it.*— . . . The very gravest matters have constantly arisen out of a jest.

242. *Push advantages.*— . . . Let the prudent man strike down his quarry, and not be satisfied merely with flushing it.

243. . . . . Unite in yourself the dove and the serpent, not as a monster, but as a prodigy.

248. *Do not let the last person who speaks to you always carry you with him.*—There are people ever dependent on the last report, whose folly goes beyond all bounds. Their thinking and willing is of wax; the last person who approaches them fixes his seal on them and obliterates all his predecessors.

250. . . . Not all praise of a thing is speaking well of it, for some praise likewise the bad in order that they may not praise the good. For him for whom nothing is bad, nothing will be good either.

251. *Procure and use human remedies as if there were no divine ones, and divine remedies as if there were no human ones.*

252. *Do not belong wholly to yourself nor wholly to other people.*— . . . He who holds a public office must be a public slave.

254. *Do not despise an evil because it is small;* they never come alone, but are linked together just like happinesses. Fortune and misfortune usually go thither where there is already the most of either.

255. *Know how to do good to people a little at a time and often.*

257. *Never let matters come to a breach with any one,* for our reputation always comes injured out of anything of the kind. Every one is of importance as an enemy, though not as a friend. Few can do good to us, and almost all can do harm. The eagle himself does not nestle securely in the very bosom of Jove the day on which he has quarrelled with a beetle.

258. *Look out for some one who may assist you in bearing misfortune.*— . . . It is for that reason that the sagacious physician, if he has failed in the cure, does not fail in looking out for some one who, under the name of a consultation, may help him to carry out the coffin.

262. *Be able to forget; it is more a piece of good fortune than an art.*—We remember best the things adapted to be forgotten. . . . Often the

only remedy for our ills consists in forgetting them; and we forget the remedy. It is well, however, to fashion ourselves to so convenient a habit, for it is enough to give happiness, or hell.

264. *Have no days of carelessness.*—Destiny loves to play tricks, and will pile chance on chance to take us unawares.

266. *Do not become bad out of pure goodness.*—He is so who never gets angry.

269. *Know how to make use of your novelty;* for so long as any one is new he is prized. . . . Observe, however, that this glory of novelty is of short duration. After four days people will lose their respect for it.

273. *Comprehend the dispositions of those with whom you have to deal.*— . . . Know how to decipher a countenance and to spell out the soul from the features. Recognise in him who always laughs a fool, and in him who never laughs a knave (conozca al que siempre rie por *falto*, y al que nunca por *falso*).

281. *Know how to obtain the favour of men of understanding.*—The lukewarm Yes of a remarkable man is more to be esteemed than all the applause of the multitude. . . . The judicious Antigonus reduced the theatre of his fame to Zeno alone, and Plato called Aristotle his whole school.

292. *Use absence to make yourself more respected or valued.*— . . . Even the Phœnix avails itself of its retirement to be admired, and of the desire which its absence creates to be highly prized.

297. *Always act as if you were full in view.*—He is a man of insight who sees that he is seen, or that he will be seen.

286. . . . Some people are born more fortunate than others. Such are able to do good, while others can only receive it. . . . The sole real convenience of power is to be able to do more good.

288. . . . The wise man knows that the very pole-star of prudence consists in conforming to the occasion.

298. *Three things make a prodigy and are the highest gift of Heaven's liberality.*—A fruitful intellect, a profound judgment, a pleasant and elevated taste. . . . At twenty years of age the will rules; at thirty the intellect; at forty the judgment. There are intelligences which ray out light like the eyes of the lynx, and always are clearest where there is the greatest darkness.

300. *In one word be a saint.*—So is all said at once. Virtue is the common bond of all perfections, and the centre of all felicities. She makes a man discreet, circumspect, sagacious, prudent, sage, brave, reflective, honest, happy, accommodating, truthful, and a universal hero. Three SSS render a man happy, Sanctity, Soundness of body, and Sageness. Virtue is the sun of the microcosm or lesser world, and has for hemisphere a good conscience. She is so beautiful that she finds favour with God and man. Nothing is loveable but virtue, and nothing detestable but vice. Virtue alone is serious, and all else is but jest. One should measure capacity and greatness according to virtue, and not according to the circumstances of fortune. Virtue alone is sufficient to herself; she makes men loveable in life and memorable in death.

From the above the reader may form a perfectly just idea of the teaching of Gracian.

Mr. Buckle, who devotes to him two lines, observes that he was once considered a great writer, and it is just possible that in spite of his extraordinarily compressed style, more avaricious of words than any I know, some may think that they who considered him to be a great writer were not quite wrong.

Those who look into his book for themselves will find here and there a maxim which will remind them of the age in which he lived, as the subject of Philip II., Philip III., and Philip IV., but such exceptional cases are rare, and most people will rise from the perusal of the work understanding much better how Spain became great, than how she fell. It ought to be remembered, too, that, as I have already said, the maxims were not collected into one whole by Gracian himself, but by his friend, Lastanosa, to whom also is to be attributed the proud, though perhaps not too proud, title.

It would possibly be rather difficult to disprove the thesis that the Spanish nation has produced the best maxims of practical wisdom, the best proverbs, the best epitaph, and the best motto in the world.

If I had to sustain it, I would point with reference to the first head to the *Oraculo Manual*. For the second, any one who knows Ford's Handbook would hardly require me to produce a proof. In support of the third I would quote the epitaph of Columbus:

"A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo mundo dió Colon;"[1]

while, in support of the fourth, I would adduce the cognizance which was given to Sebastian de Elcano, who brought back to the ports of Spain Magellan's Expedition, viz. the globe with the motto, "Primus circumdedisti me." Unless, indeed, I chose that of St. Francis Borgia, who took the same cognizance with the words, "Todo es poco."

I do not, however, for a moment assert that the Spaniards are in these kinds of writing superior to all their neighbours, but I do think that their performances in them and some other branches of literature deserve a greater amount of appreciation and more study than they usually receive. Sad that they should so nearly fulfil the popular idea of Charles II., in saying so many wise, and doing so many foolish things!

M. E. GRANT DUFF.

(1) Washington Irving quotes it—

"Por Castilla y por Leon
Nuevo mundo halló Colon."

## THE AGE OF REASON.

Mr. Leslie Stephen has written two volumes which are no less weighty than interesting, called a History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. Known hitherto as a writer of short essays on social and literary subjects, Mr. Stephen has here turned to an undertaking, in point of extent requiring research and sustained labour, and in point of matter requiring no small amount of philosophical training. It is not too much to say that he has met both these requirements in a degree which will be a surprise to those who had only known him as wise rather than learned, shrewd and witty rather than industrious. The mere list of books read over by the author, many of them not easy reading, is formidable enough of itself. The mastery of the material evinced is proof of a capacity for continuous and comprehensive thinking.

The tone is throughout one of perfect taste. There is not the smallest trace of the vulgar ribaldry and London slang which give piquancy to the treatment of serious subjects by the evening papers. Impartiality is secured by a mental attitude which is obviously outside all religious parties. It would indeed be difficult to ascribe to Mr. Leslie Stephen any intellectual bias. A fastidious taster might pretend to detect a slight flavour of the nothing-true-and-it-don't-signify generation among which we have been brought up. This is a taint—the taint of "the way we talk now"—which it is difficult for any of us entirely to wash out. It cleaves to our expression even after we have succeeded in banishing it from our thoughts as unworthy. It is possible that a shadow of the fashionable cynicism here and there flits across Mr. Stephen's page, but if it be there at all, it is but a passing shadow. He does not habitually quiz the subject he is expounding, or talk with condescending pity of Lord Bacon or Sir Isaac Newton. He is always serious, never enlisted as a partisan, though often refuting controversialists. He may not be earnestly zealous in behalf of truth, but he is a watchful guardian of the rights of reason. Writing of the eighteenth century—the rationalist century—Mr. Stephen is eminently rational; he applies the standard of common sense to every opinion that offers. We have no *à priori* system thrust upon us at every turn, no doctrine preached at us, no political nostrum for the regeneration of society advertised under the guise of a history. In Mr. Leslie Stephen's pages we seem to breathe the free air of common reason uninfected by the sickly miasmata generated by local or temporary party.

If to be in sympathy with the age of which he treats is a prime

qualification for a historian, Mr. Leslie Stephen is specially qualified to be the historian of the eighteenth century in being thus entirely rational. There are other periods of history for which a speculative metaphysical mind, or a poetical imagination, or a sympathy with ascetic and contemplative spiritualism would be the qualities demanded. What the "Aufklärung" requires in its historian is primarily only an enlightened mind, free of social and religious shackles, submitting everything to the test of the common understanding, as informed by the ready experience of the social man who lives and lets live. I once proposed the designation of "seculum rationalisticum" for the eighteenth century, not knowing when I did so that some one else had so named it before me. It is still the best epithet I can think of. As far as a single word can do, the word "rationalist" points to the characteristic of the eighteenth century—the characteristic which must be to its historian the key to its "thought."

It is in vain now to raise a protest against the use of the word "Thought" in the sense in which Mr. Leslie Stephen has employed it in his title-page. A new conception has emerged in the historical sphere, and a new word was wanted for it. But new words are not easily got into our language on this side of the Atlantic. So when a new idea demands a name an old word has to be misused, to the confusion of speaker and hearer alike. Our ancestors in the last century had thoughts, and in composition they "glitt'ring thoughts struck out at every line;" or in the singular they could speak of "some unmeaning thing they call'd a thought." They even used the word in the abstract sense of intellectual operation, and as opposed to feeling: "chaos of thought and reason, all confus'd!" But we now speak of modern thought, or Greek thought, or English thought of any given period, to denote a conception of much greater complexity.

What this new conception is, for which, it seems, our language can only provide a name already in employment for other purposes, may, perhaps, best be explained by putting "thought" side by side with "philosophy." It is not possible to draw a clear line between the two regions, one of which is designated philosophy and the other thought. Yet the province of a history of philosophy is very different from the province of a history of thought. The latter province, that of thought, is more comprehensive than the former. Philosophy is a special form of thinking, directed upon a very limited class of objects. It concerns itself with ideas called metaphysical, such as cause, law, nature, space and time, God, and the ultimate ground of things. Only a very few persons in each generation occupy themselves with philosophy. But all mankind have thoughts of some kind or other, and every individual his own

thoughts. We express our thought in many modes; specially in act, in speaking, in writing, in poetry, in art, in science, in philosophy.

To investigate all these modes of expression, to elicit from each the thoughts which are sought to be expressed, and to reduce these thoughts to a few leading ideas—this is the task which a historian of "English thought" sets himself. It is an appalling task! For it is nothing less than a history of statesmanship, of politics, of ethics and religion, of philosophy, literature, science, art, fine and industrial, education, economics—all in one. Even should the historian of thought limit himself to a single century, it may well be asked, Is one man's life long enough to examine and catalogue all the materials which a century so prolific as the eighteenth has left behind it? Histories of each of these provinces—histories of religion, morals, politics, science, art, &c.—we have. But who will undertake a history of all these forms of thinking taken together, and at once?

The answer to this challenge—a challenge which seems to assume that the task is an impossible one, and therefore that the undertaking is presumptuous—will easily present itself. The historian of thought does not pretend to set out at length the concrete facts in each of the departments of thinking which I have specified. He is the historian not of phenomena, but of ideas. He investigates the varied phenomena of expression in order to elicit from them the common thoughts which underlie all the phenomena. This residuum of regulative ideas—the ideas which any given age has busied itself in developing, the ideas of which all its words and works have been but the efflux—will pack into very narrow compass. The business of the historian of thought is to find this central idea, to elicit it out of the tangled skein of politics, and the prolix effusions of the press, the platform, and the pulpit. If there be such governing ideas, and if they can be discovered, the pages which shall register them need not be many. The objection that the history of thought is too gigantic an undertaking for any one man may fairly be retorted against the historian of facts. To speak only of the eighteenth century and of civilised Europe, the facts recounted for us about it are so numerous, and its literary remains so voluminous, that to retail them for our benefit may well seem a task too appalling for the longest life of the most laborious man. On the other hand, to evaporate the facts until they leave behind only their metaphysical essence, to pass through the fleeting phenomena to their ideal causes, this process, though it may demand peculiar powers of philosophical analysis, does not seem one of impossible magnitude or overwhelming labour.

A history of events, then, is impossible, for the world could not

hold the books which should be written. A history of thought is not impossible in point of mere bulk. But are there any such thoughts? Can events, ways, words, and works of men be referred to their generative notions? Is there such a "fountain fresh" from which wells out all that "the sons of flesh shall gather in the cycling times"?

A history of thought implies this theory: "that all the branches of human activity are allied developments of some few governing thoughts." If this theory is not tenable, a philosophy of history is not possible.

Is history thus reducible to a few propositions which are its simplest expression? Are all the varied doings and sayings of any generation an efflux of its leading ideas?

This is capable of being questioned, and has been denied. It has been argued that the world is made up of societies, that societies are made up of individuals, and individuals again are a compound of restless appetites, tossing passions, fancies, and illusions; that whim and caprice account for nine-tenths of human action; that history is a piteous imbroglio, a commingling of Chaos and Erebus, where anything may happen, and where the most unlikely things are the most likely. History is the kingdom of Dinos; Zeus has no place there. Historical phenomena are so essentially individual, that they are incapable of being generalised; so variable, that there is no instruction to be gathered from them. History never repeats itself, as we never step twice into the same river. To this theory, which, for the sake of a name, may be called Abderitism, stands opposed a theory equally extreme and exclusive on the other side. From Hegel's point of view the stream of events is nothing but the outer manifestation of a dialectic process, a rhythmic movement, an ebb and flow of thought from synthesis to differentiation, and back again to a higher synthesis. In the onward stride of its logically necessitated course, the idea tramples on men, their rights, and their feelings, without remorse. Justice is eminently poetical, for it is not to be found in history. In Abderitism the idea has no existence; the individual is the be-all and end-all. In Hegelianism men are only evanescent and inconsiderable accidents; the variety of event, the play of human character, are divested of all interest and importance, being absorbed in the onward and fatal march of the one impersonal Idea.

These two extreme systems of historical theory probably do not now, nor could they ever, attract much attention or gain many adherents. In spite of much that is plausible that may be urged in favour of Abderitism, it is not possible to suppress the suspicion that some generalisations may be safely drawn from historical facts. Most thinking men have probably convinced themselves that thought

does stand in some causative relation to event, however large may be the chapter of accidents to be allowed for. On the other hand, the Hegelian fatalistic process has, *primâ facie*, a paradoxical look which keeps it from finding favour in a working world. The theory, indeed, is not really absurd—it is only an inverted way of looking at things—but it looks absurd to average intelligence, and men turn from it in search of considerations which promise to be more fruit-bringing.

These two systems of Abderitism and Hegelianism represent the extreme possibilities of thought, on the side of fortuitous concurrence, or on the side of absolute law. It is in the middle region between these two extremes that are found all those various views of the course of history which are, or have been at some time, popular. There is, indeed, no subject which has been more fertile in crude and easily formed generalisations than this of the course of history. There is scarcely any one of all these theories which has not some plausibility, which does not explain some facts, and which does not place itself in the wrong by propounding itself as an explanation of all the facts.

Of these partial theories which have claimed to be philosophies of history two deserve especial notice. Each of them has figured as part of popular belief at one time, and both of them survive to the present day. These two are the theory of the progress of humanity, and the theory of national extinction.

The old theory of the successive extinction of empires was partly Greek and partly Christian. With the Greek philosophers this theory had arisen from a loose analogy which was held to exist between the life of the individual and the life of the nation. As an individual life begins with birth, advances through adolescence to the full strength of manhood, then sinks through the decay of age to death; so have states the same necessary stages of growth, decay, and destruction. Some states, like some men, are more long-lived than others, but in all cases a body politic was a body of death, which carried within it the seeds of corruption. The philosophers, Plato in the fourth century B.C., and Montesquieu in the eighteenth century A.D., occupied themselves in investigating the moral causes of this dissolution and corruption of the life of states. This historical philosophy, originated by the Greek political writers, received in the fifth century A.D. a strong reinforcement from Christian doctrine and speculation. The theory of the life of societies coalesced with the theological doctrine of the fall of man. The instability of states was a consequence of the inherent corruption, a corruption not of the individual, but of the species. In vain had Plato sought to eliminate evil by a State education; the City of God could not be realised out of the existing materials; it was projected into an ideal future, into

the millennium, which was for the saints alone. The theory of the decay of states was finally consolidated by the prophetic conception borrowed from the Jewish Scriptures of the succession of empires, and the narrow induction of Aristotle, circumscribed as it was both in space and time, was expanded into an induction which covered the whole of known history.

This theory of the decay of nations as the inevitable law of history held its ground till long after the Renaissance. It was not till the seventeenth century that the antagonist theory of Progress began to dawn upon thought. The history of this notion, that of progressive civilisation, would form by itself a long, and not the least interesting, chapter in the history of the eighteenth century "thought." Long before it was brought out in explicit terms by Lessing and popularised by Herder, the theory of progress had been in the air. The mere fact that, though the Roman empire had perished, new political organisms had emerged from the ruins, supplied the ready induction that though the law of history for single states was death, society lived on. Bodin had even anticipated Lessing, and the Baconian aphorism, "Antiquitas seculi juventus mundi," is pregnant with the new doctrine. Notwithstanding these symptoms of a new philosophy of history, it may still be said that the doctrine of the seventeenth century was, and remained, that the whole course of the race was a downward course of degradation. The superiority of classical civilisation over that of modern states was, on the whole, as much the faith of the statesmen and legists, as the superior purity of the Christianity of the apostolic age was the faith of the divines. The doctrine of "the ascent of man" was the antithesis of the doctrine of "the fall of man," and could not, therefore, make itself heard till the hold of theology over the mind of the West was loosened. The doctrine of progress may be found in books—in Bodin's *République*, for example—buried in pages only consulted by a few learned readers. It did not emerge into society, or become part of the formative thought of civilised nations, until the way had been prepared by a concurrence of independent conditions. Long before it was put into words by Lessing, long before it was a conscious thought, it was in the will and temper of more than one generation of men. The movement itself onward may be said to have been felt before it was named—progress. The theory came in as the crown and finish of the whole tendency of thought and sentiment which had been forming itself during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Before a faith in the perfectibility of human society could emerge in consciousness, it was necessary that the depressing doctrine of human corruption, the creed of the Adamic curse, which had dominated Christendom, Catholic and Protestant alike, should have given way. A general confidence in the human

mind and its powers had been growing ever since the close of the Thirty Years' War. Faith in humanity gradually rose as faith in the ecclesiastical tradition declined. Of the misery and desolation which the religious wars had inflicted upon Europe, Calvinistic pessimism had been the natural expression. Philosophical optimism was as naturally the expression of the desire to live and enjoy which gradually diffused itself over the West, dating from 1648. The gospel of progress supplanted the church doctrine of original sin. The new doctrine was promulgated by Herder and by Kant simultaneously; popularised by Herder in the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, 1784—87, and more carefully elaborated in a scholastic dissertation by Kant, *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte*, 1784. Before either of these books was written, the notion had already become a part of that circulating medium of unconscious idea which the historian of thought has to exhibit. The different treatment which the same idea met with in the three western nations is highly characteristic of each. In Germany the theory was sublimated into an obscure metaphysic, useless but harmless. In France the same theory attempted to be imposed on facts became—the Revolution. The Englishman, when at last he apprehended an idea so abstract as progress, set about laboriously proving it by collecting facts, and it became—Darwinism.

To draw out the history of this theory of progress from its first germ to its final expansion into the all-embracing doctrine of evolution is one of the tasks incumbent on the historian of eighteenth-century thought. For both in the region of speculation and in that of events the theory played a conspicuous part in the last century, though it is in the present that it has raised itself from a theory of society to be the form of thought dominating our whole conception of the universe. Mr. Leslie Stephen says, "It would not be extravagant to say Mr. Darwin's observations upon the breeds of pigeons have had a reaction upon the structure of European society." I would not wish to seem to cavil at an epigram. But the experiment on the breeds of pigeons was only the English reception given to an idea long before launched from Königsberg, and in its passage to our shores exploding the monarchy in France.

The nineteenth century entered into possession like an old Roman emperor, by outraging the memory of its predecessor. "The nineteenth century," says Strauss, "came into a rich heritage, but never was heir more ungrateful to the donor of the bequest." For the first fifty years of our century every one who pretended to think or to talk had to profess an unmeasured contempt for the eighteenth century. In order to get a hearing when you mounted the platform you must spit in the face of "the bankrupt century which ended by committing suicide." Its favourite terms became a byword;

"enlightened" was an epithet of reproach. It had substituted the guess-work of general consequences for moral principle, the expedient for the right. The flat and prosaic rationalism of the Aufklärung was the butt of all the young philosophy of the day. Nor was it only the young philosophy which repudiated Voltairianism; the greatest teachers of the age were equally emphatic in bidding us pass over that page of our history as one from which we had nothing to learn. Coleridge and Carlyle agreed in leaping over the Georgian era as a desert in which were no wells of "thought." Coleridge found wisdom in Jeremy Taylor or Leighton, and held up Paley to scorn. Even Carlyle spoke of the "philosophe-century" as the end; the end of "a social system fallen into rottenness, rain-holes, and decay." The reaction at first seemed content to halt at the reign of Elizabeth, as the only historical ancestry it would claim. It repudiated Milton, but accepted for a time Spenser and Shakspeare. But it was only for a time. The Elizabethan age was at most lukewarm. The hated light had begun to dawn, and it could not be concealed that the germs of rationalism were to be found in Hooker. In its search of warmth without light, the reaction, passing with averted face the Reformation and the Renaissance, threw itself into the arms of the Middle Ages—the ages of faith. The poetical mysticism of patristic exegesis supplanted the literal and unedifying criticism of the rationalist school. Indeed, of the literature of the Middle Ages, even when the fathers were taken in, much could not be made. The great name of Thomas Aquinas brandished before the eyes might dazzle for a passing effect, but his pages were not reproducible. To be understood, Aquinas required an acquaintance with Aristotle which the reaction did not possess, and could not acquire, for Aristotle is the incarnate Reason. If, however, the reaction found in the Middle Ages but a scanty supply of literature, this was more than made up for in the domain of art. The furore of mediævalism broke out in the painter's studio as pre-Raphaelitism; as architecture it covered the country with Gothic villas and "restored" Gothic churches. The architecture of an age is the most complete index of the mind of the age. In the architecture of the Gothic revival we read the decay and enfeeblement of reason. Rhythm, harmony, proportion, unity of design, correspondence of parts, are no longer demanded. Law and purpose have been replaced by caprice and imitation. It was not the religious reaction only that tried to remove itself from all complicity with the despised century; artists and philosophers, poets and upholsterers, all strove to think and to make, as unlike their grandfathers as it was possible.

It is, perhaps, premature even in 1877 to speak of the epoch of the romantic and catholic reaction as over. It is not ended; it is in many

departments of life in full career; but it is doomed. It was a reaction, and nothing more. It was the just and necessary penalty which the human mind had to pay for the excesses and exaggeration of the eighteenth century. It was not only in the domain of fact, in the streets of Paris, and the excesses of the Terror that this exaggeration took place; the "polite age" egregiously over-estimated its own worth and caricatured its own principles. Not content with knowing itself to be in advance of the past, it pronounced the whole past worthless, rotten, fit only to be swept away. It had invented the new faith—faith in progress—and this faith rapidly developed into a blind fanaticism of intolerance. Rationalism, in its passionate self-assertion, ceased to be reasonable, and became an imperious and arrogant despot. The revolt against this arrogant self-satisfaction with its own perfections was inevitable, and the romantic reaction repaid with scorn and contumely the self-complacency of the Age of Reason. The generation which is now passing to the grave has lived through this period of revolt. In many departments of mind, in the discipline of character, in the loftiest manifestations of feeling, such as religion, philosophy, art, architecture, it has been fifty years lost. But the rights of the legitimate monarch—the sovereign reason—have only been in abeyance the while; they are inalienable. The vices of the eighteenth century were indeed many, but it was withal on the true line of human progress. It had the excess of its own qualities. We are suffering for its over-confidence in our present mood of depression and despondency. How mournfully does our cynical indifference, which yawns over its own utterances, contrast with the sure and steadfast gaze with which Kant, *e.g.*, looks forward towards an unknown future of unlimited conquest!

I have named Kant as a representative of this consciousness of progress. For the truth is that this yearning of the spirit for the years to come, this sense of waking at the dawn of day, when the night is past, was less perceptible in the English eighteenth century than in the French and German eighteenth century. And here it may not be out of place to make the observation, that it is not possible to place the history of English thought in a clear light without putting forward its relation to the contemporary thought of the progressive nations. Mr. Stephen has not attempted this. He can allege that one book cannot contain everything, nor one man write everything; and that to have tried to be all-comprehensive would have sacrificed the compactness and unity of his scheme. To this it would be replied, that English thought is not a whole number, but a fraction; that progress is one, and that the interest of its story lies in exhibiting this unity underneath the different aspects it presents in different countries.

Nor is this merely a question of literary method and completeness.

When once we propose to ourselves to write the history of thought, we are compelled to make some selection among the multitude of notions current at any given time. The historian of thought does not simply accumulate and reproduce all the thoughts he meets with in the books of the period. Mr. Leslie Stephen has not done this. He has not drifted into that laziest of all forms of book-making, that of filling pages with abstracts of books read. Such abstracts a college student may properly make for his own use, but they do not form a "history." The historian of thought endeavours, as I said before, to arrive at the few governing thoughts, those which controlled and regulated society. Pursuing his search after such regulative ideas, he will inevitably be led on to try to find the one supreme law which underlies again these ideas. For public opinion, proverbially shifting like the wind—the *popularis aura*—consists of many apparently independent cyclones, or centres of circular motion, which are yet obeying one common impulse and tending in one direction. This common factor of opinion, this supreme law, is not discernible, is apparently not operative, at all times and in all places. I have ventured to select the domination of reason, and faith in this supremacy, as the characteristic of the eighteenth century. Now this submission by common consent to the arbitration of reason is marked enough in English thought from 1688 to 1760, from Locke to Hume. It is the obvious characteristic of the whole deistical period. Both the deists and the Christian apologists agree that all that is said must stand or fall by the test of reason, "which is the only faculty we have to judge concerning anything, even revelation itself." In the latter half of the century, however, this supremacy of reason is obscured in England. Tradition seems to reassert its pre-eminence, we have appeals to the British constitution, history begins to preponderate over speculation, and unreasoning prejudice commands respect, where a Dr. Johnson is the arbiter of taste and letters. Just at the very epoch when reason is thus suffering eclipse in England, it emerges in France from under the cloud which had long veiled it. From 1660 to 1760, in France, power concentrated in the hands of the monarch, and fashion gathered about his court, had dried up all the sources of political and social interests throughout the country. Theological dispute was the only interest which had attraction for French intellect and force to stir public feeling. The literature of the "grand siècle," with all the finish and perfection of its form, is barren of ideas. The seed of rationalism had, indeed, been sown by Descartes, but it lay dormant in French soil for a hundred years. The *Discours de la Méthode* was published in 1637, and Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques* in 1733. The suppression by force of Protestantism and Jansenism crushed reason in its theological forms. It was precisely

during this period that reason was most vigorous in England. When after its secular slumber in France reason began to stir in Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais*, and produced the great fermentation in French thought which is marked by the names of Montesquieu, the Encyclopedists, and Rousseau, it was fast falling into disrepute and impotence in England. When, again, it had destroyed itself in France by its own excesses, it reappeared on German soil, not only in the splendid period of German literature and speculation, but as entirely transforming and remoulding the political condition of that country.

Thus England, France, Germany, appear merely as names of so many local theatres on which reason has successively appeared, claiming to be supreme and only arbiter of all controversies of speculation, of all the social relations of persons or classes. This conception, carried through the history of modern thought, would have given to Mr. Stephen's volumes that unity the want of which has been regretted by some of his critics. This disconnection may be partly due to the fact that some of the sections of his work were written as occasional papers, and have since been incorporated in this survey. The attempt to build in fragments of existing structures into a larger whole always gives rise to some inequality in the architectural design. If this want of unity be alleged as a blemish, the author is entitled to set off as a merit that his series of studies is thus free from the shackles of any *à priori* conception. He may plead the danger to which a theory of history exposes the historian—the danger, namely, of pressing the facts into his service instead of exhibiting them as they are.

It is not, however, merely with the object of giving some consistence or cohesion to the facts that a theory of historical progress is assumed. The philosophy of history, little as it may be entitled to the appellation of a philosophy, is yet something more than a mere colligation of facts. There is not one of the current schemes of progress which does not pretend to be more than a hypothesis which does not offer itself as an explanation. To take a familiar example. No form of presenting modern history is more popular than that which makes of it a drama, having for its plot the emancipation of the human mind from the dominion of the priesthood. According to this favourite conception, the course of thought is described as the conflict of science and religion, or the warfare of science. Our positive knowledge is stated to be constantly accumulating in quantity and in evidence, and encroaching upon the catholic tradition, the limits of which grow narrower and its force less with each successive generation. The struggle began at the Reformation, or in the previous century, but first emerged into consciousness in the eighteenth century. The Voltairian era, with its motto, "Écrasez l'infâme," first formulated the antagonism of Phi-

losophy and Catholicism, which had been blindly working all along in the later Middle Age, the Renaissance, and the Reformation. This system is so well known as to need no further description. If proof of its prevalence were required, it might be given in the circumstance that Comte adopted its contradictory. A favourite method of philosophising with Auguste Comte was to take a current maxim of received philosophy, to assert its contradictory, and then to proclaim that he had "established a law." The Voltairian or "anarchical" philosophy of the age had held that science was growing more and more, and superstition diminishing. Hereupon Comte established, as the one law of the development of humanity, "Man is ever becoming more religious." Though Positivism represents the present stage of human history as a transition period, or anarchy, the popular creed is that it is only one stage in the onward march, never interrupted, and that this Progress is represented by the perennial cause, Science *v.* Theology, in the pleading of which, point after point is contested by the defendant, and invariably adjudged in favour of the plaintiff. Our history is presented to us in this "cadre" in special books, such as Draper's Conflict of Science and Religion, or White's Warfare of Science. Even our general histories fall into the same lines, and we may, perhaps, say that this conception is the habitual attitude of the mind of all educated men in our day.

This representation of Progress as the gradual wearing away of the rock of the Church by the ocean of Science is something more than a hypothesis; it cannot be denied that it approximately represents the facts. As such a conditional representation it may be allowably employed as the framework of modern history. Especially does it seem to fit the eighteenth century like a glove. At least of literature and polite society in France and England this sentiment seems to be the one characteristic. We may even seem to ourselves to be able to apportion different shades of the sentiment to the two countries. In England the attack was on the Christian religion; in France it was the priest who was the object of detestation. Our Bishop Butler's complaint is that "it is taken for granted that religion is untrue; that men ridicule and vilify Christianity, and take all occasions to manifest a scorn and contempt of revelation" (1736). The form of the same sentiment which calls forth the plaudits of a French theatre is the well-known couplet in *Mahomet* (1742)—

> "Nos prêtres ne sont pas ce qu'un vain peuple pense,
> Notre crédulité fait toute leur science."

It is true that complaints abound in English books of an earlier date than the *Analogy* of the contempt into which the clergy had fallen before the end of the seventeenth century. Notwithstand-

ing Mr. Babington's well-meant attempt to disprove Macaulay's statement, the picture drawn in the *History of England* is, I believe, little, if at all, exaggerated. Indeed, it will be difficult to select even from the language of Macaulay, always a little heated, stronger terms than are used by South (1698):—

"If we consider the treatment of the clergy in these nations since Popery was driven out, both as to the language and usage which they find from most about them, I do, from all that I have read, heard, or seen, confidently aver that there is no nation or people under heaven, Christian or not Christian, which despise, hate, and trample upon their clergy comparably to the English. So that as matters have been carried, it is really no small argument of the predominance of conscience over interest, that there are yet parents who can be willing to breed up any of their sons, if hopefully endowed, to so discouraged and discouraging a profession."—*Sermons*, vol. v.

But it will be observed that the contempt of the clergy, which is the burden of so many a clerical pamphlet in the England of the end of the seventeenth century, is a very different sentiment from the "écrasez l'infâme" of the encyclopedists in the France of the eighteenth century. The degradation of the Protestant parson in England was social and political. The ministry was not a profession for a gentleman. In France the Church was largely recruited from the noblesse, and the best abbeys and bishoprics were the regular provision for the younger sons of great houses. The clergy were not despised, but hated and feared as a priesthood. It was the power and pretensions of a caste dangerous to society which edged against them the weapons of the press which they strove to silence.

It is not necessary to follow this sentiment across the Rhine, and to see it reproduced, under the forms of philosophy and learning, in Reimarus or Lessing. There can be no doubt that, if we confine our view to the eighteenth century, we may describe the period with entire propriety as the consummation of the revolt of the intellect against the Church, which was begun in Protestantism, or rather in Wycliffism.

But notwithstanding the ease and completeness with which the history of thought in the eighteenth century can be brought within the framework of this conception, it will be found on closer study of the time to be, after all, only a superficial phenomenon itself requiring explanation. Both terms of the expression Science *v.* Religion require enlargement or call for analysis. It is soon seen that Catholicism was only one of many resisting forces. In 1778 Voltaire wrote, "L'arrêt que le parlement de Paris a rendu en 1764, l'édit du roi en 1775 contre ces abus" (burial in cities) "aussi dangereux qu'infâmes, n'ont pu être exécutées, tant l'habitude et la sottise ont de force contre la raison, et contre les lois!" Reason was far from triumphant in the France of 1778; it had to yield to "l'habitude et la sottise," as well as to the clergy. The resisting

force was a social power of which the Church was only the most prominent figure. It owed this prominence not by any means to its greater unreason, but to a combination of causes. Among the circumstances which designated the Church for the point of attack by the philosophers, was that political abuses were only assailable under that disguise. The government and the parliament of Paris were each excessively jealous of their own power, and would not allow it to be questioned even in a whisper. But the government only cared for the Church so far as it was a bulwark of its own position. And the wealth of the Church and its immunity from taxation constituted a permanent temptation to the civil power. Afraid to enact the part of Henry VIII., the government of France was not wholly unwilling to see the Church brought within the net of the spoiler by the literary assault. The criminal jurisprudence of France was almost identical with that of the Inquisition (Morley, *Voltaire*, p. 216). But it was impossible to hint a fault in the criminal jurisprudence, so the philosophers contented themselves with exposing the cruelty and wickedness of the inquisitorial procedure. If. Morellet had two months' Bastile in connection with this affair, it was not for the direct attack on the Inquisition, but for a reflection upon a noble dame let fall *en passant*.

The reaction against the eighteenth century is not over, but the time has come when it is possible to do historical justice to its memory. And it is not too much to say that no century of the modern world has done more for humanity than the eighteenth century. There is no doubt that *our* century, the nineteenth, has made a vast stride in the direction which the theory of Progress requires. It has done so in great measure because it had the eighteenth century as its starting point, inherited its ideas, absorbed its thought, and has its experience stored for its own use. Looking at the three-fourths of its existence which already lie before us, I think we must say that the development of the nineteenth century has been very unequal. In some departments our age has made more progress than any age whose records are preserved. In abstract science, not only has every science been carried to a point far beyond what had been hitherto attained, but new sciences of wide scope and profound significance—chemistry, biology, electricity, geology—have formed in consciousness. In the application of science to the arts, in industrial activity, commercial enterprise, organisation of credit, geographical discovery, and consequent colonisation, the achievements of no age can for a moment compare with those of our own. Material conquest of the earth's surface and products is the just boast of the nineteenth century. Pursuing the same fancy of nomenclature which named the eighteenth century "seculum rationalisticum," we might propose the epithet "realisticum" for the nineteenth.

When, however, we turn from these material triumphs of intellect to examine humanity as socially embodied, the evidence of progress becomes much less distinct. The mere increase of population is found to bring with it evils undreamt of before—serious in the present, but with an outlook for the future which seems to disconcert all the calculations of the Progressist. The machinery of comfort at our command is greatly improved. But, just in proportion as it has improved, it has grown more complex. And greater complexity is greater costliness, and greater liability to derangement. To live at all is a struggle; to keep within reach of the material advantages which it is the boast of our century to have provided is a competition in which only the strong can succeed—the many fail. Refinement in the individual intensifies the pains of life, and refinement in society multiplies the things which it is necessary to sweep out of sight. Prosperity means the rapid growth of population; and numbers mean an internecine fight for a share in the earth's produce. Thus a prolonged prosperity is necessarily suicidal, and progress inevitably destroys itself by mere progression.

In point of social comfort and enjoyment, the diffusion of wealth is of more importance than its accumulation; the possession of a share in so much of it as is going, is more than that there should be a better sort of it obtainable by the few. From this point of view the reign of George II. is, perhaps, the most prosperous season that England ever experienced. The uniformly diffused well-being of the community in the first half of the eighteenth century compares advantageously with the contrasts of overgrown riches and degraded pauperism which constitute our society. The nineteenth century has made enormous progress, granted. But the progress has been attended with a diminution in the dividend of social happiness receivable by each shareholder, although the gross amount available for distribution has been larger. This has been the fact; and theory shows that the fact was to have been anticipated as the natural consequence of progress.

But the economic tests of a thriving population are not the only tests of social welfare. Wealth and comfort, were they equably diffused, are only the material conditions which support civilisation. On paper, and in the positive scheme, the sciences and the arts develop first, and found sociology and morals. They should do so; but in the history of Europe we cannot trace this law of development. The problem of balancing the social good and social evil of one generation against those of another is a difficult, if not impossible one. I am not going to attempt to measure the degree of moral progress which our English society has made in the last hundred years. Our own evils are known to us, and under the load of them, against which we struggle in vain, we are likely to think that evil is accumulative,

and that former ages were more virtuous than we are. While statistics of material progress are indisputable, statistics of crime are, I will not say fallacious, but in need of so much interpretation as to throw great uncertainty on their verdict. It is sufficient for the present argument that, while the advances made by objective science and its industrial applications are palpable and undeniable everywhere around us, it is matter of doubt and dispute if our social and moral advance towards happiness and virtue has been great or any.

If the tests of social progress within a single people are obscure, perhaps we may find some more decisive criterion by extending our horizon to the international relations of the Western peoples. There is no more direct measure of civilisation than the degree in which the law of nations—*jus naturale*—has superseded force as a method of settling all differences. There were unjust wars in the eighteenth century. The theory of the contemporary philosophy was that war was the pastime of kings. "The prince," says Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, "gets together a number of fellows who have nothing to lose, dresses them up in blue cloth at five shillings a yard, and marches them out to glory." War was a game played to gratify the ambition of kings, and would be put an end to if peoples only governed themselves. Kings cannot in the nineteenth century do what they like. The Western nations do govern themselves. What is the result? The century is not over; yet already the carnage of the eighteenth century has been far exceeded on the battle-fields of the nineteenth. And, in point of justice, has the eighteenth century in its catalogue of unjust wars any war to show so wicked as the opium war? At this moment, the amount of armed menace which the civilised nations of the West, who govern themselves, keep up to intimidate each other, exceeds anything which has been known at any previous period of history. Reason and justice have acquired so little sway over the conduct of nations, that we must rather conclude from their attitude that universal brigandage is the final outcome of "progress." Each seems watching the other for the favourable moment. Republican France nourishes an army of some six hundred thousand; free Germany replies by keeping up an effective of some eight hundred thousand; and peace-loving England spends twenty-seven millions per annum on a defensive force, naval and military, without which her neighbours would immediately pounce upon and plunder her, and the scenes of the Saxon or the Norman conquest would be renewed.

Spoliation, and the appropriation of the territory of the weak by the strong, were familiar incidents of the Age of Reason. The annexation of Silesia, the partition of Poland, count among the crimes of history, and throw into the shade such petty larceny as the seizure of Gibraltar by the English, or Corsica by the French.

We are a hundred years from the partition of Poland, and yet Progress has not made it impossible for nations to sever, to seize, and to annex. If it could be plausibly alleged that in taking Alsace the German empire was only retaking its own, the same plea cannot be extended to the case of Lorraine, or to that of Holstein.

But the mere transference of a territory from one allegiance to another is not a fact which counts for anything in the annals of civilisation. Such a transfer of dominion is jealously watched by the practical statesman, because it may interfere with the balance of power. In the domain of social science we do not ask who governs a district, but how it is governed. France has in the nineteenth century annexed a large tract in North Africa. This was a war of aggression and conquest, and so far worse than the annexation of Lorraine in that it was unprovoked. This is the view of the conquest of Algeria from the side of international rights. But civilisation is a gainer by this aggression. The government of the Arab tribes by the French, far from perfect as it may be, is legal, just, and humane by comparison of government by native chiefs. It is on this ground that the comparison of the eighteenth with the nineteenth century becomes most testing. How far is social order tending to be regulated by moral sentiment, by humanity and charity, by mutual sympathy and affection? I think it is undeniable that progress has been made. Some great and palpable facts can be cited in evidence of the progress of humanity in the last hundred years, such as the abolition of the oceanic slave trade, of slavery as an institution in the Southern States, of serfdom in Russia. More than any single or local instance of humanised legislation is the extension over the whole surface of the globe of solidarity throughout mankind, which more than anything else favours the tendency of the benevolent feelings to assert their predominance. Yet even from this point of view large masses of fact offer themselves, which seem to exhibit the selfishness of mankind as a constant quantity, neither much abated nor much increased since history began. A bond of mutual civility seems to be spreading over the whole surface of the globe, binding peoples together under a generally recognised law of the just and the merciful. Italy and France are in most material points not more civilised than they were in the second century A.D. But then civilisation has spread over the German forests, and the reign of law and justice extended into the region of Hyperborean ice and over Sarmatian plains. On the other hand, Spain has not only not shared in this progress, but has relapsed into a double barbarism, and engrafted catholic superstition upon Iberian ferocity. Looking eastward again, in the direction in which our gaze has been keenly fixed by recent events, we see a spectacle still more melancholy than even that of Spain. Under the Roman empire—say the reign of

Trajan—the finest portion of the Old World lay around the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. From the Save to the Tigris, from Costanitza to Bagdad, stretching over some thirty degrees of longitude, lies a zone of territory which in natural advantages is still probably unsurpassed by any other of equal area. Eighteen hundred years ago this area was covered with flourishing cities, thriving villages, and a teeming population. Roads and harbours were carefully maintained, and wealth, encouraged by security and legal order, displayed itself in magnificent buildings, public and private. The shores of the Ægean were literally covered with works of art in marble or bronze. What is the aspect of this favoured region now? The whole of this wealth has been destroyed, and the industry which created it extinguished. Every trace of civilisation is swept away, the population all but extirpated, and still dwindling. A horde of barbarians have occupied this garden of the Old World, not as settlers, but as destroyers. Misery, and the vices which grow out of ages of oppression and extortion, are the only social traits which meet the traveller's eye. Even nature itself seems to go backward. The destruction of irrigation canals, and of forests, is favouring the encroachment of the sand of the desert, and the rivers are left to their gradual work of desolation.

But then this sad scene of human suffering excites the sympathy and commiseration of the Western nations, who are enjoying the blessings of law, liberty, and security. These civilised people are longing ardently for the opportunity of delivering the victims of this tyranny, of bringing them within the comity of nations, within the conditions in which they might lay the foundations of their own prosperity. They are watching their opportunity, hoping for some Hercules to strangle the Cacus whose pestilential breath is as a blight over these fair regions. But it is not so! The civilised and powerful nations of the West look on this scene of misery and devastation with indifference. They are content to have it so. They are more than content. It is they who maintain Cacus against the shepherds. The power of the tyrant is sinking beneath the weight of his own vices, though his cruelty and rapacity are not abated. Does danger threaten his crumbling empire from any quarter, the two nations who are considered to be in the forefront of human progress organise a crusade, not now for the deliverance of the Christian population, but to perpetuate their slavery. When Crete might have been freed by a word from England, England refused to speak that word. We are very solicitous about communicating to these countries "the blessings of Christianity," and entertain missionaries in the hopes of converting the Jew and the Turk. But we send out not missionaries, but fleets and armies, to secure that the blessings of civilisation shall not reach those unhappy shores. Like the priest

in the old Spanish apologue, we are ready with our blessing, but withhold our reals.

Can we, in the face of a fact such as this, maintain that humanity is making progress? Whatever else civilisation may contain, it implies that the sympathetic and affective nature is gaining ground in controlling the public conduct of nations and men, at the expense of the egotistic and selfish propensities. The solidarity of all the nations of the world can only be founded on benevolence; interest is ever a dissociating and disorganising force. The Eastern question, the political question of the moment, thus furnishes a touchstone of Progress. There is no reason for thinking that the Stafford House purveyors of blood and bestiality are individually less humane than other Englishmen. But a conception of interest is here in conflict with the sentiment of benevolence, and overrides it. So far as this is a testing instance, the Age of Reason does not compare disadvantageously with its successor.

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money sued for as a debt either by the person injured, or in some instances by a common informer. To take one illustration amongst ten thousand: if a person commits literary or artistic piracy he is liable to be sued for certain sums of money; in some cases by the author, in others by any person who chooses to sue him. We do not, however, regard the law of copyright as part of the criminal law. Setting aside, on the one hand, mere sanctioning enactments, and penalties on the other, we come to what forms the bulk of the criminal law, that is to say, acts which it is thought necessary to prevent, as far as possible, by the threat of legal punishment, because they are regarded on some ground or other as dangerous or injurious to the public, or to individuals. A Penal Code ought to consist of a collection of definitions of these acts carefully classified according to their nature, and specifying the punishments to be incurred by those who commit them.

Almost every act highly injurious to the public at large, or to the public peace, or to the public morals, and also every act by which the body, or the reputation, or the parental or conjugal rights, or any proprietary right of any person is seriously infringed, is a crime, and will continue to be so, however the law is arranged or expressed; and whether it is codified or not. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the codification of the law would involve radical changes in it. A person wishing to codify the law would propose to take it as it is, to throw it into as clear and rational a form as possible, and having done so, to ascertain both its merits and defects, to affirm the one and to remove the other. No one who understands anything about such matters would propose to sit down and write a code of laws which the public at large could be expected to obey, out of his own head, and without reference to the existing institutions of the country. We must start from what we have got; we must begin by rearrangement, by improving forms of expression, by ascertaining what is objectionable, what is technical, what belongs to a past age and generation; and, finally, we must adapt the result bit by bit to the present state of knowledge and feeling. That is the object which those who wish to codify the law propose to themselves, and I think I may say that it is one which ought to appeal to men of all political opinions. It must appeal to Conservatives, because nothing can more strengthen what is good in the law than putting it before the public in a plain and intelligible form. It must appeal to Liberals, because nothing can tend more strongly to the reformation of abuses than setting those abuses in the clearest possible light. Therefore, in order to construct such a penal code as would reflect the good sense and orderly temper of the present day in a fitting manner, it is necessary first to ascertain clearly what the law of the land is; then to consider what it ought to be; and lastly, to ascertain how to take the step from that which is to that which ought to be.

The first point then to be considered is what the law is. In reference to this I may say a word both as to its substance, and as to its form. As to its substance, I feel no hesitation in saying that at the present day the greater part of it—the part which comes commonly into use in the ordinary criminal courts—is eminently rational, humane, and complete; and the more it is studied, the more the true nature of its principles and procedure is understood, the more will it be seen to be upon the whole a system to be proud of. I am bound to confess, however, that the character which I venture to claim for it is not of old date. Within living memory it was disgraced by great cruelty, and also by strange technicalities, by which, in some instances, that cruelty was evaded and neutralised. Its present condition is one of the results of the great efforts to improve our institutions, which have been made in the course of the last half-century. The subject is obscure and technical, and I do not wish to dwell upon it, but if the criminal law of England, as it was even fifty years ago, is contrasted with the law as it is now, the difference would be seen to be at least as striking as the difference between the Parliament of England fifty years ago, and the Parliament of England as it is now.

So much for its substance.

As to its form, though I do not wish to speak disrespectfully of a system with which I have had so much to do, I think that the form of the English criminal law is as confused, intricate, and objectionable in every possible way, as it could well be made. If the object had been to conceal its substantial merits and to make it thoroughly unpopular upon good grounds, I should say that excellent means had been taken for that purpose. This, however, is a mere generality. I will come closer to the subject, and explain more in detail the nature of this great intricacy and confusion.

The law is composed of three distinct elements.

1. A large proportion of it exists in the form of unwritten rules and principles, which are, it is commonly said, handed down by tradition from one generation of lawyers and judges to another. The meaning is, that the books in which these principles are written down are not in themselves authoritative; they are merely an avowedly incomplete record of the opinions of the writers as to the law as they knew and understood it. The principles and rules contained in them are, in short, nowhere authoritatively or completely stated.

2. The second element consists of Acts of Parliament, of which I will say more hereafter.

3. The third element consists of reports of cases decided, in some instances on unwritten principles, and in others upon the meaning of Acts of Parliament. The result of the whole is, that the law forms an enormous mass of Acts of Parliament, text books, and

reports of decided cases. When a man studies them as I have done for many years (a thing which is not given to every one to do), he will perceive at last that the total mass put together represents an extraordinary amount of experience, solid good sense, great shrewdness, and a desire upon the part of judges for some hundreds of years to adapt the unwritten law to the wants of successive generations. On the other hand, this valuable matter is contained in a shape which is almost enough to drive the most patient student to distraction.

A work has lately been republished which I suppose may be regarded as the great authority upon all questions of criminal law, and as the reservoir from which all judges and all barristers are apt to draw their learning. It is called "Russell on Crimes." It has been edited by various very learned persons; Sir William Russell, the original author of it, published his book more than fifty years ago. Subsequent editions have been brought out by Mr. Greaves and Mr. Prentice, the latest of which has appeared within the last few weeks. It may be regarded as a collection of all the authorities which I have been referring to. It contains altogether 2,886 very large octavo pages: it fills three enormous volumes, and it costs five guineas and a half. If I were to describe the way in which the matter is arranged, I could easily show that the mere dimensions of the book give an inadequate notion of the degree of labour that there is in making out what its contents are, and in reducing the matter contained in it to an intelligible shape. The first step towards a good Penal Code would be to take the authorities from which that book has been compiled, and to which it serves as an elaborate index and abridgment, and boil them down into a small compass so as to get at the net result.

This operation consists of two parts, extracting principles from cases and text writers, and redrawing the statute law so as to give its effect accurately, but in a shorter and clearer form.

I will illustrate each of these operations. The law as to the cases in which the appropriation by the finder of lost property amounts to theft may be stated as follows:—

"A finder of lost goods who appropriates them to himself commits theft if, at the time when he takes possession of them, he intends to appropriate them to himself, knowing who the owner is, or having reasonable grounds to believe that he can be found. But if at the time when he takes possession of them he has not such knowledge or grounds of belief, he does not commit theft by appropriating the goods to himself, even if he acquires that knowledge or those grounds of belief after he has taken possession of the goods, and before he resolves to appropriate them."

That is at the present moment the law upon that subject; but, in order to entitle myself to say so, I have had to read a number of

reports of decided cases, an abstract of which, given in "Russell on Crimes," fills twenty-two octavo pages. The actual reports of the thirty-four cases there cited or referred to must fill, perhaps, two hundred pages, scattered over twenty-three different volumes. Of these histories a large number repeat each other with slight and unimportant variations, whilst others are found upon careful examination to be really immaterial, because they simply affirm the application of well-established principles to some odd state of facts, or set at rest doubts which never need have been entertained at all. Many of the earlier cases, for instance, show merely that Serjeant Hawkins stated the law on this subject far too widely, and that even if his statement was assumed to be right, ways of evading it in most cases might be discovered.

The business of going through vast masses of matter of that sort, and of deducing from it the short rules which the decided cases establish, is one, and the most difficult, part of the business of codifying either the criminal law or any other law; but when it is done, you get in half-a-dozen lines the net result of perhaps hundreds of pages. If the short rule above stated were enacted by Parliament into law, the result would be that the cases from which it is drawn might all be forgotten, and the rule itself, which is by no means a good one, might be much improved.

The codification of statute law means giving the effect of the statutes as amended by subsequent statutes, and as expounded by judicial decisions, in an improved form. As the statutes relating to the criminal law define with great precision and elaboration the different offences which it is intended to punish, it is natural to say, "How can you shorten or abbreviate an Act of Parliament in any way without altering it? The Act says certain things. If you do not reprint it as it stands, you alter it. If you do reprint it as it stands, you get an enormous intractable mass which it is almost impossible for any one to understand. How is this matter to be dealt with?" This is best answered by an illustration. First I will take a section from an Act of Parliament in the exact words in which it stands, and I will then give its meaning in other words, which I say are identically the same, only that they are arranged in a different manner, and that advantage has been taken of what may almost be called typographical devices for saving space. The section is the 11th section of the 24th and 25th Victoria, cap. 97, the Act upon malicious injuries to property. It is as follows:—

"If any persons riotously and tumultuously assembled together to the disturbance of the public peace, shall unlawfully and with force demolish or pull down or destroy, or begin to demolish, pull down or destroy, any church, chapel, meeting-house, or other place of divine worship, or any house, stable, coach-house, out-house, warehouse, office, shop, mill, malt-house, hop-oast, barn, granary, shed, hovel, or fold, or any building or erection used in farming land, or in carrying on any trade or manufacture, or any branch thereof,

or any building other than such as are in this section before mentioned, belonging to the Queen or to any county, riding, division, city, borough, poor-law union, parish, or place, or belonging to any university or college, or hall of any university, or to any inn of court, or devoted or dedicated to public use or ornament, or erected or maintained by public subscription or contribution, or any machinery, whether fixed or movable, prepared for or employed in any manufacture, or in any branch thereof, or any steam engine or other engine for sinking, working, ventilating, or draining any mine, or any staith, building, or erection used in conducting the business of any mine, or any bridge, waggon-way, or trunk for conveying minerals from any mine, every such offender shall be guilty of felony, and being convicted thereof shall be liable at the discretion of the Court to be kept in penal servitude for life, or for any term not less than three years, or to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years with or without hard labour, and with or without solitary confinement."

That section contains twenty-one lines of print, and it is all one sentence. This is nothing remarkable. Formerly the whole of every statute was a single sentence. Full stops were legalised for the first time by an Act passed in June, 1850 (13 & 14 Vic. c. 21, s. 2), which provided that "All Acts shall be divided into sections if there be more enactments than one, which sections shall be deemed to be substantive enactments without introductory words." The principles of composition indicated by this reform still continued to be followed, and are not yet entirely obsolete, though Acts of Parliament are now much better drawn than they used to be even in 1861, when the section just quoted became law.

Here is the same section expressed in a different manner:—

"All persons are guilty of felony, and on conviction are liable to penal servitude for life as a maximum punishment, who being riotously and tumultuously assembled together to the disturbance of the public peace, unlawfully and with force demolish, or pull down, or destroy any of the buildings,[1] public buildings,[2] machinery,[3] or mining plant[4] mentioned in the notes hereto, or begin to do so."

"(1) Any church, chapel, meeting-house, or other place of divine worship, any house, stable, coach-house, out-house, warehouse, office, shop, mill, malt-house, hop-oast, barn, granary, shed, hovel, or fold, or any building or erection used in farming land, or in carrying on any trade or manufacture, or any branch thereof.

"(2) Any building not mentioned in note (1) belonging to the Queen, or to any county, riding, division, city, borough, poor-law union, parish, or place, or belonging to any university or college, or hall of any university, or to any inn of court, or devoted or dedicated to public use or ornament, or erected or maintained by public subscription or contribution.

"(3) Any machinery, whether fixed or movable, prepared for or employed in any manufacture, or in any branch thereof.

"(4) Any steam-engine or other engine for sinking, working, ventilating, or draining any mine, or any bridge, waggon-way, or trunk for conveying minerals from any mine."

The meaning of these two statements is identically the same, if we assume that the expression "maximum punishment" is understood, but the one is perfectly clear and can be understood in a moment; the other leaves on the mind only a confused impression of a multitude of words. The difference between the two is as follows:—In the one the verb follows the nominative case.

"Every one commits felony who," &c. In the other the mind is kept in suspense till the end of an interminable sentence before it learns what is to be the consequence if persons riotously assembled do any one of a vast number of things specified. In the one the reader learns at once that the classes of things upon which the offences specified may be committed are buildings, public buildings, machinery, and mining plant, whilst he is referred to notes if he wishes to know in greater detail what particular things are referred to. In the other the mind is bewildered by an immense array of words, which, though really classified, do not at once appear to be so. The difference of style, however, is only a part of the matter to be noticed by any one who wishes to understand how Acts of Parliament may be condensed. The shorter form has the advantage of suggesting to the mind the possibility of dispensing with the notes altogether, reading "building" for "buildings," and striking out the words "of the," "public buildings," and "mentioned in the notes hereto." This would make the law much shorter and clearer, and would make no practical difference. Again, the section quoted is not correct as it stands. It says that offenders may be sentenced to penal servitude for any term not less than three years. Owing to a change in the law which has since taken place, that ought to be five years. The section, therefore, must be corrected by altering "three" into "five," so as to represent the effect of a later Act. This alteration does not appear in the section as redrawn, but would appear in an explanation of the expression "maximum punishment" prefixed to the Penal Code. Again, the words about the punishment, "shall be guilty of felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be liable," &c., and so on, occur in that particular Act seventeen times in connection with different offences. Sixteen repetitions of that form are saved, and a great economy of space is effected. If all the offences which may be punished in that manner are collected together and put under one heading, thus:—

"Every one is guilty of felony, and upon conviction thereof is liable to penal servitude for life as a maximum punishment, who does any of the following things, that is to say,

(*a*) Who sets fire to any place of divine worship;

(*b*) Who, by the explosion of gunpowder, damages any dwelling house, &c.," and so on.

Again, the Act in which that section occurs, contains seventy-nine sections, of which about half ought properly to be put not in a Penal Code at all, but in a Code of Criminal Procedure; where they would apply not to the offences defined in that Act only, but to many others as well. Thus, sec. 61 enables persons committing offences against the Act to be arrested without warrant. A section in nearly identical words is contained in an Act relating to coinage offences passed in the same year, and in several others. In short, by going through all the Acts and all the cases, and by packing the results

judiciously, it is possible to state the net result in a compass small in comparison with the bulk of the books which have to be consulted. When this has been done it will be possible to say, "There is the existing law of the country. Look at it. See where it is wise and just. See where it is antiquated and technical. Enact once for all so much of it as deserves to be enacted. Alter the remainder."

Until this is done we may talk for ever about reforming the law, but we shall never really do it.

Having tried to give some notion of my idea of what a Code should be, I cannot very well avoid saying something of a work to which I have devoted such leisure as my profession has left me for several years past. I have made several attempts to promote the codification of the law. In 1873, under the instructions of Lord Coleridge, then Attorney-General, I drew a bill for the codification of the Law of Evidence, which we settled in consultation. Owing to parliamentary obstructions, and not to any want of interest felt by Lord Coleridge in his work, the bill never got further than being mentioned in Parliament on, I think, the very last day of the session of 1873. In 1874 I attempted, in connection with the Recorder of London, to codify the law relating to homicide. As before, I drew and we settled a bill for that purpose. That bill did get as far as a Select Committee, and the Select Committee made a report in which they said in substance that it would be a very good thing to codify the law about homicide, but they did not quite see their way to it. I will not discuss the criticisms to which that bill was exposed from various quarters. I may say in passing that they satisfied me that the process of codification was unfamiliar even to the most eminent judges in England. But one of the objections made was I thought unanswerable. It was that it was undesirable to attempt to codify so small a part of the law, because it could not be done without touching upon subjects which would affect the rest of it; and that codification must, if attempted at all, be undertaken on a considerable scale.

That and other objections prevailed with the committee, and there the matter rested. In that state of things it occurred to me that little was to be expected from Parliament, but that there was one thing which a private person might do without asking Parliament or anybody else for assistance. He might do the preparatory work which I have been describing upon a branch of the law large enough to be treated as a whole, and might reduce it to the shape to which as I say every part of the law might be reduced by proper means. Such a performance would not only prove the possibility of codification, but would also prepare the way for it. Accordingly I have employed my leisure for some years past in performing this operation upon the Criminal Law. I have now practically completed it, and hope to publish the result in

a few weeks. I am reluctant to describe a work of my own for obvious reasons; but I have undertaken this work partly in the hope that it may be of some public service, and I publicly state what I have done, in order that my work may be made use of by those who have means of so using it which I have not. Having then to the best of my ability travelled through all the authorities and sifted out the wheat from the chaff, and having arranged the result in a consecutive manner and upon a scheme which I will explain, the net result is that the law as it now stands, with all its imperfections on its head, and with all the various drawbacks to its merits distinctly recorded, can be stated, and subject to correction I say I have stated it, in the shape of a book of about three hundred octavo pages. The difficulties of the subject are so great, that it is hazardous to say that any work of such a kind is complete; but I should be prepared at a proper time and place, and before any body of persons specially acquainted with the subject, to show that that book contains practically the whole of the criminal law of England as I have defined it, as it stands at this moment, and that it may be safely taken as a starting point for subsequent legislation.

I will now shortly describe the contents of the criminal law thus classified, because I wish to give those who are capable of judging upon the subject a definite notion of what I mean when I say that the whole criminal law can be put into such a book. The criminal law is of all departments of the law the easiest to arrange in an intelligible systematic manner. It naturally begins with a preliminary division defining the nature of the various punishments inflicted by law, and the general conditions of criminality. This division deals with such matters as the laws regulating penal servitude and the different kinds of imprisonment, the consequences of a previous conviction, the detention of children in reformatory schools, and the like. Next come such matters as childhood, insanity, ignorance, compulsion, and necessity, which under certain circumstances excuse acts which would otherwise be crimes. This part also defines what constitutes participation in a crime. Is the man who orders another to commit a murder as guilty as the murderer himself? Is the man who tells a person facts which he thinks will induce him to murder another to be regarded as ordering him to murder him? and so on. It also defines the point at which a crime begins. An attempt to commit a crime is itself a crime; but what is an attempt? Where is the line drawn between forming an intention of which no human authority can judge, and such a beginning of the crime itself as the law will punish?

This preliminary matter is followed by definitions of different classes of crimes; they may be divided into crimes which principally and in the first instance affect the public at large, and crimes which principally and in the first instance affect particular indivi-

duals. Of those which affect the public at large, the first are disturbances of public order, and these disturbances may be either attended with open violence, as in the case of high treason, unlawful assemblies, and riots; or they may be without violence, as by unlawful oaths, illegal associations, seditious conspiracies, and the like. Again, the public order which is to be protected is not only public order within the United Kingdom; the relations between this country and foreign nations, and the peace of nations, must be protected as well, and they are invaded by offences against the Foreign Enlistment Act, Piracy, and Slave-trading.

Next come the offences connected with public authority. On the one hand, oppression, extortion, negligent performance of duties by public officers; and on the other hand, acts of disobedience to the lawful commands of public officers, attempts to corrupt them by bribery, the sale of offices, and a variety of other matters connected therewith. To this class belong more particularly all the offences which tend to pervert the administration of justice, such as perjury, corrupting jurors, and a variety of other matters which I pass over because I wish to give merely a general idea of the contents of the law.

Next follow a large class of offences consisting of acts regarded as being injurious to the public at large, such as public nuisances; various acts of gross impropriety; everything that is offensive to public decency; everything that injures the public health; everything that interferes with things which the public has a right to use, such as highways or rivers. Those three heads, namely, offences against public order; offences connected with public officers; and acts in the nature of nuisances, or injuries to the public at large, comprise all the crimes which more particularly affect the public.

Passing to the crimes which more particularly affect individuals, a broad distinction presents itself between offences against the persons, the reputation, and the parental and conjugal rights of individuals, and offences against their proprietary rights. To the first class belong murder, manslaughter, the infliction of bodily injury, bigamy, abduction, libel, and some others. The second class—offences against proprietary rights—divides itself into three well-marked divisions. It is one thing to take away a man's goods without his leave, which is either theft or robbery, according as it is done with or without violence. It is another thing to cheat him by inducing him to part with his property by fraud. It is a third thing to injure his property maliciously, without stealing it; as, for instance, by burning his house. There are some other acts so fraudulent in their nature that people are punished for doing them irrespectively of any actual damage which they may cause; such are forgery and offences relating to the coin.

Lastly, there are some few cases in which a breach of contract is regarded as an offence. Every one remembers the discussions which have taken place very lately, and which I hope have resulted in putting on a moderately satisfactory footing the law of conspiracy and master and servant. In the case also of the contract between the ship-owner and the sailor, the Legislature has interfered in certain instances, and has punished as crimes certain breaches of the duty of masters to seamen, and of seamen to masters, and also in some cases of the seamen to each other. All the law upon all these subjects, I say, may be compressed into about three hundred octavo pages; and although it is, practically speaking, very difficult, not to say impossible, for any man to make so broad an assertion as that he has completely exhausted any legal subject, I say that I would undertake to prove, if a proper means of proving it were given, that the whole law upon all the subjects I have mentioned is contained in the volume referred to. If I have succeeded in doing this (whether I have or not is a question for professional lawyers technically acquainted with the subject), then I say this book may be used as a first step, at all events, towards the reduction of the law into a shape in which any one can understand it who will take a moderate degree of trouble, and spend a moderate amount of time. It must not be supposed that a subject of that kind can ever be made easy. No one has any idea of the difficulty of it until he tries to understand it in exact minute detail, nor until he tests his knowledge of it by putting to himself particular cases. When that process has been gone through, and not before, some kind of notion may be obtained as to the interest, and at the same time the difficulty and extent, of the study of law. For whatever may be its defects in point of form, every article of the criminal law is full of meaning, and has its own special history. The whole system represents the result of an extraordinary amount of labour, ability, ingenuity, and experience upon subjects of high interest.

Assuming that this book constitutes a short systematic and intelligible statement of the law, the next question which naturally suggests itself is, would you propose to make it, or anything like it, into an Act of Parliament? And to that I would say emphatically, Most assuredly not. I think it would be a public misfortune to re-enact the criminal law of England just as it stands, and to confer upon it the sanction of Parliament in its present condition. I think it requires a great amount of change, both in form and in substance. It contains some things which are obsolete, some things which are excessively technical and intricate, and a great amount of matter very clumsily arranged. In order to make such a Penal Code as the nation ought to expect, and ought to have, it would be necessary that the person who prepared that

Penal Code should have full liberty to suggest extensive amendments in the law itself.

I will mention one or two points in illustration of what I mean by obsolete laws, technicalities, and clumsiness of arrangement.

First as to obsolete laws. This country has a long history, and it has been a stormy one. At different times the different parties who have gained the upper hand have stamped the marks of their own passions upon the laws of the country. Such laws have often come to be forgotten, but they are still law; and although while they are in that dead-alive condition they do no harm, yet, if they were sought out and re-enacted, they might do a great deal of harm. Such laws always remind me of rusty blunderbusses left loaded in an old loft where they may stay without hurting anybody for years, but where they may happen to go off and produce deplorable results at any moment. I will give an instance or two of what I mean. At the Reformation many Acts were passed in order to give the force of law to the change in religion which then took place, and amongst other things King Edward VI.'s Acts of Uniformity set forth a Book of Common Prayer, and inflicted tremendous penalties upon all sorts of persons who said or did anything disrespectful in regard to it. One enactment affects everybody "who in any interlude, play, song, rhymes, or in other open words, declares or speaks anything in derogation of any part thereof." There are many other penalties upon clergymen who will not read the Book of Common Prayer, and so on. That Act is still kept alive, and is applied to the present Book of Common Prayer by an Act of Charles II.; and the punishment is fine and imprisonment; and for the third offence forfeiture of all goods and chattels, and imprisonment for life. These are curiosities rather than practical matters, but there are a great many of them, and they might be exceedingly injurious. There is one which, I must confess, was utterly unknown to me till I found it in writing my book, and now that I have read it, it seems to me as if there must be some mistake upon the matter. However, there is the Act. It is the 39th George III. chapter 79, which is an "Act for the Suppression of Unlawful Societies." There is another similar Act, 57th George III. c. 19. These two Acts together were intended to punish all persons who belong to societies described in the Act as unlawful. Everybody who is a member of any such society is liable to penal servitude for seven years. The Act gives an elaborate definition of an unlawful society; it contains a great many clauses of which I will give one, because it filled me with amazement when I read it. A society is unlawful if it "is composed of different divisions or branches, or of different parts acting in any manner separately or distinct from each other, or of which any part has any separate or distinct secretary, treasurer, president, delegate, or other officer, elected or appointed by or for such part, or to act as an officer for

such part." There is another section which says that the Act is not to apply to Quakers, nor to any meeting or society assembled for the purposes of a religious or charitable nature only; nor to certain lodges of Freemasons, although it apparently applies to others. The exception shows the extent of the rule, the words of which would include not only trade unions, but all sorts of political, scientific, and professional associations, which every one regards as perfectly innocent. It is difficult to say why they do not apply to the Law Society, which I believe has branches in every considerable town in England. I feel as if there must be some mistake, but I do not know what it is. The Act speaks for itself, and I should be exceedingly sorry to re-enact or codify, or to do anything at all with it except repeal that and several other parts of it.

I may mention another remarkable Act which has been forgotten, and which seems to me to be extraordinarily hard upon solicitors. It is the 12th George I. cap. 29, sec. 4. It enacts in substance that "Every person who practises as a solicitor or agent in any suit or action after having been convicted of forgery, or of wilful and corrupt perjury, or subornation of perjury or common barratry," (which means stirring up quarrels) is liable to be transported for seven years upon the order of any judge or judges of the court in or before which the offence is committed, who may examine the matter in a summary way in open court. So that without a jury, and simply upon the judge's order, a man may be sent to seven years' penal servitude under that extraordinary Act of Parliament. I could give many other instances of that kind, but two are enough.

As to technicality, it is difficult to give just ideas upon this subject, on account of the extreme difficulty of explaining how legal technicalities arose; but there are to be found, for instance, in relation to the law of theft most extraordinary provisions. The explanation of many of them probably is this, that by the common law, stealing anything above the value of twelve pence was a capital crime for which a man might be hanged. Humane persons, in order to evade this, restricted the definition of theft in a way which enabled a vast number of thieves to get off altogether; and although the barbarous cruelty of the punishment has since been done away with, and theft is now punished in a moderate and rational manner, the old definition (with a good many alterations and amendments) still survives, and has produced all sorts of extraordinary results, far too intricate to be explained here.

I will give a single instance which will show what queer twists and eddies, so to speak, are sometimes to be found in an ancient system of law. There is an Act which says that anybody who obtains any money, chattel, or valuable security by a false pretence is to be punished. A man obtained two pointers worth £10 by a false pretence, and it was held that owing to the strange

definition of theft which originally prevailed, and by which the modern Act had to be construed, that man had committed no offence.

As to clumsiness of arrangement. There is an Act which punishes the crime of attempting to commit murder in this remarkable manner. It says that you are to be liable to penal servitude for life if you attempt to murder a man by administering poison to him, or by wounding him, or by shooting at him, or by attempting to shoot at him, or by attempting to drown him, or by destroying any building in which he is by the explosion of gunpowder, or by setting fire to any ship, or by casting away or destroying any vessel; and after enumerating those seven ways of attempting to murder a man, it is provided that if you attempt to murder him in any other way, you are to be liable to the same punishment; that is to say, there are no less than six sections of an Act of Parliament covering, I dare say, two pages, which might all be reduced by proper management to one line, "Whoever attempts to murder anybody is to be punished in such a way." It is exactly as if it were enacted that you are not to hit a man either with your thumb or your forefinger, or middle, second, or little finger, nor with your right or left hand, nor are you to hit him in any other way, nor to kick him with either foot. I could point out, if space permitted, that extreme intricacy is caused by the way in which punishments for the same sort of offences are varied quite capriciously. Thus, for instance, if a man steals a deed relating to land, the utmost punishment he can get is five years' penal servitude. If he steals anything whatever out of a ship, he may have fourteen years' penal servitude. If, being a lodger, he steals a chattel worth £5 from his lodging, then he may have seven years' penal servitude.

One word upon the conclusion of the whole matter. What, it may be said, would you suggest? I would suggest this: Go through this statement of mine, or some other and better statement of the criminal law, remedy one by one the different defects which I have referred to, take out the strange principles which lead to these curious technical results, repeal the parts of the law which are obsolete, and then, at all events, we shall have gained something. But the advantage will not be limited to the mere improvement of the existing law. We shall have acted the part of a man who pulls stakes around which weeds have collected out of the bed of a river. The weeds will be set loose, and the stream will by degrees run clear. In other words, we shall be able afterwards to recast and re-enact the whole of the criminal law in a very much shorter form than that in which, by any degree of screwing and pressing, it can be stated now. I believe, if that course were taken, considerable improvements in the law might at once be effected; and within a moderate time a new code might be drawn worthy of the country and of the time.

J. F. STEPHEN.

## THE COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

DURING the present year the principal governments of the Continent will have to make up their minds on the subject of commercial treaties. It is an anxious and interesting time, for we await in fact a verdict of the nations on the principle of free trade. For sixteen years the countries of Continental Europe have been at school under the treaty system, and we shall soon see how far they have profited by the course of instruction thus afforded. In May, 1860, Mr. Cobden wrote of the French treaty :—

"The French Government have entered upon their new commercial policy, not for the benefit of England, but from an enlightened appreciation of the advantages it will confer on the people of France; and were I to doubt the success of the experiment, or fear that they will not persevere in the career on which they have entered, I should be faithless to those principles the application of which has conferred such incalculable advantages and blessings on my countrymen. The present treaty will inaugurate a new era in the commercial intercourse of France and England, and it will only require a few years to develop that state of mutual dependence which forms the solid basis for the peace and happiness of nations."[1]

Cobden's prophecy has, in many respects, been abundantly realised. The commercial advantage of the treaty to France has proved enormous, while its political and social value can be estimated by comparing the relations of cordiality and good sense which now exist between Frenchmen and Englishmen, with the bitter, jealous, and misguided suspicion of each other which marked the days of Lord Palmerston.

In some points, however, Cobden's expectations have not been fulfilled. He regarded and often described the treaty as an experiment which would have a speedy success. He hoped that its results would be so enormously and palpably beneficial, that long before the ten years' term of the treaty had expired, both governments and peoples would be so enamoured of its results that they would insist upon further reductions in the tariffs, or even arrive at free trade pure and simple between the two countries. How disappointing is the actual state of the case! With every fact, figure, and argument in favour of the treaty, with the substantial benefit of its working before us, in the absence of one single objection to it, or to a further extension of its principle, it is almost amazing that, during the past sixteen years, and down to the present moment, no honest effort has

(1) The statements made as to Mr. Cobden's views and expressions on certain subjects are, in several cases, taken from his private correspondence and other unpublished records of his opinions.

been made by either Government to develop the principle of free trade; nay, on the only occasion on which the question has been fairly reopened, France made a strong effort towards raising her duties, in which she was cordially seconded by the English Government. It may fairly be assumed that the uncompromising advocate of total and immediate repeal would hardly have brought himself to adopt such an expedient as the treaty, indefensible as it almost is in strict economic theory, had he not thought that thereby the full principle of free trade would very shortly be recognised and adopted; and had not also his path been so beset with prejudices and difficulties as to make even this modified effort towards commercial freedom almost hopeless at the outset.

Let us glance at the condition of our commercial and political relations with France in the year 1860. In January of that year the yarns of Manchester and Leeds, the textile fabrics of Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Huddersfield, Bradford, Leicester, and Coventry; the stone-ware of Staffordshire, London, and Newcastle; the glass-ware of Birmingham, Newcastle, and London; the hardware of Birmingham and Wolverhamptom; the cutlery of Sheffield; and many other important industries were entirely excluded from the French markets. Our total exports to that country in 1858 reached only the paltry amount of £9,000,000, and our imports thence £13,000,000. The commerce between the two countries now amounts to the enormous sum of £74,000,000 sterling per annum. But the commercial barriers which existed when Cobden commenced his task were as nothing compared with the political and international difficulties. When Cobden, at the instance of M. Chevalier, sustained by the Emperor, applied to the British cabinet for royal authority to negotiate a treaty with France, his request, though granted, received but little favour, and would probably have been refused, had not the Government feared that such refusal might draw from Cobden, either in Parliament or elsewhere, statements in favour of the commercial advantages of such a treaty, which would have damaged the Liberal Government in popular estimation. How far Lord Palmerston consented in good-will towards commerce may be judged by his subsequent consistent obstruction of Mr. Cobden's efforts. Lord Cowley, who was then British minister at Paris, showed Cobden every attention, but he took no active part in the treaty, because, as he acknowledged, he had never studied commercial matters, and did not understand them. The proceedings of the negotiation were regularly signed and dispatched by him to receive the confirmation of the cabinet in London, but so many obstacles were raised on such trivial and unimportant matters, as fairly to create the suspicion in Cobden's mind that some occult influence was at work at home which would not grieve if the treaty

failed altogether. He was satisfied, at any rate, that there was a systematic effort in certain quarters to produce delay, if not defeat. "When I filled the post of commercial traveller," he wrote, under the sense of this humiliation, "at the age of twenty, I was intrusted with more discretionary power than is now shared by Lord Cowley and myself whilst filling the office of her Majesty's plenipotentiaries. By the way, the name might be appropriately changed to 'nullipotentiary.'"

The majority of the cabinet were clearly not very eager for Cobden's complete success. The tone of the court was hostile to the French Emperor, and, in the then nearly balanced state of political parties, the court had great influence. Aristocratic politicians have little sympathy for commercial matters, and they probably feared that if the treaty should prove successful, and result in a largely increased trade between France and England, a state of feeling might be produced which would lead to common limitations of armaments, and thus cut down the expenditure for our warlike services on which our aristocratic system flourishes. M. Rouher was amazed that a commercial country like England should allow a great economical question to be treated in this contemptuous way. Here was a treaty of commerce between England and a nation of thirty-six millions of people within two hours of its shores, probably the greatest event in her commercial annals, and it did not seem to create sufficient interest in the Government to induce the President of the Board of Trade to remain a few days at his post, or even to leave his address where a dispatch might find him. Cobden's great consolation under these discouragements was in the faith that his work was only a step in the path which by a natural progress would lead eventually to perfect freedom of trade.

One of Cobden's first and chief difficulties in negotiating the treaty lay in the abject fear of the handful of interested protectionists which ever swayed the action of M. Rouher and the Emperor. He expressed his astonishment that men who, when physical force was alone in question, could seize their opponents in bed and carry them off to prison, should be so wanting in moral courage as to be frightened by a handful of men whose only apparent claim for consideration was their own private interests, as against the well-being of the State. Yet their influence was so great as constantly to imperil the success of the negotiations, and the business of the treaty had to be conducted almost secretly, so as to avoid their intrigues and obstructions. In this respect matters have improved but little since 1860. The French protectionists seem to have the ear of the Government whenever trade affairs are in question. They urge the supposed welfare of the workpeople. They threaten the use of their political power. They plead the worn-out sophisms of protection; and though their arguments can easily be reduced to

one simple issue, namely, their own against the general interest, it is humiliating to find that even at this day they never plead in vain, and are still the masters of the situation.

Perhaps the chief difficulty which confronted Cobden in his work was the treatment he received from his own Government. During Lord Palmerston's administration the air was full of rumours of French invasion, got up and promulgated, there is good reason to fear, solely for the purpose of frightening the people of this country into a huge expenditure on military and naval preparations. Without one solid pretext, without a single misgiving as to the conduct of the Emperor, which could not have been dispelled by the most ordinary inquiry, the Premier raised the invasion panic, the newspapers wrote invasion articles, and the people blindly followed. In vain did Cobden plead that a large addition to the expenditure on fortifications should not be made until at least the terms of the treaty were sealed and published, so that the public might know what were the prospects of an extended commerce between the two countries, and then be in a position to judge whether it was wise to take any further precautions for the contingency of a rupture with our new customer. There were perhaps not more than two men in the cabinet who cared whether the expenditure of the Government was a dozen millions more or less; and just then unfortunately the country was nearly as indifferent as the Government. Cobden had promised the Emperor that if he entered on a path of free trade without reserve, it would be accepted by the English people as a proof that he meditated a policy of peace. Yet in the midst of his labours upon the details of the tariff, in which he had every day fresh proofs of the honest intentions of the Emperor, there was a constant increase in the military preparations in England. Lord Palmerston's project for fortifying the British coasts at the cost of ten or twelve millions, and his constant allusions to France as the probable aggressor upon England, were a mockery and an insult to Cobden when engaged in framing a peaceful treaty of commerce; and so keenly did he feel the sting and humiliation of this position, that had not his heart been too keenly in the work, he would probably have returned home, and directed his efforts to preventing the popular party from being committed to a policy so outrageous.

Cobden took enormous pains in gathering information to prove that no such warlike intentions existed in the Emperor's mind; that the naval preparations of France existed only in the brains of Englishmen; that our coast defences and ships were sufficient for all possible contingencies; and that to tax the people for fortifications against a French invasion was very like a plot to get possession of their money. Lord Palmerston was more disposed to lend an ear to the silly *canards* which were ingeniously manufactured for him by

industrious panic-mongers, than to listen to the voice of fact and probability. The Government seemed reckless as to the inconsistency of their position in attempting to carry out a pacific treaty concurrently with preparations for hostility. The invasion hoax is not an unfamiliar story—a cry got up by parties who know better, but who have an instinctive notion that it will answer their own ends, and the more unscrupulous of the aristocratic classes, who know that if there is a large expenditure they get the great prizes of patronage. Underlying all is a thorough contempt, or at least a polished disregard, on the part of our governing classes, for the interests of commerce.

It would indeed have been no matter for wonder if, under such a combination of adverse influences, the treaty had entirely collapsed. Cobden, however, supported by the Emperor, held bravely to his task; and in November, 1860, the treaty was signed, and a new era dawned on the commerce of the two countries.

Now, one would think that a state of things in favour of which so much could be proved, and against which none but the most selfish arguments were ever urged, would find no lack of friends among those who, by their intelligence and training in the consideration of public affairs, are best qualified to form opinions. But this has not been the case; on the contrary, the powers of evil seem to have been arrayed in very considerable force against the progress of commercial freedom, both here and in France.

The first organized assault on the treaty was of so insignificant a nature as to deserve only a very brief notice. In 1869 a Reciprocity Association was formed in Manchester, which sought to account for the depression of trade then existing by the importation of foreign goods in competition with English industry. These gentlemen appeared to think that because the French consumer would not buy in the cheapest possible market, it would mend matters here if we followed suit, and, by imposing duties, should cause our people to pay higher than was necessary for French products. This movement was of a purely party character, and sought incidentally to throw discredit on the government of the day for other matters besides its treaty policy. Though it had only a feeble life and died almost in its birth, it is to be regretted that Manchester should have to bear the discredit of so ridiculous an exploit.

The next attempt to call in question the advantages of Mr. Cobden's work emanated also, by a strange irony, from Manchester. In the session of 1870 a motion was made for a select committee to inquire into the operations of the French treaty in regard to all branches of trade affected by it. Though the supporters of this motion disclaimed any intention of attacking the treaty, they evidently thought there was reason for the complaint that the lowering

of our duties had acted injuriously on our working population, and it was necessary, even at that time of day, to explain in the House of Commons that the commercial policy of this country had ceased to foster the advantage of any class, or any industry, at the expense of the whole community.

The English grumblers against the treaty did not have all the grumbling to themselves. Before the treaty was confirmed, and ever since it came into operation, the French millowners set their faces steadily against it, either on the open plea of protecting themselves and their own industry, or under cover of a claim for what they termed compensation; this claim being based on the idea that, as the English industry is in a position to produce fabrics cheaper than the French, it was only fair that a sufficient tax should be imposed on our products to place our producers on an exact level with those of France. Economists holding these views, who pass muster as free traders in France, disclaim the idea of prohibition or even protection in the sense of monopoly; but it is quite clear that no degree of compensation would be satisfactory to them, if it opened up the possibility of a free flow of English goods into France. So great, however, was the influence of the manufacturers and their friends in the Government, that the Corps Législatif was forced to allow a parliamentary inquiry into the working of the treaty in general, and its influence on the cotton industry of France in particular. I attended that inquiry, with two colleagues deputed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, to give evidence in favour of the treaty and its principle, and to refute the gross exaggerations and misstatements which were put forward by the French protectionists. But we produced little effect. The affair was simply a Protectionist Trades Union, and must be recorded as one more effort on the part of men who knew, or ought to have known, better, to march back into the desert of prohibition and privilege. The most disappointing feature of the situation was that Mr. Cobden's allies of 1860 never came to the front. Free trade seemed to have gone out of fashion for the moment. But other and more paramount interests than those of commerce began to stir the minds of French politicians at that time. It became, perhaps, dangerous to allow the claims of the mere masses to interfere with the interests and wishes of powerful bodies whose influence was necessary to the Government. The claims of the people could easily be subordinated, as they always have been, and always will be, when neither the knowledge, power, nor determination necessary to uphold them exists. It is true that the wine and silk interests of France were ready to advocate unconditional free trade, so as to get free export of their produce to England; but the cotton and other industries pulled harder and stronger in the opposite direction. It is surely comical that the

consumer, who was interested all round and to the largest extent, was never consulted, or even thought about.

The French inquiry was most disappointing to those who cherished the hope that in the head-quarters of the Government at least there existed a firm conviction of the advantages of the treaty, and a fixed determination to pursue the path of free trade. I once had an opportunity of asking the Emperor, when at Chislehurst, how he could reconcile the institution of this inquiry with his free-trade professions. He replied that the step was taken in spite of him, that he was perfectly satisfied with the beneficial working of the treaty; but the manufacturing interest was too strong to be resisted or ignored; and he added his opinion that the inquiry would end in talk, though in any case he would have made a determined stand against any retrograde movement.

When, at the conclusion of the war, the helm of government was grasped by M. Thiers, a brighter day dawned for France. But M. Thiers was thoroughly French in the limited range of his commercial ideas, and a firm believer in the necessity of protecting French industries. It seems strange that a statesman of such power and knowledge as he undoubtedly possessed, should fail to grasp the important and obvious fact, that the enormous financial resources which he so ably manipulated in the redemption of his country, were the product of a state of commercial prosperity largely stimulated, if not created, by the measure of freedom which had of late years been accorded to French industry. On this subject we have the evidence of M. Chevalier, who says:—"It may be said without exaggeration that this wholesome policy, followed since 1860, although restricted and timid as it must be in the outset, has added so much to the resources of France that it enabled her to bear the heavy burdens arising from the tremendous war of 1870, including the sum, amounting to more than two hundred millions sterling, exacted from her by the victor." Higher testimony in favour of the treaty could hardly emanate from a higher authority, for he continues, "If, then, free trade has produced such fruits, even when some of its largest roots are wanting, and some of its finest branches cut off, what will it not produce when all its roots and branches are allowed to develop themselves freely and fully?"

Evidence of this sort was entirely lost on M. Thiers, for he at once denounced the treaty and all its works. He opened the way to a retrograde movement by proposing a duty on raw cotton, demanding from the treaty governments an increase in the tariff rates corresponding with that duty; and this under the plea of the financial exigencies of France.

It is not surprising that M. Thiers, an inveterate protectionist, should make this proposal, and that France, a country only half con-

vinced as to the advantage of free exchange, should approve it. But one cannot help looking with some dismay on the fact that this retrograde movement was received with complaisance, if not approval, by the English Government. Now there are many reasons why statesmen, and even advanced economists, should regard the French treaty and the treaty system generally with coldness, because pure free trade, which this country now uncompromisingly professes, brings all nations into one family, and teaches them to deal with one another equally. It is clear that any preference given to one nation over another by treaty establishes a preference which might carry a political as well as a commercial danger, and it moreover recognises the obnoxious heresy of Reciprocity.

These, however, are reasons against the formation of treaties, and not for marching back with protective France in the old direction of virtual prohibition. The British Government were, however, clearly willing to take this retrograde step, on grounds, it was alleged, of general policy which countervailed commercial considerations; and I record the fact as one more instance of the subordinate place given to commerce by statesmen. They would probably best advance the interests of their country and of mankind by making commerce instead of politics the lever and motive of all their negotiations with foreign countries.

Though M. Thiers disclaimed for his new tariff any intention of increasing the existing duties, when the proposals of his Government came to be examined, it was clear that, under the old plea of compensation, an audacious attempt was being made to augment them, and that, too, on so large a scale that the attention of commercial bodies here, and of free traders in France, was thoroughly aroused. Under a strong protest, our Government abandoned their intention of supporting the protective policy of France, and M. Thiers thus lost an opportunity, which he would eagerly have seized, of extending, through the influence of England, his obsolete economical ideas. The result of M. Thiers's failure was that the conditions of the old treaty were extended for a term of three years, which is now about to expire.

I have thought it useful to give this little history of the dangers through which Mr. Cobden's structure has passed, on account of the light it throws on the further consideration of the subject. The difficulties under which commercial progress labours in this country are greatly modified and reduced by the fact that the mass of our trading and consuming community is now thoroughly convinced as to the main principles of free exchange; the chief danger and obstruction lying, I believe, in other directions, of which I shall say something presently. The case is deplorably different in France. The consumer knows nothing, and cares less, about free trade.

The peculiar institutions of his country give him small hope of improvement in this respect. What chance would the great agitators of the Corn-law Repeal have had in a land where not more than forty persons can assemble without the permission of the police; where after three warnings any newspaper can be blotted out of existence; where Chambers of Commerce can actually be forbidden to communicate with one another on any subject which happens to be obnoxious to the Government, as free trade frequently is? But in economic principles the lower, who are also the consuming classes, of France are sound in comparison with the middle class. The latter are hopelessly ignorant and supine on such subjects, and unable either to lead or to teach. Their general impression is that England desires free trade simply that she may enrich herself at the cost of France. They know nothing of the local sacrifices we have made at Coventry, at Macclesfield, and later on at Bradford, for the general benefit, and some even go so far as to think that English shippers are willing to take lower prices in the French market than in any other, because they want to spite and ruin the French producers.

The treaty was made, according to the belief of most Frenchmen, with the idea, on the part of England, that if we sold anything to France it was so much the worse for that country, and they meant to have as few English goods as possible. In France very few trouble themselves about economic questions affecting the people. The trading class, having few children, wish to retire early to enjoy their wealth, and make no attempt to influence public policy. The free trader in France is generally one who wants to effect prohibition without making use of the word, or who desires freedom only in relation to anything which concerns himself or his own business. Thus the manufacturer who can advantageously weave English yarns is entirely in favour of their free importation, but would exclude the sorts of cloth he produces. The exporters of silk goods, wine, and other French produce are likewise free traders in relation to the export of these commodities; while the French spinner is protective all round, except as to the introduction of English coals and machinery. In furthering the spread of enlightened commercial views in France, I think this selfish state of things may be turned to useful account. The agricultural body should be appealed to as a class whose rights both as producers and consumers are sacrificed for the benefit of the manufacturers, and the wine-growers especially should be made to feel that their best energy is due in favour of a treaty which has placed them in a preferential position as compared with their competitors in Spain and Portugal. How far such a preference is justifiable, and how long it must continue, are matters for further consideration; but so long as the preference does exist, it should be used as a lever to gain allies. However difficult the

consuming classes in France may be to instruct in economic theory, their natural frugality would soon convert them to the advantage of buying the cheapest article, whether or not the liberty to do so might suit the French manufacturer; and I look with hope to this process, combined with the support of those trades which have a selfish interest in free exchange, to produce a gradual education of public opinion. There is less encouragement among the political and governing classes, who, after their kind, with a few notable exceptions, concern themselves little about commercial matters, unless they have clients in that interest whom it may be expedient to conciliate.

It will be asked, especially by those who are opposed to the treaty system on principle, why we should be so anxious to force our trade on a reluctant people; and some may think it better to wait till an enlightened self-interest shall show France the wisdom and necessity of voluntarily extending her commercial freedom. I reply that the educational progress in such matters is painfully slow, even where such substantial teaching as the treaty affords is at hand; but where none exists, it seems to me that the question would stand still. It is not often that a Cobden arises even in England; but in France, if such apostles existed, they would find the prosecution of their mission almost impossible. It seems, therefore, legitimate and desirable that those who hold fast the truth should seek every chance and expedient for spreading it, both for their own sakes and for the family of nations of which they are members. And France is the best and most natural starting point, for there is no other country for whose products we possess such a marked affinity, nor any which so naturally calls for a return from us in kind. It cannot be through a mere fashion that French shops take so much pains to supply themselves with English goods, and that in England we find in some French manufactures necessities which all our enterprise is unable to produce at home.

And France is the key to the whole question of continental treaties, and in fact to our European trade. Not only is France our natural customer, but she is one in every way to be desired. Her commercial system is sound, her credit undeniably good, and though her traders lack the large conception and enterprise of the English merchant, they have a decided advantage in their almost invariable solvency and prudence.

That a further extension of commercial intercourse would soon awaken, not only a demand but a necessity for English products, I am convinced. The principal utility of the present tariff to the French consumer is in preventing the French makers from putting up their prices beyond the point at which English goods would be sent to compete. But within this point even may lie a costly market for the

consumer, and a handsome profit for the maker. Broadly speaking, we export no goods to France except such as the French industry is not adapted to produce. For this reason, the cry that is raised by some French Chambers of Commerce, who complain that English competition is ruining the native industry, is entirely fallacious.

Indeed our total exports of cotton goods to that country have been insufficient to affect their market appreciably. Some of the anti-treaty Chambers of France exercise the most painstaking ingenuity in trying to show that the English can produce so much more cheaply than the French, that any further lowering of the duties would sweep the latter out of existence. Now, without admitting that any better fate should be reserved for them, if they fail to supply their customers on the best terms which the world affords, I think that no such disadvantage exists for the French industry. In 1860 Mr. Cobden wrote—"It is now very much a question of the cost of coal and the first outlay on mills and manufactories, for the commissioners here have, I believe, quite come to the conclusion that French labour is at least quite as cheap as in England, and they do not admit it is less skilful." Matters have improved for France very materially since then, and considering her long hours of labour and other advantages, her production is nearly, if not quite, abreast of ours as to cheapness; and if there be something to her disadvantage in the matter of coal, it surely does not require a duty of 15 per cent. on the average of exportable fabrics to countervail it. In 1872 I proved before the French Court of Inquiry that the prices in November, 1869, for the leading sorts of printing cloth, were lower in Mulhouse than in Manchester, and that we actually use more French cotton goods in England than the French use of ours. Thus the complaint that our competition is ruinous to French industry is quite untenable. The duty alone on the sorts of English goods most exported averages about 15 per cent., and to this must be added 5 per cent. for packing, carriage, commission, &c., and 5 per cent. more in consideration of the preference always accorded to French over English makes. Thus the French maker enjoys an average protection of nearly 25 per cent., a position which he has strong apparent personal motives for retaining; though experience shows us that such a privileged position, and the absence of the stimulus to improvement which a keen competition affords, must tend to unfit him for existence in a rivalry which the progress of humanity will some day inevitably bring upon him.

Next in objection to the high character of the tariff comes its erratic and almost inexplicable application. For purposes of taxation, cotton goods are grouped in three classes, distinguished by the width and weight of the various cloths. These groups are again subdivided into classes distinguished by the number of threads

in the square inch, making in all, for plain goods alone, nine separate standards of tariff, each of which must be laboriously groped out by the Custom-House officers with measure, scales, and glass. The application of such an illogical and barbarous system was clearly intended by the French framers of the treaty to complicate and embarrass our exports as much as possible, and it has enjoyed a high measure of success. But surely such antiquated restrictions should now be abolished, and our fresh negotiations based on the desire of increasing rather than of preventing business. France, from actual prohibition in 1860, made a great step forward in forming the treaty. The men who were young in free trade then are now of mature years, and if they have no more substantial argument to advance against its further extension than the cowardly fear of a few interested manufacturers, it seems clear that they occupy a somewhat ignoble position. The French need never fear a severe competition with this country, for the cost of transit, commission, freight, &c., will always give them a very handsome advantage. The time has now arrived when economists in both countries should put aside all subterfuges and compromises, and go in boldly for the advocacy of absolutely free exports and imports between the two countries, nor should they rest content with anything short of that. We have practised the commercial goose-step long enough by the treaty system, and it is surely time to quick-march.

We shall of course be confronted with the usual wail about loss of revenue. But our French friends may take heart from the experience of this country, where the same cry was raised. The aggregate estimated loss of customs revenue from reductions and repeal of duties between 1840 and 1869 amounted to more than £23,000,000, and yet we were able to draw almost as much revenue from customs in 1869 as in 1840. Our export trade rose from the almost stationary sum of £50,000,000 in 1840, to so great a total as £190,000,000 in 1869. And this is of course independent of the increased prosperity which accompanies such a trade, and the correspondingly increased area for direct taxation.

The report of the two French commissioners, MM. Raoul Duval and M. A. Balsan, who recently paid a visit to this country for the purpose of examining our textile industries, and determining what modifications it might be desirable to introduce in the existing French tariff, is somewhat disappointing. They recommend that the *tarif conventionnel*, which now applies only to countries having special commercial treaty arrangements with France, shall in future be adopted as the *tarif général*, applicable to all nations; and it is to be hoped that the arguments which apply to the reduction of the *tarif général* may be equally advanced in favour of a still more liberal consideration of conventional tariffs.

But, through the whole of their report, there is far too much talk about the spinner and his advantages and disadvantages, and far too little about the consumer and what is due to him from the State. The commissioners admit that the spinners of Alsace, instead of going straight to ruin under the lower protection of the German Customs Union, have flourished exceedingly, and are now able to compete with English yarns more successfully under a liberal tariff than they were able to do under the more protective system of France. This should surely be encouragement to go farther.

I have traced at some length the difficulties which beset economic progress in France, where neither the information nor the motives of commercial action are of a very advanced type. Let me conclude by pointing out what I believe to be the principal difficulties which exist in this country, where both public opinion and self-interest are supposed to be convinced of the advantages of unlimited free exchange. The main obstacles to our progress I take to be these:—the want of a more thorough application to commercial questions on the part of our so-called commercial Members of Parliament; the absence of commercial knowledge and interest in commercial matters which generally characterizes the chiefs of our great departments of State, and our representatives in foreign countries; the complete absence of any properly organized machinery for the negotiation and transaction of matters of commercial interest between ourselves and other nations.

The time of Members of Parliament is too much taken up with party struggles, and with questions involving the expenditure of income, to admit of due attention being given to matters that affect the sources of revenue and the commercial prosperity of the country. It would surely best suit the interests of commercial constituencies, at least, if they applied some standard of commercial utility to their representatives in the House of Commons, rather than the conventional one which relates mainly to mere party athletics, or the dabbling in all sorts of legislation for which they often possess neither the training nor the aptitude. Nor are we better off in the House of Lords. Few commercial men ever attain to its precincts. Commerce is there undoubtedly considered an uninteresting, if not a somewhat ignoble subject; and it was far from an edifying spectacle to find a bench full of our hereditary legislators, in the matter of the India import duties, calmly throwing over both economic principle and commercial justice, in order to support a mistaken and restive colleague. But if both Houses had all the wisdom and willingness in the world, they would be unable to produce any results without a proper and efficient department for the administration of commercial matters, and no such department, nor even the semblance of it, now exists. When deputations on com-

mercial matters are reported to have "thanked his lordship and retired;" they are thankful for very small mercies; for with them generally retires their question and all further action in it. However convinced a minister may be as to the merits of the case, it is impossible for him to take in hand the detail-work of it, and there is practically no one else with the authority or appliances to do it.

Sir Louis Mallet, who possesses great knowledge of business and large official experience, had brought the commercial department of the Board of Trade to a fair condition of efficiency, and he had strong views as to the desirableness of extending our commercial relations with foreign countries; but the late Government evidently held equally strong opinions. Sir Louis Mallet was relegated to the India Office, and lost to those commercial interests which he was so well fitted to administer. The Board of Trade has almost abolished its commercial department; for it possesses now little more than the machinery for the publication of tariff notices, statistics, &c. The late ministry decided that the commercial department of the Foreign Office, which had hitherto been merely machinery for carrying out the Board of Trade arrangements, should take up the duties formerly performed by the commercial department of the Board of Trade; but no properly authorised head was ever appointed to this new department.

Sir Louis Mallet held a position as Assistant Secretary, and was able, whenever business required, to see the head of his office, the President of the Board of Trade, and to discuss and settle matters with him. He was further placed in communication with persons holding similar rank in other countries, and could effect much quietly by that means. He was also able to communicate freely with persons in this country with whom it would be useful that he should maintain relations: moreover, he had under him a full and sufficient departmental staff. But, as things are now, those whose duty and interest call them to the commercial department of the Foreign Office know too well how utterly inadequate it is to cope with its functions. The staff seems to undergo a steady reduction, and if the members of it were ever so zealous and assiduous, they are denied the necessary power to carry out their work. It is impossible to obtain a particle of information there as to the movements of foreign countries in commercial matters; in fact, the necessary communication does not seem to exist, nor even the power to deal with persons in this country.

Meanwhile great interests are suffering from neglect of commercial questions and the means of treating them. Foreign countries are making their future arrangements, not on a basis which in many respects will suit our trade, but without us and against us. Austria has prolonged her treaty with France, but has put an end to ours.

Our embassies, without help from home—and, in the absence of proper arrangements here, that help cannot be given—are incapable of dealing adequately with commercial matters. Everything is drifting, and when attention is awakened, it will probably be too late. As commercial arrangements are made without our participation, it is the more necessary that our commercial department, as well as our embassies and consulates, should be in an efficient state for dealing with these matters, and should possess full knowledge of what is going on, and capacity for action in regard to them.

Our commercial department should be on a footing superior, rather than inferior, to that which existed in 1872 at the Board of Trade, and if some increase in the estimates occurs until reorganization can be effected, the money would be well invested, and there is no interest better entitled to demand a more adequate care. Last session, a legal assistant under-secretary and some new private secretaries were appointed, without a word of inquiry or comment in the House of Commons. As to the appointment of a minister of commerce, if he were created at present he would probably be a junior cabinet minister, who would be so glad to get the post, that he might hesitate to speak up against the more influential members of the Government. It would be better at present to develop the departments in existing public offices, which might have hereafter to be thrown off into a ministry of commerce, when they had acquired sufficient weight and experience to go alone.

As to the forthcoming arrangement of a new commercial treaty with France, it rests, in the absence of a proper organization for administering the question, mainly with the commercial community and their representatives in Parliament to deal with. Let us hope that on our side a determined stand will now be made for free trade, pure and simple, and that the free traders of France will second us by repeating the famous old answer which the French merchants gave to Colbert, when he asked them how he could best promote commerce—*Laissez nous faire.*

JOHN SLAGG.

## AN ADDRESS TO SOME MINERS.[1]

When your Committee did me the honour of asking me to come here to make some sort of speech to you to-night, I felt that though it is not always easy to think of something useful to say on such occasions, yet I could not refuse. You can understand what an interest, what an advantage, what a bracing change, it is to a student and a man of the pen to come from time to time among those who are doing the hard work and carrying on the great indispensable service of the world. It is true that head work is in some ways as hard and exhausting as even work of the hands such as yours. Ideas and right expressions are often as difficult to get and to deal with as coal and ironstone; and the scholar, as he shuts up his book and puts out his lamp, many a time knows a weariness of body and a heaviness of spirit which equal anything known to you, as you trudge home of a night from the pit-mouth. Do not think that I want to talk the cant of our all being working men alike. That is nonsense and clap-trap. There is a very real and a very rough and sharp difference between men who work for day wages, and are nine hours a day in the darkness underground, and men who work in arm-chairs in libraries. We do no good by pretending to call the two sorts of life by the same name. All we can say is that it ought to be a good thing for each of the two kinds of men to see and hear as much as possible of the other. And that is the second reason why I could not refuse to comply with your very kind invitation. If it is an honour to me to be invited here, I hope it is not an unbecoming thing in me to say that the fact of your wishing to send for an entire stranger, of whom you know no more than that he is a man of books and an observer of public and social matters—that this fact is not without some honour to the hosts as well as to the guest. Perhaps it is as good a reply as could be given to those preposterous alarmists who keep warning the country that Trade Unions will drive all educated men out of public life, will refuse a hearing to quiet and disinterested watchers of events, and will hand over exclusive influence to furious demagogues and reckless flatterers of popular selfishness. If careful and disinterested watchers of events do ever come to lose their influence, we may be quite sure that it will be their own fault. You will be as willing to admit, as I should be unwilling to deny, that great bodies of men may now and again make mistakes—mistakes some-

(1) The substance of the following pages was delivered as an Address to the members of certain Lodges of the Miners' Association, in the Mechanics' Hall at Hanley, January 8, 1877.

times about the causes they espouse, and many times about the men they trust. I fancy that is possible even in Stoke-upon-Trent here. But then what I contend is that in nine cases out of ten where any great body of people have gone wrong, it has been because those who know better never took the trouble, were too superfine, or too lazy, to go down into the crowd, and honestly and courageously to tell them their minds. It is impossible that the great masses of workmen should have time to work out for themselves all the complicated facts of a great political or economical question. But if the facts are put honestly before them, I would trust any great popular body of our countrymen—and the greater the body, the more sure would my trust be—to decide upon them with generosity, with uprightness, and straightforward manly simplicity.

Our gathering to-night is one of far more interest to me than if it were met for some merely political purpose. England has now reached a point when, for the time, there are only two great central and absorbing fields of interest. One of them, new discoveries in science, and the philosophical conclusions from them; the other, new improvements in the condition of the workman. I do not pretend that there are not a thousand other things in the world for an intelligent man to care about. What I mean is that all other objects of interest are at present secondary to these two,—first, the growth in men's ideas about the physical universe; second, the change in the industrial system of our society. It is in these two spheres that the great revolutions are taking place, for which future ages will mark and remember our days. It is here that we feel the breath of the new time. About science you do not wish to hear to-night. The point that interests you, and very naturally so, is the present position of the labour question,—as I say, that is the question which is infinitely greater than all merely political questions whatever. And other people are as much interested in it as you are. The upper classes in this country are, like the rest of the world, more enlightened than they used to be. The old idea about keeping the poor in their place is rapidly vanishing, with so many other old ideas. But though, as a rule, they mean kindly, they are too often content with good wishes. They hear about the miseries of the world, but after they have heard, they go home, as Voltaire said, they eat a delightful dinner, they go to bed, and they think no more about the matter. One sometimes wonders how fine ladies can find in their hearts to put on the gay robes that some wretched girl has sat up half the night to finish, with eyes and fingers and brain and spine all in bitter ache; how the owner of the great hall can find a relish in all his sumptuosities, when he thinks of the old rheumatic labourer plodding home after twelve hours' work to a cottage where the thatch lets in the wet upon his miserable bed,

and where half-a-dozen sons and daughters are huddled together in a single room. One sometimes wonders even how you and I can sleep at nights, when we think of all the horrors of the world at our doors,—its vice and hunger, its rags and tears and echoless despair.

Then the best of the people of great wealth and station constantly say—and it is very true—that charity often does more harm than good: that they would willingly give a portion of their wealth to some public service if they were sure of its not being lost in abuses and corruption. There is something in this, but not too much. Here in Hanley, for instance, with your 50,000 inhabitants, with more handsome and pleasant-looking drinking houses than I care to count, you have no Free Library. How could the man who draws a fine revenue from your collieries do a more useful and public-spirited thing than by building and stocking and endowing a handsome library, and making a gift of it to the town? In the United States they do this kind of thing as a matter of course. In New York only the other day a wealthy citizen, a Mr. Lenox, has finished a public library—a magnificent building of marble—and stocked and endowed it at a total cost out of his own purse of something like £150,000, or more. The two Astors—a father and son of enormous fortune, both of them now dead—gave something like a quarter of a million of money to establish another library in the same city.[1] Why should not one of the great London dukes do something of that kind for St. Pancras or Bethnal Green? And there are a hundred other services by which the great town-owning nobles might repay the debt they owe to a society that has lavished so many bounties on them. Opinion will perhaps at no distant day make them feel that to be a great noble is less than to be a great citizen.

Meanwhile if the great mass of the workers of a country are well-off, are improving in their habits, are becoming more civilised, then we may say that the country at large is well-off and civilised. It is a mistake to talk of the working class. The workers are the only set of people who are not a class; they are the nation. If those transfigured spirits whom the poets feign to dwell in the stars and far-off spheres, ever look down on our globe whirling through the spaces of the sky, we may be sure that they hardly see the little handful of men and women clad in purple and fine linen. Rather they yearn over the myriads of poor toilers all over the face of the earth, women in the garrets of great cities, seafarers and fishers labouring for their lives on storm-beaten waters

(1) It is worth while to contrast with this the conduct of an English nobleman. In the *Times* of February 23 this paragraph occurs:—"A letter has been received from the agent of the Duke of Norfolk stating that his Grace is willing to sell the Sheffield markets to the Corporation, but at an enhanced price to that at which they were offered last year—namely, £267,450." And it is worth adding that this demand is based on an estimate which includes the prospective value of the tolls.

by night, men labouring with little cheer in mines and swamps and sunburnt plains, children facing the harshness of life in canals and factories and pits, the aged poor waiting with dumb anxiety after their long journey is over, for a grave that looks even drearier than life. Of this vast host in Europe the English workmen are the vanguard of strong pioneers. The circumstances, first of our political growth, and second, of our prodigious industrial growth, have given to the workmen of this country the front place in the struggle to achieve the emancipation of labour. The French artisan of the towns is more swiftly moved by high-soaring ideas. The German artisan is more violent in his protests against the gulf that is set between the few who have, and the many who have not. But neither the generous fire of France, nor the rumbling vehemence of Germany, has yet brought its artisans to that independence, that equality between master and man, that unfettered right to combine, which has at length been won by the skilled workmen of Great Britain. You are nearer a solution of the difficulties of Capital and Labour than they. You have an amount of political freedom and material resource, of public right along with financial strength, such as the workmen of no other nation in Europe can be said to enjoy. The thought that you are—not rising away out of your own people—but raising your own people with you, and offering a beacon-light of hope to those who are worse off than yourselves, is the most inspiring you can have. Every act of self-control, of faithfulness, of duty, in the humblest of you, helps on the great cause. If the mass are well, all is well. This is not because workmen for day wages are wiser or more virtuous than people who do not work for day wages; to say that they are so, would be utterly untrue. But the condition of the mass is all important, simply because they are the mass.

People sometimes talk of the selfishness of the Trade Unions. But there is all the difference in the world between the selfishness of a capitalist and the so-called selfishness of a great Trade Society. The one means an increase of self-indulgent luxury for one man or a single family. The other means not luxury, but increase of decency, increase of comfort, increase of self-respect, more ease for the aged, more schooling for the young, not of one, but of a thousand or ten thousand families. Others may call that selfishness if they please; I call it humanity and civilisation and the furtherance of the common weal. There are those who say that the capitalist is a higher order of being than the workman. And I am the last person to deny the sovereign importance of the gifts that are required for the organization, control, and direction of the gigantic enterprises of modern industry. The great contractor, the great merchant, the great manufacturer, who builds up one of the immense fortunes of our times, usually possesses, and could not achieve what he does without

possessing, an energy, a patience, a far-sightedness, a knowledge of men, a power of combination, a power of moving his mind easily from generalities to details, which altogether constitute one of the most striking types to be found in the whole sphere of practical characters. Yet we rank even the most extraordinary of these men below even a second-rate statesman or a second-rate general. And why, except that the direct aims of the statesman and the general are not private aggrandisement, but high public ends? It is true that the capitalist too confers public services of the most indispensable kind. His capital, and the sagacity and enterprise with which he employs it, are the means of procuring subsistence for the population of whole cities and whole countries. But this is only to say that he is socially valuable, exactly because, and in proportion as, he does something for the many. We look at his palace with indifference or contempt; that is only the temple of what is too often a vulgar and stupid luxury. We look at his factory or his foundry or his building yard with real respect and real interest, because they are the symbols, not of the superfluities which he is heaping up for himself, but of the process by which he helps to diffuse the necessaries, the decencies, and the comforts of life among a thousand or ten thousand other people. It is numbers that make all the difference; it is about the condition of numbers that we should constantly think, and that is why I say that the Labour Question and the enormous change that has taken place and is taking place in the position of the workmen, is the one social feature of our generation that is of real, profound, and lasting importance.

There are various sides and parts of this question. There has been much done, and there is much to be done, as to the better organization of Friendly Societies; as to the Truck System; as to Technical Instruction; as to Co-operation. But by far the most important element in this matter is the growth of Trade Unions. This is the root of all the rest; it is the uprising of a great hope, because it means that the workmen are henceforth to be their own helpers. I do not forget—it would be the basest kind of ingratitude if any of us ever should forget—the beneficent services rendered to labour by Cobden and Bright in removing the tax on the labourer's bread; and again, principally by Mr. Bright, in forcing the government to admit the workmen to their share of citizenship. The last measure is not yet so complete as some of us hope to live to see it. We hope to see the same privilege of political speech and political power given, and before very long, to the men of those two thousand country villages of the land, that are at present wrapped in a political torpor, that is both a deep disgrace and a sure danger to our commonwealth. But the advantages of the lowering of the parliamentary franchise have only been great, because the

new voters insisted, first, on a measure of national education, and second, on the abolition of the tyrannical restrictions on free combination among workmen. There are several other things still left for which you might use your votes, and I will come to them by-and-bye. Meanwhile, it has been the most prodigious of all possible gains to have compelled parliament to give to the workmen of this country unfettered freedom of union and combination.

Last spring we had in London a meeting of agricultural labourers, and a very remarkable meeting it was—about a thousand delegates who had come up from all parts of England, to say what they had got to say about their claim and their desire to have votes. A most striking incident at this meeting was the appearance, among other delegates, of a grey weather-beaten man who lived down in Dorsetshire, and who about thirty years ago had been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment—for what, do you think? Not for theft, nor homicide, nor perjury, nor housebreaking, but for the crime, which it now seems so wonderful to think of making a crime, of trying to induce three or four labourers of his village to join together in asking for more wages. It seemed to take us all back at a single step into the dark ages. It was like looking on the ghost of some unhappy creature who had suffered the penalties of the law three or four hundred years ago for witchcraft and riding on a broom by moonlight. Well, it is pretty safe to say that no man in England will ever again be condemned to a year's imprisonment for belonging to a union, no more than any man will ever be burned for sorcery again. The thirty years that have come and gone since this poor man heard his sentence, have not come and gone for nothing. Trade Unions as such are no longer to be treated as a delusion, which we may expect one day to pass away from the minds of our people. Combination among workmen, whether we like it or dislike it, now stands out as the greatest fact in modern industrial life. You know the old story about Napoleon. When the Austrian Emperor some eighty years ago put in the first clause of a Treaty, intending to be all gracious, that he recognised the existence of the French Republic, which was an ugly novelty in those days to the crowned family of obstructives,—Napoleon said, "Strike that out: the French Republic is like the sun in the heavens; if any man does not see it, so much the worse for him." And if any man in England does not understand that Trade Unions have now their roots struck too deep into the ground to be displaced, then so much the worse for him. So much the worse for his judgment and observation, and his power to discern the road along which the mighty engine of modern society is travelling. You sometimes hear a mother say that she wishes her grown-up son could again be a little child playing at her knee. This is a very natural and beautiful feeling in her; but of course if she really

expected such a transformation to come to pass, it would be folly and madness. It is just as great folly and madness for people to expect that the workmen of this country, after winning by many a stout fight a position that enables them to deal with their employers on equal terms and face to face, that gives them all the sentiments of independence and self-respect and loyal brotherhood, are ever going to grow back again into the bondage and the isolation of industrial infancy.

And this is not the highest point of view. If Unions were merely engines of battle between masters and men, they would be valuable enough. They are more than this. They are more than a new phalanx of attack. Unions are the signs and the agencies of the conscious and settled incorporation of the Labouring people, of their final establishment as the strongest organ in the body politic of Great Britain. They are the one new social factor worth considering. The future of our country depends on the degree in which they are capable of being animated by more vigorous moral and social ideas than those of the other great factor, the landed and commercial plutocracy. There is no force outside of these two. The Churches seem strong, but their activity is external; their dogma is irretrievably sapped, and they are too distracted by a harassing scepticism that can never again be quenched nor stilled, to be commanding elements in society. The Churches will go on living by receiving the impress from without; not by stamping any impress of their own. Then there are the newspapers. At public dinners and elsewhere they are conventionally complimented as resistless forces, like Time or the Ocean or the Bible or Koran. The roar is tremendous, no doubt. But the newspaper must live, must return a percentage on capital, must not offend the respectable advertiser. Their writers, shrewd, able, and often well-informed, must play the part of the Greek sophist, whose business was to reflect, to justify, and to inculcate the current prejudices of his society. These are not the conditions of real force. Newspapers can only move, after somebody or something else has already persuaded their customers to move. Then the plutocracy is too choked by wealth to give an energetic voice to a higher national life. So far as it depends upon them, England will sink to the level of a more plethoric Holland, seeing the great universe sweep on, with a dim eye and a nerveless arm. Our hope is in the openness of the labouring people to right ideas and good purpose, and the hope of the labouring people depends first and for the present in their staunch and loyal combination among one another.

A great many vehement charges are constantly made against Unions. And it would certainly be absurd to pretend that all the rules of every Union in England are wise and just. One or

two of the Unions occasionally show a rough and intractable spirit. One or two of their leaders have occasionally said violent things. But if this unwisdom, injustice, roughness, intractableness, and violence had all been both constant and glaring, instead of being extremely rare, and being marked exactly because rare,—why, I should say that this would be all the stronger reason why Unions should be encouraged and welcomed by public opinion, because it is only by the training which Unions furnish in habits of business, in close and varied discussion, in larger acquaintance with the wide circumstances of trade, in collective responsibility, that you can expect to increase good sense and breed a finer feeling for equity among the workmen. Undoubtedly, it is right and wholesome either for capitalists or journalists or anybody else to denounce bad trade rules, and to condemn an unjust or foolish course of policy in a union. But most of the charges that are current are without weight or reality, and come either from people who know nothing at first hand about Unions, and who only talk in the air and out of their own heads, or else from employers who do know, but whose knowledge is distorted by the medium of strong prejudice through which it has to pass. This is only what might have been expected. It is not a pleasant thing for any man who has been accustomed to dictate his own terms, to find himself obliged to treat his former servant as an equal. He is sure to say some wild things in his irritation; and some very wild things have been said in this matter. For instance, your Miners' Unions have been accused in black and white in so many words of deliberately lessening the output of coal, and raising the price. Before accusing the Miners of lessening the output, people should have taken the trouble to ask whether the output had really been lessened. As a matter of fact, the output in 1870 was 110 millions of tons; in 1871, 117 millions; in 1873, 127 millions. But it was exactly in 1873 that the price of coal to the housekeeper was so dear as to cause the outcry; yet we see that in that year the output was greater than it had ever been before. In 1874 it fell to 125 millions, but in 1875 it is believed to have risen to 130 millions. This being so, what becomes of that charge against the Unions?[1]

(1) The writer of an article on the present short address in the organ of the Employers' Federation, *Capital and Labour* (Jan. 17), deals with this point in a remarkable manner. He talks as if my figures were wrong, or dishonestly interpreted. And how does he show this? By the assertion that the Trade Union leaders, especially Mr. Macdonald, *advised* the men that, if they wished their wages to be kept up, the output of coal must be limited by working fewer hours, or by other means. "The foolish advice was followed to a great extent," et cetera. Now, Mr. Macdonald, if that were a matter of any concern, never gave any such advice. But nothing that either Mr. Macdonald or any other Union leader could have said, has any bearing on the point in issue. The allegation to which I am replying is that the output *was lessened*, as a matter of fact, and hence the dearness of coal at a given time. As a matter of fact, the output was not lessened, if the figures of the *Statistical Abstract*, published by the Board of Trade, are

Then it is laid to the door of the Unions that they are ruining the prosperity of the nation by encouraging foreign competition. This is one of those parrot cries that always rise when times are dull. Mr. Gladstone pointed this out so long ago as 1845, when it was proposed to take the duty off the export of machinery. Those who opposed the removal of that duty said that to favour the export of machinery was to encourage the competition of foreign manufactures. Yet we all know how English manufacture has waxed greater since 1845, in spite of our exportation of machinery. But when a cry has once become the fashion, the trifling fact that it happens to be absurd and untrue makes no difference. If a parcel of American-made hinges finds its way to Birmingham, every newspaper announces the fact under the heading of the ruin done to British trade by the Unions—though if they took the pains to inquire they would find that one reason why the hinges came here was that the American had overstocked himself. Take a case in your own industry. There is a great coal industry in Belgium, a country four hours or so from our shores. Yet you send your coal over to Belgium. Is this because the Belgians have Miners' Unions, raising wages beyond yours, and so encouraging English coal-owners to compete on the strength of lower wages? Why, the facts are the very reverse. It is the English coal-owner who has to pay higher wages—very much higher—and yet, for all that, he can undersell the Belgian coal even in Belgium itself. And the explanation is this, that the Englishman who gets the high wages produces on an average 250 tons a year, while the Belgian only produces 146 tons a year.[1] Even the tremendous rise of price in coal, during the coal famine, was not enough to develope coal-mining abroad, in Belgium and other countries, to such an extent as to enable the foreigner to do without supplies from England. The export of iron and steel has fallen off lately, but even now it is nearly half as great again as it was ten years ago. The figures always fluctuate, and the very men who keep up a mechanical grumble that it is all the fault of the miners, know very well, and among themselves never think of anything else than, that the state of the iron export trade is explained by the contraction of railroad-making in the United States, in Russia, and a variety of other influences, for which miners are as much to blame as they are to blame for coal being black.

Then to come to the all-important question of wages. I say all-important, because, as the homely saying goes, it is hard for an

to be relied upon. The article in *Capital and Labour* is only worth notice as illustrating the slovenly mendacious stuff which will pass muster for argument, when men's prejudices are violently engaged.

(1) This is the official explanation furnished in Sir A. Barron's Report on the Trade of Belgium (1874). But it was pointed out to me by the Agent of the Miners' Association that the difference might possibly be due to some greater difficulty of the coal-faces in the Belgian pits, if they be more difficult.

empty sack to stand upright; and it is hard for a man who has to live on starvation wages, who goes about his work badly clothed and his hunger only half satisfied, to be what we should like to see him, either as workman or citizen. Some persons are fond of finding fault with this. They say it is simply material; a taking thought for the body, where we ought to be thinking of higher moral ideas. I have noticed that the people who think material prosperity such a poor worthless thing, are generally themselves among the most prosperous of men. Now as to wages, the employers and the enemies of Trades Unions have blown hot and cold with the same breath. They first cry out that Unions raise wages by lowering profits with damage to the employer, as well as by raising prices to the damage of the consumer—though, by the way, there is a perilous approach to self-contradiction in this. Then they turn round, and warn you very gravely that Unions have not raised wages, and neither would nor could raise them. And those who deny that Unions can raise wages have not been kept by their Political Economy from falling into a bit of uncommonly bad logic. I am sorry to say that a statesman whom we all respect and admire very heartily, no less a personage than Mr. Bright, who has given the world so much good logic before now, should last week at Rochdale have repeated this fallacy—for fallacy it certainly is. Mr. Bright points to the circumstance that the wages of no class have risen so much as those of domestic servants; yet there is no Union among domestic servants. As if any one had ever said that it is impossible for wages ever to rise in any occupation without a combination of the persons plying that occupation. A great and rapid increase of the demand, for example, will send wages up. And a great and rapid increase of this kind is exactly what took place in the case of domestic servants. The incomes of the most important part of the middle class have risen immensely within the last five-and-twenty years, with the unprecedented volume of wealth that has rolled over the country. One of the first and most universal ways of spending an increase of income in the middle class is to keep more servants; they serve purposes of ostentation as well as household convenience. This alone would suffice to account for the rise in the rate of domestic wages.[1] Again in our great Lancashire industry, no wages, I believe, have risen more in the last five-and-twenty years than those of the women in the card-rooms, and yet until very recently these women were not associated with any Union. But how are such facts as these to the point? How does it follow

(1) Mr. Lloyd Jones, whose excellent writing in the *Bee-Hive* (now the *Industrial Review*) for so many years deserves honourable recognition for its soundness, penetration, and patient steadfastness, also attaches much importance to emigration as diminishing the supply. But perhaps still more than emigration, it is the demand for female labour in factories that has lessened the supply for domestic service.

that because in some employments wages happen to have risen without Unions, therefore in quite different employments they cannot have risen in consequence of Unions? Can there never be two roads to the same place? It is like arguing that because you have come from Burslem to Hanley on foot, therefore it is impossible that I can have come by train. The plain truth is all the time that there is no single and universal law in the matter. In some circumstances Unions can raise wages for a time beyond the level they would have kept without Unions: in other circumstances they are not strong enough to do this. And whether Unions raise the average of wages or not, there can be no doubt about their checking the excessive rapidity and violence of the fluctuations of wages. These fluctuations are the very curse of industry. None but the artisans are exposed to such periodical catastrophes as we call by the quiet name of bad times, or a falling trade. I am not so unjust as to deny that bad times are bad enough to the employer and the shopkeeper as well as to the artisan, but they do not mean to the employer as they do to the artisan, a sudden and instant plunge from a bright fireside, from good warm clothing, from smiling family life, to breaking stones by the highway, to the workhouse, to destitution and rags. That is what a falling trade means to the workman. "Yes," they say, "but times mend." That may be, but to whom of us of the middle class would life ever be the same, after we had once been hurled down to the bottom of such an abyss as that?

We are very often told that the great cure for all the errors of the Unions would be found if only the workmen could have instruction in Political Economy. With all respect both for those who say this, and for some of the books that have been written about Political Economy, I confess that I no more believe that a knowledge of that subject would be specially useful to those who have to deal with the practical circumstances and daily problems of the Labour market, than I believe that a knowledge of the few general theories of Meteorology, or the science of the weather, would help a man in farming land or navigating a ship. What the sailor wants more than anything else is a chart of the particular currents, the rocks, the shoals, the fathoming of the waters through which he is steering a course. And what the artisan wants to know, and the chief men in a Trade Society want to know, are the particular circumstances of their own trade; its fluctuations and their causes, its prices, its profits, its outlook. Now Political Economy, as taught in the books, and as expounded even by its ablest professors, sheds on these things none of the light that you need. It is an affair of tendencies and averages, of doctrines which are true enough on the conditions that the economist takes for granted. But then these conditions do not exist. They are not the conditions of real life. They lead to truths

that would be true, if only they were not false. The fact is you no more want a knowledge of abstract Political Economy to teach the weaver and the miner when they are to ask for an extra shilling more or a half-hour less, than the farm labourer would find a knowledge of the Philosophy of Contract useful at a yearly hiring. It is really intolerable folly to suppose, as so many people tell us, that attendance at six lectures on six Saturday afternoons, on Wages—a subject on which the economists have not yet settled among themselves a single firm proposition, except a bald truism or two—can be any substitute for the vigorous and real training, the true education, that a member of a Union gets from taking a practical interest in its affairs. I wonder whether one of our great industrial chiefs, the master of a thousand spindles, would think he was spending six Saturday afternoons advantageously in listening to six economic lectures on Profits. Yet why not he as well as the workmen?

I am aware that a very high authority, to whom all classes in the country are indebted for services of inestimable value, Mr. Rupert Kettle, says that the theories of Political Economy are as easy of practical and familiar application as a spirit-level and a pair of compasses. But then we are told by persons who have for years been in the habit of carefully watching these matters—by Mr. Henry Crompton, for instance[1]—that Mr. Kettle's own awards fail to carry out this view; that they are remarkable for plain business-like discretion and skilful unravelling of facts, but that they are in no sense deductive applications of the truths of Political Economy. And it could not be otherwise. Consider such a question as the reduction of hours of work. What wise counsel have the economic text-books to give to workmen or to employers on this all-important consideration? During all the discussion and agitation upon what was called the Nine Hours Bill, which everybody interested in industrial matters followed so closely, I could not hear that a single apt or sensible remark was drawn from Political Economy from beginning to end of that discussion. The air was filled with prophecies of the most dismal kind, and we heard the usual catchwords—foreign competition, diminished production, eternal laws of Supply and Demand, and all the rest of that too familiar vocabulary. The masters were perfectly sincere in these apprehensions. There was no bad faith, no hypocrisy, no cupidity, no desire to keep a screw on their men, but only an unreasonable notion of the stiff and unbending fixity of the conditions of industrial life, and that unseasonable notion they get—not from true Political Economy, as limited and explained by such a man as Mr. Mill, but from two or three cut-and-dried maxims which happen to suit their own convenience, and which they dignify by the sonorous name of economic science.

(1). *Industrial Conciliation.* By Henry Crompton. (King & Co., 1876.) Page 22.

And what has happened in consequence of the reduction of the hours of labour? Parliament as you know did not pass the Nine Hours Bill, but it did pass a law which docked the working week of 3½ hours. Has this shortening of the hours shortened the work done in the same proportion? An able friend of mine who is in the cotton trade, who hates Unions, and who thinks the English workmen are all of them on the wrong track, has been kind enough to answer this question for me, and he does so with great candour. "Of the 3½ hours that were docked by law," he says, "I am inclined to think that 2 have been recovered"—two already, mark you, almost within a few months of the new law coming into operation—"owing to the use of better cotton and higher speed, and, to a certain extent, to increased energy on the part of the workmen." Of course this is no more than was to have been expected from previous experiments of the same kind.

Now I believe I am only expressing the opinion of those who have thought most carefully about Unions, when I say that even if it were proved that they did not affect wages at all, they would still remain of the very highest importance. And many of the wiser of the masters are rapidly coming round to the same opinion. For example, I do not know how it may be in your industry, but there are trades in which the tyranny of a bad master, or the still worse tyranny of a bad foreman, is able to turn a workshop into a purgatory. A Union puts a stop to that; it insures something like fair treatment. It may in some few cases have imposed inconvenient rules on the master, but this will be mended in time. The first thing was to let masters and foremen know that the vexatious tyranny and petty domineering of the one over many were no longer to be borne by upright, industrious, and self-respecting men.

Take another example of the benefit of Unions. If there is one object which men of every rank and position ought to have at heart, it is to get Conciliation and Arbitration accepted in English industry as the right way of preventing or ending trade disputes. You have what amounts virtually to such a Board of Conciliation here in connection with your Association, and I know that it has done good work for you,—however disagreeable it may be to have wages lowered. You have such a Board in the Pottery trade. I am far from saying that strikes are not justified; on the contrary, they are sometimes not only justified but necessary in the present state of the world. But we all agree that strikes, like war, inflict a great deal of misery upon innocent people. I can remember Preston during the time of the famous strike of many weeks years ago: the gaunt looks of the men standing idle at the street corners, the pinched faces of the women and children at the cottage doors, the smokeless chimneys, the ghostly silence of the idle looms and the engines, like giants cast into a trance by the

spell of some baleful magician. It was more painful to see than a battle-field the night after the battle. For the dead are dead; but the strong and willing craftsman, with no work to his hands, half-famished, with half-famished wife and children, with gloom around him and blacker gloom in his heart, is a more dolorous sight than any death. That strike was necessary, as many another has been. But the sun will shine more brightly in the heaven and the green earth look fairer on the day when the last strike has come to an end, and both masters and men in our country shall enter once for all on a course of reasonableness and conciliation and common-sense. There is no more hopeful sign both for capital and labour than the success of conciliation in the manufactured iron trade of South Staffordshire, South Wales, and Scotland; in the ironstone mines of the Cleveland district; in most of your own coal-mining districts; and in nearly all the other capital industries of the land. There have been some hitches here and there, but on the whole, considering the newness of the experiment, and how closely it touches the keenest interests of the people concerned, the successes of Arbitration and Conciliation have been prodigious.

But if there were no Trades Unions, there would be a thousand difficulties in the way. An illustration of this was mentioned to me only the other day, by one of the best known and most deservedly respected of those who have interested themselves in these matters. This gentleman had been asked to arbitrate in a dispute about wages in a northern colliery district. He gave his award. Some of the men were deeply discontented at the result, and refused to go down into the pit. The master suffered a certain loss in consequence. The amount of this loss was promptly made up to him—by whom? Why, by the Union of which the refractory men had been members. Again, in this very district in North Staffordshire, while irresponsible people were urging with frantic vehemence a strike against reduction of wages, and while the miners themselves were half ready to strike, it is perfectly well known that the chief opponent, and in the long run the successful opponent, of such a disastrous step was the Agent of your own Association. These things can only be done by organization. You can do nothing unless the men are organized, any more than a general can do anything with a regiment in which each man acts for himself, wears what uniform he pleases, carries what weapon suits his fancy, keeps his own step and time, quick-marches, doubles, halts, half-turns, and right-about-faces just as he likes or does not like. If the men are organized you can do everything. Even the most primitive savages get themselves united as fast as they can into something like a tribe. No man is more than half a

human creature until he has got the habit of acting with others; of feeling what it is to have common interests with them; of learning to sacrifice personal sentiments and individual impulses to the good of the people about him. Well, the most natural bond in the life of a workman is with those who work with him in the same trade. They are his society. They think and talk about the same things. Their public opinion is the public opinion that influences and guides him. But this opinion comes to nothing, this daily commerce comes to nothing, if it is merely casual, a thing of chance and the winds. It is organization that makes such opinion effective, vigorous, and strong. It is a thoroughly useful training in public spirit to have to choose representatives and leaders. It is a good lesson to learn to trust them, to believe in their uprightness, to learn to follow them, to work with them straightforwardly. Everybody knows that it is one of the great arguments in favour of parliamentary government, that the necessity of choosing a representative interests the people in their own public affairs. But parliamentary elections do not come often enough. The candidates—half of them—are phrase-mongers currying favour for paltry objects of their own. Parliament to you is not more than half business. The Union is wholly business. If you go wrong there, you smart for it, and you know it. The Union is your own affair. And the consciousness of belonging to a great Union is like belonging to a great country. This is why it is unreasonable to denounce the Unions for their attitude occasionally towards the unskilled labourers. You are making yourselves, they say, into an aristocracy, trampling in your turn on those below you. The answer to that is, first that it is not really nor broadly true. Second, that even if it were true, it is only an incidental drawback to a great movement of organization of industry, which in time and in the long run will extend its advantages to the whole industrial class. Let us only get stable organization. The rest will follow. If it could be got without a moment's suffering to anybody, so much the better. If not, then better so, than not at all. And the larger and stronger and more stable the Union, the more likely are its principles to be good, its action wise, and its public opinion bracing and wholesome.

I have not travelled two or three hundred miles merely for the sake of paying you compliments, or of saying that the world has reached perfection. You would scarcely thank me if that were all. Let us by all means praise great men and our fathers that begat us; let us cheerfully remember the progress of the last thirty years; but some of us, we may hope, are looking forwards rather than backwards. We are young enough to want to know what are the things to fight for, and to achieve, before another twenty years have gone over our heads. Now there are persons of a reflective turn of mind who think that the

discovery of steam-power was made about two centuries before the world was ready for it. They mean that an overwhelming addition was suddenly made to the world's wealth and its resources, before either masters or men were advanced enough in morality to turn that wealth to the wisest and most beneficent uses for the promotion of human happiness. This is no place for following an interesting fancy of such a kind. It is enough for us to see—and unhappily we cannot help seeing—that our new wealth has not turned the world into a paradise. Too many of the masters spend their money in senseless and disgusting luxury. Too many of the men spend theirs in drinking themselves habitually into the condition of brute beasts. About the masters there is nothing that I need say here. One day they will, we may hope, think it a finer thing to use their money in such a way that a whole town may be the better for it, instead of using it exclusively in the indulgence of their own personal and domestic pleasures.

Now about the workmen. I have no wish to soften the colours in which the shameful and calamitous practice of excessive drinking is painted. No hues can be too black for that dire disgrace, that fiery curse of our country. But it is worth while to remember that there is a great leaven of industrious, thrifty, and sober folk among our workers, and that if a great many waste their wages, a great many more, on the other hand, use them sensibly and virtuously. In Lancashire, in spite of the excessive drinking and consequent waste, nobody who can remember what the habits and way of living of that population were five and twenty years ago, will dream of denying that in language, manners, domestic comfort, the improvement has been immense. At Accrington, which I mention because I happen to have been born in that neighbourhood, they have a population of 30,000, and it is said that no less than 3,000 families of that population are connected with co-operative stores and co-operative mills. In this very district, unless I am mistaken, a very large proportion of the workers in the pottery towns own the houses they live in. And the habits of the people who live in these houses have notoriously and patently undergone the most satisfactory change since the days which many of you can remember, when drink was brought into the works, and there was dog-fighting every Saturday afternoon. Do not let us forget all the facts on the good side of our national account.[1] For unless we had this mass of thrifty and sober

(1) Since this was spoken, so singularly competent an authority as Mr. Mundella confirms this way of looking at the matter:—"Comparing notes with forty years ago, he could see that there was a great change in working men. He knew that they were better off, that they were better men, and that there was more self-denial among them. Many having earned more, spent more in drinking than formerly; but, considering their training, it was not much to be wondered at. What was to be expected of men who began to work at eight years old in a coal mine among miners whose whole ambition

men and women, our national case would be desperate and beyond all help. It is to them only that we can look, as centres of that moral influence and persuasive example, without which good legislation will be powerless and good institutions will bear no fruit. Drunkenness, like all the other evils that spring from it, will have to be attacked in many ways. One of them seems as if it would be the limitation by law of the number of houses tempting men to ruin; another will perhaps be the transfer of these houses to local authorities, with a view to more orderly management; a third will be the extension of Workmen's Clubs. I do not see that one of these plans need exclude either of the other two. It is worth while—when you have to deal with a destroyer of this kind, which like the monsters of ancient fable devours thousands of your people alive every year—to try experiments of all kinds.

Then there is Education. Here it is to be hoped that the political part of the workmen will throw themselves might and main into the movement for abolishing the payment of fees by the children who go to the common schools. It is a political mistake, after you have by law—a most wise and expedient law—compelled the parent to send the child to school, and to lose the earnings of that child, to make him also be out of pocket in the amount of the school pence. But we take our stand on still more important ground than this. Don't let anybody suppose that Free Schools are a mere mechanical cry of politicians. The system of school-fees hinders, interrupts, embarrasses, and spoils the process of instruction, and it does so exactly in the case of those who lack instruction most. As the nation has no time to lose, as it has the most sure and urgent need of the spread of instruction, we say that the sooner this obstacle is removed the better.

I should like to point out other measures of which the English workmen should think in the interests of the country—but I am afraid of going too far into the region of politics, which are perhaps not proper ground here, and I am afraid of detaining you too long. You cannot, for instance, be doing wrong in helping the agricultural labourers with all your strength to form Unions as strong as the

was a gallon of beer and a bulldog? There had been lately satisfactory proof, however, how working men were improving. During the past two years there had been great depression of trade and great lack of employment. From inquiries during the past week in the North he found many men had only two or three days' work per week for the last two years. Notwithstanding that, there had been a steadily decreasing pauperism, attributable only to the fact that working men were more saving than formerly, and had laid up for the rainy day. Their tastes and habits, too, showed that they were becoming more self-respecting and more independent. As a proof, he might say that recently he had been invited to the annual meeting of the Co-operative Society of the Valley of Rosendale, of which Bacup was the centre, and he found that in the store there was a department for musical instruments. This led him to make inquiries, and he was informed that in a considerable portion of the houses of the spinners and weavers in the valley there was to be found either a pianoforte or a harmonium."

strongest Unions of other workmen. Such brotherly aid and succour is right, both in your own special interests, because the more independent and the better organized the rural labourers become, the less likely are they to choke and flood the labour market in the towns; and it is right in the still more important interests of the community at large, because it is impossible for England to rise to the fullness of the national life of a great, a free, a self-respecting people, so long as the bulk of those who till the soil are deprived of all domestic comfort, of all political duty, and of all that better hope and outlook which enables men bravely to face low and unprosperous fortunes themselves, in the assurance that their children who come after them shall have a brighter chance, and a life more worth having. Then, you cannot be wrong in trying to strike down a land system which is one of the least favourable to the workers, of any system in Europe. You cannot be wrong in caring about cheap and surer justice, and the better administration of the law. You cannot be wrong in lending your strong aid to those who are sharpening the axe for the tree of abused and wasted endowments. Above all, you cannot be wrong in cleaving to your Unions, in choosing your best men to serve in them, in improving their rules, in inspiring their policy with firmness and justice and high public spirit. These are all good causes. They will help to make the name of Englishmen one that we ought to be more and more proud of. Some will tell you that our hopes are dreams and our causes forlorn. Be it so. You can answer that it is better for us, it is the worthier part, to wear out our lives in doing battle for these causes—yes, though they were forlorn—than that the voice of lamentation and the steaming tale of social ill should find us with ears stopped by comfort and arms folded in selfish ease.

# ARMY PROMOTION AND RETIREMENT.

THE Report of the Royal Commission upon Army Promotion and Retirement has been for some months in the hands of the Secretary of State for War, and Mr. Hardy will probably before Easter call upon Parliament to express a definite opinion upon the merit of its proposals. It may not, therefore, be out of place to offer a brief exposition of them, more especially since now, for the first time, the public has to consider the principle of compulsory retirement as applied to our military system. With the abolition of purchase in November, 1871, perished the self-supporting system of promotion in the English army, and a new departure became inevitable. During the five years which have since elapsed, we have not greatly troubled ourselves about the matter, but the Report of the Royal Commission has revealed the fact, that in three years and a half since purchase was abolished, the number of officers in the Infantry of the line, who have exceeded the average length of service in their respective ranks, has grown from 737 to no less a figure than 1,100. Nor should this be matter of surprise, since both in the Navy and the Civil Service it has been found necessary to resort to compulsory retirement, and we have been endeavouring to assimilate our rule of promotion in the Army to that which obtains in all other services of the Crown. Indeed, if we regard the circumstances in which the profession is placed—the influence of climate, the variety of service, the constant demand for nerve, activity, and decision—we shall see the necessity for securing promotion to the upper ranks of officers in the prime of their manhood, and regard comparative youth in the junior ranks as a qualification which we can never afford to sacrifice.

Nor are we without the teaching of experience as to the evils of a seniority system. The outbreak of the two greatest struggles in which this country has been involved during the lifetime of the present generation—the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny—found us with an active list of septuagenarian generals, whom the traditions of military rule forbade us to supersede. At Meerut and at Cawnpore our disasters have been traced to this cause, not without justice, by distinguished historians;[1] and it is one of the most painful of our Crimean experiences, that the hardships of a single campaign in Russia proved too great a strain upon the physical powers of almost the entire staff of generals who sailed with the expedition to the East. To remedy this evil, and to remove the

(1) Sir J. Kaye, "History of Sepoy Mutiny;" Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, "Cawnpore."

block to promotion in the junior grades which the supersession of a self-acting system had caused, were the two objects of the Royal Commission. They found the point at which the upward tide of promotion is arrested to be the rank of full colonel, since, however numerous are the officers in that rank, the number of generals of the three grades above remains a fixed and constant quantity. No limit is placed upon the number of officers rising to the rank of colonel, through staff and regimental service, or by brevet promotion, but no outlet is offered, except by vacancies occurring through death on a fixed and limited establishment. The Commission propose, therefore, to create a retired or yellow list of generals, similar to that existing in the Navy, and to relegate to it all general officers who have exceeded the age of seventy years. These veterans are, however, to retain, in addition to their rank and pay, their honorary colonelcies of regiments; and exceptions may be made, in order that the State should not, by an arbitrary rule, be deprived, in case of need, of the services of any officer of tried and acknowledged merit. Such is the present age of our general officers, that even the advanced limit fixed by the Royal Commission is found to include the whole number of full generals, and not less than twenty of the lieutenant-generals' list. It is proposed to fill up the vacancies so created by promotions from the full colonels' rank. Another recommendation to relieve the numbers upon the latter list is, to permit officers of the rank of full colonel to retire upon a pension of £420 a year (or nearly equal to what they would receive as generals), together with the honorary rank of major-general, from the date on which it would have accrued to them had they remained in the service. It is hoped by this double process, acting both at the top and the bottom of the list, to diminish the number of full colonels, now consisting of 523 officers, sufficiently to allow of promotions to the rank of general taking place after eight instead of thirteen and a half years' service.

The expense of promoting to the active list of major-generals a number of full colonels sufficient to fill up the vacancies caused by the retirement of the septuagenarians, is measured by the difference in their respective rates of pay, amounting to about £200 a year. The number to be promoted is estimated at 110. If it be conceded that it is wise to relieve the list for active services, except in very special cases, of men who have passed the limit of threescore years and ten, then we think the House of Commons will not be reluctant to vote the sum of £22,000 annually to secure the promotion of younger men. And again, if sixty-four is the average age at which the lowest grade of general officer is now attained, it can hardly be regarded as an extravagant proposal of the Royal Commission to accelerate the promotion of officers to that rank by the period of five years and a half.

We will now pass on to the most important recommendation of the Royal Commission, viewed in an administrative sense. It is repeated with emphasis, at the close of the Report, that all their calculations are based upon three assumptions: firstly, that their proposals are carried out at once; secondly, that existing cadres, or the present organization of regiments, are preserved; and thirdly, that the rule limiting the tenure of office of substantive majors and lieutenant-colonels to seven and five years respectively is rigidly adhered to. We believe that we are correct in saying that a strict application of this last rule is regarded by the Royal Commissioners as the very key-stone of the arch which bridges over the gulf, separating the lower and higher ranks of the military service. It is just now coming into operation, having been introduced by the Royal Warrant of 1871, and all appointments to the rank of regimental field-officer made since that date have been subject to the rule. It is, however, one which probably nothing but the absolute necessity for securing quicker promotion could have made palatable to our military authorities. The idea that the command of a regiment should be regarded as a staff appointment has never been acclimatised in regimental circles. The officer commanding is looked upon as standing somewhat *in loco parentis* towards young officers, and is certainly regarded by all the non-commissioned officers and men in a very different light from all other officers subordinate to him. Nor is this strange, when we consider the habits of strict obedience, and constant reference to higher authority, which are carefully fostered and preserved by a good military system. That an officer holding such a post, and having either graduated in the regiment, or been promoted to it for distinguished ability or conduct in the field, should, after proving his capacity by a five years' tenure, be summoned to surrender his command in the prime of life, is not a proposition likely to commend itself in the first instance to a military ear. To those, however, who have to look beyond the limit of the barrack-yard, it must be obvious that no other means exist of bringing up officers to the higher grade of colonel, and subsequently to the major-generals' list, in time to secure their physical capacity for the more important posts. To obviate this paramount evil, all minor considerations must be postponed; but a serious inconvenience will have to be grappled with, in the lengthened period which these officers, so removed from their regiments, will have to pass upon half-pay. This period will, however, be materially curtailed, if the colonels' list is annually relieved in the manner proposed by the Royal Commission. A judicious distribution of staff-appointments (all of which are also to be vacated after five years' tenure), ought to enable the Field Marshal Commanding-

in-Chief to keep in employ a proper succession of the ablest men; while the variety of service so obtained would be of inestimable value to men whose administrative experience has as yet been limited only to duties comprised within the regimental routine.

So far we have dealt only with those recommendations of the Royal Commission which affect the higher ranks of the service, namely, the retirement upon a yellow list of general officers who are upwards of seventy years of age, the promotion of full colonels, and the surrender of their commands by lieutenant-colonels whose five years' tenure at the head of a regiment has elapsed.

We come now to the proposals which affect the junior ranks, and we will take that first which affects the captains. It is proposed that every officer who entered the service after the abolition of purchase in November, 1871, shall be retired from his regiment after twenty years' service, if he have not risen above the rank of captain; but that with all officers who entered the service previous to that date, the term shall be extended to twenty-five years. Two alternatives are then offered to those who have not within that period secured their promotion to a higher grade, viz.:—either to retire altogether from the army with a pension of £200 a year, and a step of honorary rank, or to retire from the regiment with the half-pay of their rank, and the chance of employment other than regimental. We take it that few men will deem it worth their while to accept the latter alternative. The full pay of a captain is only £211 7*s.* 11*d.* per annum, no step of rank is offered, and those who so retire because already distanced in the race, will not be qualified to hold such staff appointments as would bring them up to the higher grades. A certain number who may get employment with the auxiliary forces, or in the civil departments connected with the army, may prefer not altogether to sever their connection with the combatant branch, but the bulk of them will, we think, recognise the reasons which have dictated this proposal to the Commissioners, viz.:—that practically men of twenty years' service who are still captains have lost their chance of rising in the Army. It is to avoid in the future the present congestion in the upper ranks, to prevent men hanging on until it is too late to turn to something else, as well as to open the way for their more fortunate comrades, that this recommendation of the Royal Commissioners has been made. It is, in fact, the granting of a commission, or promise of employment, not for life, but for twenty years, and it is important to remember that it introduces the practice of compulsory retirement for the first time into the British Army.

We anticipate that compulsory retirement at the rank of captain will, if adopted, have much wider application, and consequently affect the rate of promotion much more than any other of the present

proposals. At this moment there are in the Rifle Brigade more than fifteen captains who have upwards of twenty-one years' service, and who consequently, if not promoted, will have to leave their regiments in four years' time. With the Army of the future, they would all by this time have either retired altogether, or be upon half-pay. With other regiments probably the case would be found the same, and it will be a serious consideration, both for officers and their friends, when it comes to be understood that service in the army can only be reckoned upon as a profession for twenty years. It will be the duty of the military authorities to use every endeavour to mitigate the harshness with which a compulsory rule must operate upon its first introduction. Indeed, it would be a serious blot upon our military administration if we could only succeed in moving the wheels of promotion at all, by placing every year on the half-pay list a considerable number of officers in the very prime of life. With such a reserve of men trained, disciplined, and instructed in the military art, with the best ten years of their life before them, it cannot be regarded as a satisfactory conclusion at once to relegate them to a life of hopeless indolence, and to create so large an additional burden upon the State.

It is satisfactory to find, from his evidence given before the Royal Commission, that the Duke of Cambridge is fully alive, both to the hardship upon the officers and the inconvenience to the country of a large addition to the half-pay list. He therefore proposes that the regimental paymasterships, together with appointments in the Control and Surveyor-General's Departments, should be thrown open to officers compulsorily retired at the rank of captain, and that civilian offices connected with the army should be distributed more largely among this class. A certain number of them may we hope, if of proved ability and energy, be selected by the Home Secretary, with whom, should the Prisons Bill pass, will rest the appointments of governors of county gaols, and a somewhat larger number than at present will in all probability compete for the headships of the local constabulary. The principle of selection for zeal and efficiency once introduced amongst our officers, a healthy spirit of rivalry will spring up, and its effects be felt throughout the whole profession. In framing the new scheme it will be of the highest importance to bear this in mind, because we are for the first time proposing to subject our officers to one uniform rule, whatever their previous character and conduct in their regiments may have been. Few inducements to exert themselves, equally in time of peace as in war, will be found more attractive than to place within their reach employments for which their previous habits and experience should have prepared them, and which, if obtained at the middle period of life, will offer to them the means of honourable retirement.

We now come to the final recommendation of the Royal Commission, affecting the officers of less than twenty years' service. It is proposed, following the analogy of the pensions offered to officers of the Royal Artillery, to offer lump sums amounting to about £100 for each year of service, to officers who will retire after eight and up to nineteen years' service. Captains of not less than fifteen and not more than twenty years' service may retire permanently from their regiments on the half-pay of their rank, subject to the condition that they be held liable to serve the Crown in the regular and auxiliary forces, if required to do so, until the age of forty-five.

We are by no means convinced that the first part of this proposal will commend itself, either to the House of Commons or to the public. We must remember, in the first place, the character and class of men from whom in this country our officers are recruited. It may be learnt from the evidence given before the Royal Commission that no material change in the social condition of candidates for commissions has taken place since the abolition of purchase. Why then should it be likely that the offer of smaller sums than men were wont to sacrifice voluntarily in buying their promotion, will be to them a sufficient inducement to retire? The fact is that money considerations have now very little influence over them, and the questions raised in the officers' memorials, and in other forms, related rather to the sums they had themselves expended with the tacit sanction of the State, and were not directed towards obtaining any further pecuniary benefit for themselves. There has never been any serious clamour for an increase of pay. On the other hand, looked upon from a tax-payer's point of view, it does seem a most extravagant proposal to offer to every officer of eight years' service and upwards, however wealthy and however certain under all circumstances to retire, a lump sum of money, to which in no other service of the Crown would he be entitled.

In order to secure possibly a few retirements, we are asked to sanction a payment which must be made to all. Many officers retire at present because they wish to settle down and marry, or because they dislike a long tour of service in India, or because they are independent and did not desire to serve more than a few years; yet these would be strange reasons for making them a present out of the State purse. To really needy men the increase of £100 annually to the total sum they are to receive on retirement would probably operate as an inducement to remain. Nor must we forget that no plea can fairly be advanced, on the ground of the lowness of their pay while serving, to the benefit of this bonus on retiring; because, by the abolition of purchase, the pay of all officers has been increased (in the higher ranks very materially), by the interest saved upon sums formerly expended in the purchase of successive

steps. On the whole, we think it would be far better to trust to the ordinary causes of retirement, without having recourse to a new and costly system of bonuses; and when men had passed the period during which they might have hoped to rise to the higher grades, then to retire them from their regiments with an adequate pension for life.

The second proposal, dealing with officers of over fifteen years' service, and offering them employment in the auxiliary forces up to forty-five years of age, together with the half-pay of their rank, seems to us both to meet a difficulty and to supply a want. It would give a retirement to captains who had no chance of promotion, and it would supply the auxiliary forces with some experienced officers versed in the traditions of the line. It would be, also, another practical step in carrying out that fusion of the military forces of the Crown, which was the great object of Lord Cardwell's reforms. Already adjutants are appointed from the line for five years' service with the auxiliary forces, and the militia, yeomanry, and volunteers of districts are placed under the command of colonels of the regular army. It would seem wise to carry this a step farther, and appoint captains (probably not more than two per regiment) to the militia from the linked battalions of the line with which they are associated. The system and discipline of the regular army would be reflected in the militia, whilst officers who might be unwilling to go on a long tour of foreign service would have the opportunity of still serving, with their half-pay and militia pay secured to them, and a prospect of promotion beyond.

We now come to the expense of the Royal Commission's proposals, the aggregate amount of which alone we need specify. It is estimated by them that the adoption of their scheme will involve an annual charge of £500,000 for the first five years, and of £350,000 afterwards. The excess in the first years is caused by the more liberal terms granted to captains who acquired that rank before the abolition of purchase, and the necessity for more numerous retirements in order to restore the normal rate of promotion. The provision made in the estimates for the current year for non-effective charges, including honorary colonelcies, the unattached pay of general officers, the half-pay list, and the annual vote for the abolition of purchase, amounts to £920,000, and it will be necessary to add £500,000 to these estimates, in order to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission. It must be admitted that with an army expenditure exceeding £15,000,000, it will be no easy task for the Secretary for War to ask the House of Commons to assent to this increase. On the other hand, we have to remember the undertaking of Lord Cardwell, that the same rate of promotion should after the abolition of purchase be maintained, and the para-

mount necessity, upon which the Royal Commissioners emphatically insist, of giving the country security that the higher posts of the army shall not be attained, except at an age when full physical and mental vigour may be expected. So confident are we that this cannot be secured without resorting to compulsory retirement, that we would sacrifice every additional weight in order to secure the introduction of that principle. For this reason, we are not in favour of saddling the country with the cost of those pecuniary bribes, which are to tempt officers after eight to fifteen years out of the service, and we venture to hope that the House of Commons will refuse its assent to so novel and widely extended a "bonus" system.

We would also again urge the increased necessity for relieving the half-pay list, if it is to be so largely recruited by compulsory retirement, by every means at the disposal of the War Office. Employment in the auxiliary forces for men of aptitude for drill and active habits, and employment in the civilian branches of our military administration for those whom the Duke of Cambridge maintains to be admirably fitted for it, ought in most, if not all, deserving cases to mitigate the hardships of compulsory retirement. Lastly, we cannot too constantly urge, that should the House of Commons assent to this large expenditure, there ought to be a thorough understanding on the part of the military authorities, that they will carry out in good faith the other recommendations affecting promotion that were made by the Commission; that they will give practical effect to the recommendation that staff appointments should be distributed as widely as possible, and officers return to their regiments after a tour of duty on the staff; that the warrant of 1871, limiting the tenure of field-officers' appointments to seven and five years' tenure should be rigidly carried out, and this avenue of promotion to the higher grades never closed except under circumstances of paramount necessity, and then for the shortest possible time. If this undertaking be made and rigidly adhered to, we have good hope that the bulk of the proposals contained in this very able Report will commend themselves both to the House of Commons and the country.

ARTHUR D. HAYTER.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

THE Conference was closed. The ambassadors of the Powers all left Constantinople. Midhat Pasha, the minister to whose resistance the failure of the Conference was chiefly owing, has been suddenly thrust out of place, and banished from his country. The Sultan is announced to be threatened with that kind of ill-health from which no Sultan ever recovers. Prince Gortchakoff has issued a moderate and sensible circular, putting the very obvious question what the Powers intend to do next. The British Parliament has met, and the two parties are amid much confusion slowly settling down upon the issue that is definitely to divide them. Finally, the history of the part played by the government, during an excited and agitating recess, has been laid before the country in documents of the first authority. Such are the incidents of the month that is closing. The government announce no projects of internal legislation of any seriousness, and the omission is regarded by the public with natural indifference. It would argue that the vehement and intense feeling of the autumn was a mere flaming up of kindled straw, if the nation could think of anything else, so long as the state of Eastern affairs which engendered that extraordinary outburst of feeling, remains exactly what it was. There are plenty of domestic questions in store, but opinion is not yet ripe upon them; and if it were ripe, the members of the present administration are not likely to wish to be trusted to undertake the settlement of them. In face of the tremendous disasters that are gathering over Europe, neither government nor nation will turn their eyes away from the scenes of desolation, oppression, intrigue, and dementedness, where the dreadful bolts are being forged.

In November the instructions conveyed by Lord Derby to Lord Salisbury closed with the declaration that the Porte must be given to understand that "*Great Britain is resolved not to sanction misgovernment and oppression*, and that if the Porte by obstinacy or apathy opposes the efforts which are now making to place the Ottoman Empire on a more secure basis, *the responsibility of the consequences which may ensue* will rest solely with the Sultan and his advisers." "It is in vain," the instructions run, "for the Porte to expect that the Powers will be satisfied with mere general assurances. . . . The Powers have a right to demand in the interest of the peace of Europe that they shall examine for themselves" the necessary measures of reform, and "that adequate security shall be provided for carrying these measures into operation." At the last sitting but one of the Conference in January, Lord Salisbury warned the Porte against the "unparalleled attitude which some heedless advisers would persuade her to adopt;" pointed out that Europe will be convinced "that *she can no longer relieve herself of the responsibility imposed upon her* by the efforts she has made for the protection of Turkey;" and finally reproduced the emphatic words of his instructions about Great

Britain being resolved not to sanction either maladministration or oppression.

On the first evening of the session, Sir Stafford Northcote took up exactly the same position, that there is and remains imposed upon Europe a responsibility from which, in Lord Salisbury's words, she can no longer relieve herself. The ministerial leader in the House of Commons described the paper constitution of the Ottoman Lafayette with the contempt which it deserved, and then proceeded to say that, though the government are not prepared to have recourse to coercion, yet they do desire "a common action"; and it is better both for the Christian population and everybody else concerned that this action and "*intervention*" should be common to all the Powers.

The government therefore recognises, and has recognised ever since the Conference was planned, that a rejection of the programme of the Powers, whatever shape it might ultimately assume, must involve further action and the exertion of further pressure upon the Porte. Yet Mr. Hardy, after reading Lord Salisbury's words, and listening to Sir Stafford Northcote's words, proclaims (Feb. 16) with his ordinary loud emphasis that we should be wrong in every sense of the word if we were to endeavour to use material coercion against Turkey. Lord Salisbury himself in a very sensible passage (Feb. 8) begged us to pick to pieces in our own minds the idea of what we mean by coercion. "I know," he said, "it means that your fleet may sail up the Bosphorus and threaten Stamboul; but, suppose Turkey refuses, you can do nothing else. I do not suppose that military coercion, considering the extent of the Turkish Empire, would be a course which military strategists would recommend. A naval coercion would naturally be adopted, but suppose Turkey refuses—you might, indeed, dethrone the Ottoman dynasty, and that would be the signal for confusion and anarchy in every part of the Empire. You announce to all the Mahomedan population that the dynasty to which they have for hundreds of years been attached, and to which they are attached still, has been struck down by a Christian Power in the cause of Christians. The Mahomedan population being armed, and the Christian population being still unarmed, what would be the result but a frightful repetition of those terrible scenes of which we have heard so much?"

Then in what other way is Great Britain going to promote the common action and intervention which the Ministry have described as necessary? In what other way is she going to take her share of those responsibilities, which Lord Salisbury declared to be imposed on all the Powers by the efforts made in the past for the protection of the Porte? He proclaimed that responsibility as beginning with the rejection of the programme of the Conference, and everybody wants to know what contribution we are after all going to make towards the discharge of that new obligation. How is Great Britain going to demonstrate to the Turks that she is resolved, in Lord Derby's words, not to sanction oppression and misgovernment? Has she formally broken off relations with the oppressive and misgoverning power? Not at all, for M. Musurus is still in Carlton Terrace, and Sir Henry Elliott has only come home "to report upon the situation."

Lord Salisbury stated to the Emperor of Germany that "it was the full intention of her Majesty's government to *insist* on the provision of adequate guarantees." He told Count Andrassy that the inability of the Turks to fulfil their various promises, "and the grievous sufferings which had in consequence befallen the Christian population, had imposed upon Europe *the duty of making every exertion* to secure not only the enactment of reforms, but efficacious guarantees." And everybody agrees that Lord Salisbury did insist to the best of his power. For there is this great difference between Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury. The former thinks of nothing but the patching up of peace at any price; there is hardly a single word in any speech he has ever made that shows him to have in his mind the other side of the question, the better government of the provinces. Indeed, Lord Derby himself admits (Feb. 20) that the maintenance of peace is the first of the two objects in view. Lord Salisbury, on the contrary, feels that better government is the true centre of interest, and that no public peace is worth patching up, until something has been done to secure private peace to the people of the provinces, and done effectively. And he no doubt did insist on efficacious guarantees as strenuously as he could. But what has come of our insisting? And of our duty? Can it be that we have now really made "every exertion" of which we are capable, by sending an able representative to sign half a score of protocols?

It is fair to admit that the statement of the case by Lord Salisbury is not one of which we have any right to complain. Lord Derby's instructions might perhaps have contained one or two stronger clauses, if they had been drawn by a more courageous and clear-sighted person. They are conceived in a very different vein from the earlier dispatches, so irretrievably discreditable to their writer, in which the Austrian Government was urged to send the miserable refugees from the Turkish provinces back into their country, at a time when Lord Derby's own agents were telling him that they would very likely be murdered, as indeed they were. But, putting aside the vacillations of the spring, the purposeless and dangerous reticence of the government as to what they were doing, and the random speeches of the Prime Minister, the aim of the government—after the autumn demonstrations—seems to have been in the direction in which the nation wished to go, however weak their will in acting up to their demands.

We cannot wonder that the chagrin and confusion of the pro-Turkish party at the language of the government have been intense. They see as clearly as their neighbours that such expressions as those we have quoted are too strong for what has been done. Their government have either said too much, or else what they have done has not been enough. They find that their friends in power think no better of Turkish administration than Mr. Gladstone thinks of it. They discover that even in May last, months before the Premier's vapouring—which it now appears was no more than a casual bit of the common form of Spread-Eagleism and Rule Britannia—about England being ready for as many campaigns as anybody liked, the really responsible minister had made up his mind, and had told the Turks that England would not draw the sword for them again. They listen with disgust to Lord Derby's assertion (Feb. 8) that there is no shadow of a

promise in the Treaty in 1856 to make non-observance of that Treaty by other powers a *casus belli;* and that, as far as that Treaty goes, we are in no sense bound by any promise to fight for Turkey. The high cant and the irascible bustle of the ministerial journals as to Russian intrigue having been the sole secret of the risings in the provinces, are brought to utter foolishness by Lord Salisbury's plain avowal that it is neither intrigue nor ethnological sentiment nor relationship of tongues that is at the bottom of the insurrections, but "the profound misgovernment under which the inhabitants have suffered." As the Duke of Argyll put it in the House of Lords (Feb. 20), what would be said of a physicist who, knowing that there was a full and sufficient cause for certain results, should proceed to look out for other causes which he did not know to exist, and to disregard those ascertained causes which were sufficient for all his purposes? Then again, what becomes of all the virtuous indignation against the presumptuousness of trying to prevent the Turk from doing what he likes with his own, against dictation to him, against meddling with his management of what belongs to him as rightfully as Yorkshire belongs to England—what becomes of all this, when we find not Mr. Gladstone nor Mr. Lowe, but again Lord Salisbury himself urging, first, the necessity of devising some restraint on the abuse of power by the provincial governors, and second, "*the hopelessness of finding any* [*restraint*] *that is not external to the Turkish government*," and the consequent propriety of interference by the Powers in the appointment of the provincial Governor-General?

Yet in spite of the check that has been put upon it by the government, the Turkish party shows by its attitude in the House of Commons, and by the cheers with which it greets every casual word of respect about Turkey, that its ignorant zeal for the government of organized rapine, of systematised injustice, of constant oppression diversified by periodical massacre, is as hot as it ever was. This perverse passion for iniquity is one of the moral puzzles of the world. Who did not wonder at it a few years ago, when men who are incapable of a harshness on their own estates at home here, were found ready even to subscribe money to enable people to go on flogging women and branding and maiming men and selling children in the rice swamps and cotton plantations of the Southern States? And now again we have the same type of men who sympathised with the "chivalry" of the South, crowding to Stafford House with handfuls of money for government by Bashi-Bazouks. We can understand, though we do not share, the position of those who urge that though the Turkish government is bad, yet the evils of meddling with it would be still worse. That is a really political position, and may be defended. But from this acquiescence to the enthusiasm of people like Mr. Butler Johnstone, for instance, is a long step. Enthusiasm for a government that unites every shortcoming, every execrable vice, every damning sin, that a government can be stained with! And enthusiasm with no better base than that Turks have such fine manners, such personal dignity, such high gravity!

To resume, then, the Conference is seen to have settled nothing. It has only ended in distinct and authoritative statement of what is to be settled.

Lord Derby thinks (Feb. 8) that it has done something for peace. Those who watch Prince Bismarck's famous yellow sheet, and observe the attitude of the German press, may perhaps think that in raking the ever-smouldering fire of German suspicion towards France, the Conference has been terribly mischievous. This revival of what is a worse kind of standing peril to Europe than the Eastern Question, we cannot yet measure. But turning to the Eastern Question itself, how is the situation in the Turkish provinces improved? Anybody who will turn to the second of the two Blue-books will see ample evidence of the parody of justice which is thought good enough for the subject race, even at the moment when the Plenipotentiaries were sitting at Constantinople, and under the very eyes of the English agents.[1] Horse and cattle lifting, and the quartering of all soldiers and officials on the villagers without payment, still continue. Knowing that the Christians are without their arms, the Circassians are prowling about the country, and most of the villages that are happy enough to be able to afford it, actually hire a couple of these brigands to defend them. In the Boyadjik district Consul Reade, writing on the first day of this year, found tax-gatherers and tax-farmers "collecting the taxes and tithes in the most arbitrary and cruel manner from the villagers," though these unfortunate wretches have in the late disasters lost almost everything, and are not only unable to pay their arrears, but are scarcely able to maintain themselves and what remains of their families. And so forth—all the reckless disorder and cruelty of oriental government, with enmity and race-contempt superadded. The case of the Asiatic provinces is as bad. The necessity of providing for the military forces that are on foot is urgent and increasing. With this necessity grows the necessity of more and more merciless exactions. In Midhat the friends of Turkey thought that at last a ruler was found, fit to grapple with this seething anarchy. Sir Henry Elliott described his appointment in December as of very great importance. Midhat was "the most energetic of the Turkish statesmen," "the hope of the Mussulman reformers." Within two months the energetic statesman found himself by a caprice of the Palace an exile at Naples, and the hopes of reform are as good as in the bowels of Vesuvius.

What were the points at which the Turkish representatives found their dignity and honour so keenly touched, that rather than concede them, they preferred to face the enormous peril of helpless isolation? The securities demanded were four. 1. The appointment of a Governor-General for a term of five years; the Powers to have a veto. 2. An International Commission of Supervision. 3. Local control over the collection and assessment of direct taxes. 4. The admission of Christians to militia and police, in proportion to their numbers. Without the third of these, the Christian, says Lord Salisbury, will remain liable to the extortions of the tax-gatherer in time of peace; without the fourth, he will run the risk of massacre in time of trouble. The importance of the first point, and the point which the Porte most strenuously resisted, is explained in Lord Salisbury's admirably full and instructive dispatch of Jan. 4, 1877 (No. 2, p. 212). Unless, he says, the Vali or Governor-General be appointed for a fixed term, and be

(1) See Blue-book, No. 2, pp. 61, 78, 79, 170, 173, 178, 208, 209, 278.

irremovable except on proof of misconduct, there will scarcely be any hope of rescuing the provinces from oppression. "For the present, at least, the government must be personal, if there is to be any government at all; and on the ability and honesty of the Governor the happiness of the people must depend. Unfortunately, the Turkish system which has prevailed of late years is rather calculated to exclude these qualities than to secure them. A capable man will sometimes be appointed in emergencies; but as an ordinary rule favouritism and corruption determine the exercise of patronage. The caprice, however, to which he is subject during the tenure of his office is far more noxious than the motives to which he owes it. He knows that it is at the mercy of an intrigue, and that if he inspires in the course of his administration any enmity sufficiently strong to elicit the offer of a larger bribe to procure his removal than he can pay to avert it, his removal is a certainty. The last thing, therefore, of which he thinks is an attack upon exactions or oppressions in which rich men are interested. He prefers to take a moderate share of the profits, for the purpose of recouping himself for the bribes he has already been made to pay. Unless this abuse can be arrested, all plans for improving the government of these provinces will fail." Lord Salisbury then makes the decisive remark, that these abuses can only be arrested by some restraint, and that to find any such restraint within the Turkish government is "hopeless."

In this Lord Salisbury is only accepting the conclusions that have been come to by men who have known the Turkish provinces, and watched them closely for many years. Nothing more instructive in the two Blue-books can be found, from this point of view, than the reports of Mr. Holmes. He knows the whole ground thoroughly, and his verdict against local autonomy in Bosnia and Herzegovina is very strongly put. The idea, he says, is founded on a complete ignorance of the social condition of the people. The orthodox population are composed principally of farm-labourers, the Catholics the same, and the Turks are mostly the proprietors of the soil. He describes the common idea of the Christians being ahead of the Mussulmans in education, wealth, and civilisation as entirely false; if there be any difference, it is in favour of the Mussulmans (Blue-book, i. 5). Would the Christian population be much better off under more extended powers to their own community? He thinks the past experience of local councils decisive. They are composed of "the most influential, but fanatic, ignorant, and corrupt of the Mussulman population, and of the most insignificant and abject of the Christian. If the Christians were even in the proportion of three to one, the Mahomedan minority would still have its own way. The more enlightened of the Christians, the so-called merchants, with hardly the capital, and not the intelligence and education, of a small shopkeeper in an English village, have not the courage to sit in a council in which they know they would have no influence, and dread being molested and injured in their affairs if they spoke a word in opposition to their Moslem colleagues, and, even if they did accept this position, they would, as they have always done, cringe to them, and eagerly receive the small share of the peculation and favour which might be accorded in reward

for their subservience. There is no hope for reform or progress in the idea of increased local self-government, because neither native Christians nor Turks have the least aptitude or capacity for it. The idea of the Mussulman is simply complete domination over the Christian; that of the Christian seems to be, that it is useless to attempt to avoid this domination; and, consequently, it is usually seen that every Christian admitted to the smallest share of power becomes as oppressive, or even more so, than the Turk, and eagerly uses his position in the same way—to make the most he can out of the temporary chance afforded to him."

Consul Holmes, then, gives the reasons for Lord Salisbury's conclusion, which he shares, that the only hope is in the appointment of a Viceroy chosen with the consent of the Powers, and with a tenure of office guaranteed for at least six years (i. 310). If anything is clear it is this, that reform will depend upon competent, vigorous, and stable governors. And if anything is clearer than this, it is that the Porte has no intention of appointing governors of this kind and on these terms. The Porte does not know what is meant by good government. If we may judge from the cynical memorandum on the Bulgarian outrages, which Safvet read to the Conference, and for which he was tartly rebuked by Lord Salisbury, the Porte has no desire for good government, and no dislike of bad and cruel misgovernment. How can it have? It has not the moral and social ideas by which such likes and dislikes are engendered.

Yet we find Lord Derby now at the eleventh hour using such language as this (House of Lords, Feb. 20):—"It cannot be said that no improvement in Turkish administration will result from the Conference. Changes and improvements in the administration cannot be made in a day, nor can it be said because the particular scheme recommended by the Conference has not been adopted, and because the desired guarantees have not been conceded by the Porte, that the Turkish government have rejected all internal reforms." But Lord Salisbury tells us that *without guarantees exacted from without* reform is "*hopeless*." And yet we know that such guarantees Turkey has just defied the Powers to impose. If Lord Salisbury is right, surely such talk as Lord Derby's is more futile than anything recorded of Dr. Pangloss.

Nobody, however, is deluded by Lord Derby's numb and edgeless kind of faith in possibilities that are not possible. "The refusal of the Turks," says Lord Salisbury (Feb. 20), "is a mystery, for the infatuation of that course seems so tremendous." Mark another illustration of the infatuation of the Turk. Midhat Pasha was dismissed, apparently for resenting the appropriation of half a million of money by the arbitrary will of the strictly constitutional despot. To Midhat Pasha has succeeded Edhem Pasha. An all-important object of the Porte for the moment is to conclude peace with Servia. The Porte presses for the right to send a resident agent to Belgrade, as emblem and custodian of the government at Constantinople. This is pronounced by even those most friendly to the Turk to be a mere piece of hollow vanity. Yet rather than forego it, Edhem Pasha has been running the risk of being caught by Russia a week or so hence, still in a

state of war with Servia. That people so devoid of all political sense as this should stand guard over the elements of European conflagration is as dreadful to see, as children romping with torches in a store of gunpowder. People are fond of talking about the shrewdness, the sagacity, the long-headedness of the ministers of the Porte. But what does Lord Salisbury say? That it is vain to teach them common sense; that the only real and living force in the country are men whose "ignorance of European affairs and all that statesmanship implies, and of the political circumstances and prospects of their own country, is absolute and complete."

And these people are now left to their own devices. This is the aggravation of the position which has been brought about by the nugatory issue of the Conference. The Turks have defied Europe to do its worst, and up to this moment the worst is nothing. Why should they amend their government? Who is to make them? A certain deference for English counsels, when administered by such a man as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and of some small degree even when administered by Sir Henry Elliott, must now be at an end, when it is unmistakably seen that England will do nothing to save their Empire, even if she does nothing to hasten its ruin. Lord Salisbury avows (Feb. 20) that he had "a very strong belief that the Conference would fail when he left England." In that case, with all respect for Lord Salisbury's motives, we cannot help thinking that to undertake such a mission, in that expectation, and on such terms—without having in his hands the only weapon that could make success even probable—was a serious and fatal mistake. It is believed that the aim of the government at the present moment is to persuade Russia to hold back for a year, so as to give Turkey the chance which Midhat Pasha claimed for it. How far such a delay, and the continuation of the present military and material strain, are likely to suit the interests of Russia, we cannot know for certain, but we can perhaps guess. For Russia to hold back for a year will seem very like withdrawal from the struggle. The situation in the Turkish provinces will certainly not mend. Midhat's foresight, hopefulness, and confidence on this subject, may be measured at their proper value, when we reflect what has become of Midhat himself.

Then the end of the proposed year of grace will come—a year which Lord Derby may call peace, but which to the commerce of Europe will be almost as hurtful as any war that could be waged. One of two things will follow. Either Russia will make war on Turkey, or she will not. If she does not make war the Turk will enjoy a freedom from tutelage such as he has not known within the memory of man. We are all aware what that means for the Turk's subjects. Their last state will be a hundredfold worse than their first. If Russia makes war on the Turk, a year hence, or next month, what then? Our malignants no doubt buoy themselves up in the strong hope that the sight of Russian victories over the power who scarcely more than a score of years ago was our ally, will gradually stir up the old anti-Russian feeling, and draw us into the conflict, with Austria for an ally. The most paltry skirmish in which a Turkish troop gets worsted, will be an excuse for a rancorous shriek about Constantinople and the Will of Peter the Great. We shall hear of uneasy movements on the Persian fron-

tier of the Turkish dominions, and every whisper of this kind will be an occasion for senseless clamour about Herat, Cabul, and the North-west Frontier. Each of the inevitable harshnesses of war will be magnified, falsified, exaggerated, and distorted, to an ever sounding chorus of Poland and Siberia, knouts, dungeons, and labour in the mines.

But it needs no more knowledge of the feeling of the nation than anybody may get by consulting any shrewd party agent and organizer on either side, to satisfy ourselves that this pestilent industry will be futile. There will be some uneasiness at the Russian advance; that is certain, and is no more than natural. But the people of sense and influence will be divided as they are now into two camps. One portion of them will regret, as the Duke of Argyll we presume will regret, that we did not join Russia in coercion, so as to earn a right to an equal voice with Russia in the final settlement of the question, whether partition or something short of that. The other portion are those who maintain that this question of the Turkish Provinces does not concern our real interests in any part of the world; that we do not know enough about the conditions to interfere wisely, and that we have not interfered wisely even so far; and that it is for Russia and Austria to settle the matter between them. From which of these two great bodies of people strongly interested and feeling strongly, is a contingent to be supplied to the small party who would have us go to war against Russia?

If there were no Indian Empire there would be something to be said for the course which the commercial world favours, of washing our hands of the matter. But being a great oriental power, we cannot help being an active western power too. Then why not accept the position frankly and energetically? Why drift from intervention to non-intervention, and then back again in an impotent and demoralising game of see-saw, one year after another? There has never been a more mischievous piece of fatalism in history than the fixed idea of so many English politicians that England and Russia must one day come into collision. You hear people talk of such a collision as if they were as helpless believers in inexorable destiny as the very Mussulmans themselves. Yet in a general way everybody would admit that it is the very province and business of statesmanship to forestall collisions, and cheat the destiny that only looks inexorable because men lack courage and nerve to grapple with the conditions, and skill to shape a better destiny. There is no reason whatever why Great Britain should not come to terms with Russia not only about the Eastern Question, but about Central Asia, though for ourselves we venture to doubt whether those terms will ever be final until the Russian and the British territories are conterminous. Meanwhile, what would best satisfy the nation would be to see the government continuing to act very much in the spirit of Lord Salisbury's (not Lord Derby's) policy; maintaining not only the European concert in a general way, but particular co-operation with Russia, at least until the Porte has been brought to its senses, and has consented to three, at any rate, of the conditions of the irreducible minimum of the Conference; and finally not shrinking, if the need arises, from sending the fleet to Constantinople. Mr. Courtney, the new member for Liskeard, pressed for a

formal renunciation on the part of our government of the Tripartite Treaty of 1856. Let us, he says, give notice to France and Austria that we shall no longer be bound to go to war at the call of one or both of those powers. To take such a step as this would no doubt be almost as effective a means as the dispatch of the fleet, for awakening the Porte to the sincerity and firmness of our avowed resolution to leave it to its fate. There are some serious inconveniences about the course urged by Mr. Courtney. But it is not clear that they are not far less serious than the dangers which that course might do something to avert.

*February* 23, 1877.

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## BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

*Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.* By Dr. A. Kuenen. Translated by the Rev. A. Milroy. Longmans.

A representative work of the Leyden or most advanced school of Dutch biblical criticism.

*Church and State: their Relations historically developed.* By Heinrich Geffcken. Translated and edited, with the assistance of the author, by Edward Fairfax Taylor. 2 vols. Longmans.

An historical survey of the relations of civil and ecclesiastical authority from the days of the Egyptian hierarchy to the present time; composed with a constant reference to the recent Prussian legislation, which the author, though strongly anti-sacerdotal in feeling, regards as a transgression of the legitimate province of the State.

*The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, considered principally with reference to the influence of Church Organization on the spread of Christianity.* By Robert Barclay. Hodder and Stoughton.

The recently deceased author was a member of the Society of Friends. It was his aim to describe the religious societies of the Commonwealth, as far as possible, in the words of their own members, and from this basis to pursue the inquiry "how far the schemes of Church organization described have attained their real object."

*A System of Political Economy.* By John Lancelot Shadwell. Trübner & Co.

Principally designed to advocate a revision of the received theories of Value and Wages, which innovation the writer "has thought would be more likely to receive attention, if worked into a system of political economy."

*The Life of Sir William Fairbairn, Bart., partly written by Himself.* Edited and completed by WILLIAM POLE, F.R.S. Longmans.

Designed by the autobiographer "for the benefit of those who have to encounter similar difficulties in life," and supplemented by the editor with copious technical details, and a discussion of the relations of civil and mechanical engineering.

*Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of Celebrated Violinists.* By Dr. T. L. PHIPSON. Bentley.

From Corelli (1633) to the present time.

*Across Africa.* By VERNEY LOVETT CAMERON, C.B., D.C.L. Daldy, Isbister & Co.

The adequate record of a great exploit.

*The Country of Baluchistan: its Geography, Topography, Ethnology, and History.* By A. W. HUGHES, F.R.G.S. Bell and Sons.

A full but condensed account, equally from the soldier and the statesman's point of view, of this important outwork of our Indian empire.

*My Year in an Indian Fort.* By Mrs. GUTHRIE, Author of "Through Russia." Hurst and Blackett.

The fort is Belgaum, in the South Mahratta country.

*Herzegovina and the Late Uprising; the Causes of the Latter and the Remedies.* By W. R. STILLMAN. Longmans.

Notes and observations of a newspaper correspondent, "published to place in a clearer light certain motives and causes for the Herzegovinian insurrection not generally accepted by, or visible to, the general public." An argument, that is, for its spontaneous and genuinely national character.

*A Winter in the City of Pleasure: or, Life on the Lower Danube.* By FLORENCE K. BERGER. Bentley.

Sketches of society in Bucharest.

*The City of Sunshine.* A Novel. By ALEXANDER ALLARDYCE. 3 vols. Blackwood and Sons.

Turns principally on the conflict between the ancient religion of India and the Theism of the Brahmo Somaj; but also replete with details respecting social matters, English administration, and in general *quidquid agunt homines* in Lower Bengal.

*The Epic of Hades.* Books I. and III. By the Author of "Songs of Two Worlds." King & Co.

Completes the original plan of the poem by the introduction of the shades in Tartarus and Elysium.

*Essai sur le Ministère de Turgot.* Par P. Foncin. Germer Baillière; Barthès and Lowell.

A work of great labour and research, inspired by the conviction that Turgot impersonates the spirit of the eighteenth century at its best.

*Les Cours et les Chancelleries: Impressions et Souvenirs.* Par E. Leougon Leduc. Dentu: Barthès and Lowell.

Anecdotical sketches of the statesmen and diplomatists of the last thirty years.

*Le Cardinal du Perron: étude historique et critique.* Par M. l'Abbé P. Feret. Didier; Barthès and Lowell.

An apologetic biography, principally treating of Du Perron as a controversialist.

*L'Empereur Titus.* Par Lucien Double. Sandoz et Fischbacher; Barthès and Lowell.

"Dans la vie de l'empereur Titus, nous nous proposons de démasquer un hypocrite."

*Les Principautés Franques du Levant.* Par G. Schlumberger. Leroux; Barthès and Lowell.

Principally founded on numismatic researches. The writer's investigations tend to show that the Latin colonies established by the Crusaders in the Levant speedily became commercial communities, instead of outposts of aggressive Christianity.

*Études sur quelques parties des syllabaires cunéiformes.* Par François Lenormant. Maisonneuve; Barthès and Lowell.

The author, starting from the postulate of the Turanian character of the Accadian inscriptions, seeks to deduce the corollary of the affinity of the language with the Altaic group.

*Le Mal et le Bien.* Par Eugène Londun. I. L'Antiquité. Palmé; Barthès and Lowell.

"La société moderne se fait de Dieu la même idée que l'antiquité; elle deviendra semblable à la société païenne, et aura la même fin: telle est la pensée de ce livre."

*Les Écoles Publiques en France et en Angleterre: Construction et Installation.* Par Félix Narjoux. Morel; Barthès and Lowell.

Treats of everything essential to scholastic arrangements from a constructive point of view. The English methods are minutely compared with the French.

*Venise, histoire, art, industrie: la Ville, la Vie.* Par CHARLES YRIARTE. Rothschild; Barthès and Lowell.

A comprehensive and magnificently illustrated work; still in course of publication.

*De Paris à Guatémala: Notes de Voyages au Centre-Amérique.* 1866—1875. Par J. LAFERRIÈRE. Garnier; Barthès and Lowell.

A mass of varied information respecting the republics of Central America, especially San Salvador.

*Abélard: drame inédit.* Par CHARLES DE RÉMUSAT. Publié avec une préface et des notes par PAUL DE RÉMUSAT. Lévy; Barthès and Lowell.

A dramatic representation, in prose, on the model of Shakespeare's and Goethe's historical plays, of the mediæval revolt against dogmatic authority represented by Abélard.

*Denkwürdigkeiten des Staatskanzlers* FÜRSTEN VON HARDENBERG. Herausgegeben von LEOPOLD VON RANKE. 4 Bde. Duncker and Humblot. Williams and Norgate.

The bequest of Prince von Hardenberg, sealed up for fifty years after his death. Two of the volumes contain his autobiography during the years 1805—1807; the other two an historical introduction and a continuation to the year 1813, prepared by Ranke with the assistance of the minister's papers, which are to be published in an appendix.

*Deutsche Briefe über Englische Erziehung* (1876). Von Dr. L. WIESE. Wiegandt and Grieben. Williams and Norgate.

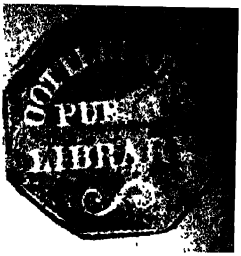
A pendant to the author's well-known letters on the same subject, indicating the progress effected since 1850. Treats principally of public school education, but no department of the subject is unnoticed.

*Reisen in Bosnien und des Hertzegowina.* Von Dr. Otto Blau. Reimer. Williams and Norgate.

Topography and botany, with a statistical appendix especially relating to the Roman Catholic population.

*Bilder aus Oberägypten, der Wüsti und dem Rothen Meere.* Von. C. B. KLUNZINGER. Levy and Müller. Williams and Norgate.

The fruit of nine years' close observation of manners and customs during a residence as physician at Cosseir.



THE

# FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. CXXIV. NEW SERIES.—APRIL 1, 1877.

## THE POLITICAL DESTINY OF CANADA.

IGNORANCE of the future can hardly be good for any man or nation; nor can forecast of the future in the case of any man or nation well interfere with the business of the present, though the language of colonial politicians seems often to imply that it may. No Canadian farmer would take his hand from the plough, no Canadian artisan would desert the foundry or the loom, no Canadian politician would become less busy in his quest of votes, no industry of any kind would slacken, no source of wealth would cease to flow, if the rulers of Canada and the powers of Downing Street, by whom the rulers of Canada are supposed to be guided, instead of drifting on in darkness, knew for what port they were steering.

For those who are actually engaged in moulding the institutions of a young country not to have formed a conception of her destiny—not to have made up their minds whether she is to remain for ever a dependency, to blend again in a vast confederation with the monarchy of the mother country, or to be united to a neighbouring republic—would be to renounce statesmanship. The very expenditure into which Canada is led by her position as a dependency in military and political railways, in armaments and defences, and other things which assume the permanence of the present system, is enough to convict Canadian rulers of flagrant improvidence if the permanency of the present system is not distinctly established in their minds.

To tax forecast with revolutionary designs or tendencies is absurd. No one can be in a less revolutionary frame of mind than he who foresees a political event without having the slightest interest in hastening its arrival. On the other hand, mere party politicians cannot afford to see beyond the hour. Under the system of party government, forecast and freedom of speech alike belong generally to those who are not engaged in public life.

The political destiny of Canada is here considered by itself, apart

from that of any other portion of the motley and widely scattered "Empire." This surely is the rational course. Not to speak of India and the military dependencies, such as Malta and Gibraltar, which have absolutely nothing in common with the North American colonies (India not even the titular form of government, since its sovereign has been made an empress), who can believe that the future of Canada, of South Africa, of Australia, of the West Indies, and of Mauritius will be the same? Who can believe that the mixed French and English population of Canada, the mixed Dutch and English population of the Cape, the negro population of Jamaica, the French and Indian population of Mauritius, the English and Chinese population of Australia, are going to run for ever the same political course? Who can believe that the moulding influences will be the same in arctic continents or in tropical islands as in countries lying within the temperate zone? Among the colonies, those, perhaps, which most nearly resemble each other in political character and circumstances are Canada and Australia; yet the elements of the population are very different; and still more different are the external relations of Australia, with no other power near her, from those of Canada, not only conterminous with the United States, but interlaced with them, so that at present the road of the Governor-General of Canada, when he visits his Pacific province, lies through the territory of the American republic. Is it possible to suppose that the slender filament which connects each of these colonies with Downing Street is the thread of a common destiny?

In studying Canadian politics, and in attempting to cast the political horoscope of Canada, the first thing to be remembered, though official optimism is apt to overlook it, is that Canada was a colony not of England but of France, and that between the British of Ontario and the British of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are interposed, in solid and unyielding mass, above a million of unassimilated and politically antagonistic Frenchmen. French Canada is a relic of the historical past preserved by isolation, as Siberian mammoths are preserved in ice. It is a fragment of the France before the Revolution, less the monarchy and the aristocracy; for the feeble parody of French feudalism in America ended with the abolition of the seigniories, which may be regarded as the final renunciation of feudal ideas and institutions by society in the New World. The French Canadians are an unprogressive, religious, submissive, courteous, and, though poor, not unhappy people. They would make excellent factory hands if Canada had a market for her manufactures; and, perhaps, it is as much due to the climate as to their lack of intelligent industry that they have a very indifferent reputation as farmers. They are governed by the priest, with the occasional assistance of the notary; and the Roman Catholic Church may be said to be still established in the province, every Roman

Catholic being bound to pay tithes and other ecclesiastical imposts, though the Protestant minority are exempt. The Church is immensely rich, and her wealth is always growing, so that the economical element which mingled with the religious causes of the Reformation may one day have its counterpart in Quebec. The French Canadians, as we have said, retain their exclusive national character. So far from being absorbed by the British population, or Anglicized by contact with it, they have absorbed and Gallicized the fragments of British population which chance has thrown among them; and the children of Highland regiments disbanded in Quebec have become thorough Frenchmen, and prefixed Jean Baptiste to their Highland names. For his own Canada the Frenchman of Quebec has something of a patriotic feeling; for France he has filial affection enough to make his heart beat violently for her during a Franco-German war; for England, it may be safely said, he has no feeling whatever. It is true that he fought against the American invaders in the revolutionary war, and again in 1812; but then he was animated by his ancient hostility to the Puritans of New England, in the factories of whose descendants he now freely seeks employment. Whether he would enthusiastically take up arms for England against the Americans at present, the British War Office, after the experience of the two Fenian raids, can no doubt tell. With Upper Canada, the land of Scotch Presbyterians, Irish Orangemen, and ultra-British sentiment, French Canada, during the union of the two provinces, led an uneasy life; and she accepted confederation, on terms which leave her nationality untouched, rather as a severance of her special wedlock with her unloved consort than as a measure of North American union. The unabated antagonism between the two races and the two religions was plainly manifested on the occasion of the conflict between the French half-breeds and the British immigrants in Manitoba, which presented a faint parallel to the conflict between the advanced posts of slavery and anti-slavery in Kansas on the eve of the civil war; Quebec openly sympathizing with Riel and his fellow-insurgents, while Ontario was on fire to avenge the death of Scott. Sir George Cartier might call himself an Englishman speaking French; but his calling himself so did not make him so; much less did it extend the character from a political manager, treading the path of ambition with British colleagues, to the mass of his unsophisticated compatriots. The priests hitherto have put their interests into the hands of a political leader, such as Sir George himself, in the same way in which the Irish priests used to put their interests into the hands of O'Connell; and this leader has made the best terms he could for them and for himself at Ottawa. Nor has it been difficult to make good terms, since both the political parties bid emulously for the Catholic vote, and, by their interested subserviency to those who wield it, render it impos-

sible for a Liberal Catholic party, or a Liberal party of any kind, to make head against priestly influence in Quebec. By preference the priests, as reactionists, have allied themselves with the Tory party in the British provinces, and Canada has long witnessed the singular spectacle, witnessed for the first time in England at the last general election, of Roman Catholics and Orangemen marching together to the poll. Fear of contact with an active-minded democracy, and of possible peril to their overweening wealth, has also led the priesthood to shrink from Annexation, though they have not been able to prevent their people from going over the line for better wages, and bringing back with them a certain republican leaven of political and ecclesiastical unrest, which in the end may, perhaps, lead to the verification of Lord Elgin's remark, that it would be easier to make the French Canadians Americans than to make them English. Hitherto, however, French Canada has retained, among other heirlooms of the *Ancien Régime*, the old Gallican Church, the Church of Louis XIV. and of Bossuet, national, quiet, unaggressive, capable of living always on sufficiently good terms with the State. But now the scene is changed. Even to French Canada, the most secluded nook of the Catholic world, Ultramontanism has penetrated, with the Jesuit in its van. There is a struggle for ascendancy between the Jesuits and the Gallicans, the citadel of the Gallicans being the Sulpician seminary, vast and enormously wealthy, which rises over Montreal. The Jesuit has the forces of the hour on his side; he gains the day; the bishops fall under his influence and take his part against the Sulpicians; the Guibord case marks, distinctly though farcically, the triumph of his principles; and it is by no means certain that he, a cosmopolitan power playing a great game, will cling to Canadian isolation, and that he will not prefer a junction with his main army in the United States. Assuredly his choice will not be determined by loyalty to England. At all events, his aggressive policy has begun to raise questions calculated to excite the Protestants of the British provinces, which the politicians, with all their arts, will hardly be able to smother, and which will probably put an end to the long torpor of Quebec. The New Brunswick School case points to education as a subject which can scarcely fail soon to give birth to a cause of war.

Besides the French, there are in Canada, as we believe we have good authority for saying, about four hundred thousand Irish, whose political sentiments are generally identical with those of the Irish in the mother country, as any reader of their favourite journals will perceive. Thus, without reckoning a considerable German settlement in Ontario, which by its unimpaired nationality in the heart of the British population attests the weakness of the assimilating forces in Canada compared with those in the United States, or the Americans, who, though not numerous, are influential in the com-

mercial centres, we have at once to deduct one million four hundred thousand from a total population of less than four millions in order to reduce to reality the pictures of universal devotion to England and English interests which are presented by the speeches of official persons or of persons professing to know Canada, but deriving their idea of her from the same source.

Confederation, so far, has done nothing to fuse the races, and very little even to unite the provinces. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, besides being cut off from Ontario by French Canada, have interests of their own, separate, and in some degree divergent, from those of Ontario, New Brunswick especially being drawn by her commercial interests towards New England. The representatives of each of the smaller provinces form a separate group at Ottawa, giving or withholding their support to a great extent from provincial considerations. Each of the two political parties has its base in Ontario, which is the field of the decisive battles; and they can hardly be said to extend to the maritime provinces, much less to Manitoba or to British Columbia. When the Ontarian parties are evenly balanced the smaller provinces turn the scale, and Ontarian leaders are always buying them with "better terms," that is, alterations of the pecuniary arrangements of confederation in their favour, and other inducements, at the sacrifice, of course, of the general interests of the Confederation. From the composition of a cabinet to the composition of a rifle team sectionalism is the rule. Confederation has secured free trade between the provinces; what other good it has done it would not be easy to say. Whether it has increased the military strength of Canada is a question for the answer to which we must appeal once more to the British War Office. Canadians have shown, on more than one memorable occasion, that in military spirit they are not wanting; but they cannot be goaded into wasting their hardly-earned money on preparations for a defence which would be hopeless against an invader who will never come. Politically, the proper province of a federal government is the management of external relations, while domestic legislation is the province of the several states. But a dependency has no external relations; Canada has not even, like South Africa, a Native question, her Indians being perfectly harmless; and consequently the chief duty of a federal government in Canada is to keep itself in existence by the ordinary agencies of party, a duty which it discharges with a vengeance. English statesmen bent on extending to all the colonies what they assume to be the benefits of confederation, should study the Canadian specimen, if possible, on the spot. They will learn, first, that while a spontaneous confederation, such as groups of states have formed under the pressure of a common danger, develops mainly the principles of union, a confederation brought about by external influence is apt to develop the principles of antagonism in at

least an equal degree; and, secondly, that parliamentary government in a dependency is, to a lamentable extent, government by faction and corruption, and that by superadding federal to provincial government the extent and virulence of those maladies are seriously increased. If an appeal is made to the success of confederation in Switzerland, the answer is that Switzerland is not a dependency but a nation.

It is of Canada alone that we here speak, and we speak only of her political destiny. The ties of blood, of language, of historical association, and of general sympathy which bind the British portion of the Canadian people to England, are not dependent on the political connection, nor is it likely that they would be at all weakened by its severance. In the United States there are millions of Irish exiles, with the wrongs of Ireland in their hearts, and the whole nation retains the memories of the revolutionary war, of the war of 1812, and of the conduct of the British aristocracy towards the United States during the rebellion of the South—conduct which it is difficult to forgive, and which it would be folly to forget. Yet to those who have lived among the Americans it will not seem extravagant to say that the feelings of an Anglo-American towards his mother country are really at least as warm as those of the natives of dependencies, and at least as likely to be manifested by practical assistance in the hour of need. A reference to the history of the opposition made to the war of 1812 will suffice at least to bring this opinion within the pale of credibility.

The great forces prevail. They prevail at last, however numerous and apparently strong the secondary forces opposed to them may be. They prevailed at last in the case of German unity and in the case of Italian independence. In each of those cases the secondary forces were so heavily massed against the event that men renowned for practical wisdom believed the event would never come. It came, irresistible and irrevocable, and we now see that Bismarck and Cavour were only the ministers of fate.

Suspended of course, and long suspended, by the action of the secondary forces, the action of the great forces may be. It was so in both the instances just mentioned. A still more remarkable instance is the long postponement of the union of Scotland with England by the antipathies resulting from the abortive attempt of Edward I., and by a subsequent train of historical accidents, such as the absorption of the energies of England in continental or civil wars. But the union came at last, and, having the great forces on its side, it came for ever.

In the case before us, it appears that the great forces are those which make for the political separation of the New from the Old World. They are—

1. The distance, which may be shortened by steam and telegraph

for the transmission of a despot's commands, but can hardly be much shortened for the purposes of representative government. Steam increases the Transatlantic intercourse of the wealthier class, but not that of the people, who have neither money nor time for the passage. Everything is possible in the way of nautical invention; fuel may be still further economized, though its price is not likely to fall; but it is improbable that the cost of shipbuilding or the wages of seamen will be reduced; and the growth of manufactures in the New World, which we may expect henceforth to be rapid, can hardly fail to diminish the intercourse dependent on Transatlantic trade. A commonwealth spanning the Atlantic may be a grand conception, but political institutions must after all bear some relation to nature and to practical convenience. Few have fought against geography and prevailed.

2. Divergence of interest, which seems in this case to be as wide as possible. What has Canada to do with the European and Oriental concerns of England, with her European and Oriental diplomacy, with her European and Oriental wars? Can it be conceived that Canadian traders would allow her commerce to be cut up by Russian cruisers, or that Canadian farmers would take arms and pay war taxes in order to prevent Russia from obtaining a free passage through the Dardanelles? An English pamphlet called "The Great Game" was reprinted the other day in Canada; but the chapter on India was omitted as having no interest for Canadians. For English readers that chapter had probably more interest than all the other chapters put together. On the other hand, whenever a question about boundaries or mutual rights arises with the United States, the English people and the English government betray, by the languor of their diplomacy and the ease with which they yield, their comparative indifference to the objects in which Canada is most concerned. A Canadian periodical some time ago had a remarkable paper by a native writer, showing that the whole series of treaties made by Great Britain with the United States had been a continuous sacrifice of the claims of Canada. It was not, assuredly, that Great Britain wanted either force or spirit to fight for her own rights and interests, but that she felt that Canadian rights and interests were not her own. Her rulers could not have induced her people to go to war for an object for which they cared so little, and had so little reason to care, as a frontier line in North America. Another illustration of the difference between the British and the Canadian point of view was afforded by the recent dispute about the Extradition Treaty: England was disposed to be stiff and punctilious, having comparatively little to fear from the suspension of the treaty; while to Canada, bordering on the United States, the danger was great, and the renewal of the treaty was a vital necessity before which punctiliousness gave way. One object there is connected with the

American continent for which the British aristocracy, if we may judge by the temper it showed and the line it took towards the American republic at the time of the Rebellion, would be not unwilling to run the risk of war. But that object is one with regard to which the interests of British aristocracy and those of Canadian democracy not only are not identical, but point directly opposite ways. With regard to economical questions, the divergence is, if possible, still clearer than with regard to diplomatic questions. The economic interests of Canada must evidently be those of her own continent, and to that continent, by all the economic forces, she must be and visibly is drawn. Her currency, whatever may be the name and superscription on the coin, is American, and it is the sure symbol of her real connection. In the British manufacturer the Canadian manufacturer sees a rival; and Canada at this moment is the scene of a Protectionist movement led, curiously enough, by those "Conservative" politicians who are loudest in their professions of loyalty to Great Britain.

3. More momentous than even the divergence of interest is the divergence of political character between the citizen of the Old and the citizen of the New World. We speak, of course, not of the French Canadians, between whom and the people of Great Britain the absence of political affinity is obvious, but of the British communities in North America. The colonisation of the New World, at least that English portion of it which was destined to give birth to the ruling and moulding power, was not merely a migration, but an exodus; it was not merely a local extension of humanity, but a development; it not only peopled another continent, but opened a new era. The curtain rose not for the old drama with fresh actors, but for a fresh drama on a fresh scene. A long farewell was said to feudalism when the New England colony landed with the rough draft of a written constitution, which embodied a social compact and founded government not on sacred tradition or divine right, but on reason and the public good. The more one sees of society in the New World, the more convinced one is that its structure essentially differs from that of society in the Old World, and that the feudal element has been eliminated completely and for ever. English aristocracy, fancying itself, as all established systems fancy themselves, the normal and final state of humanity, may cling to the belief that the new development is a mere aberration, and that dire experience will in time bring it back to the ancient path. There are people, it seems, who persuade themselves that America is retrograding towards monarchy and Church establishments. No one who knows the Americans can possibly share this dream. Monarchy has found its way to the New World only in the exceptional case of Brazil, to which the royal family of the mother country itself migrated, and where after all the Emperor is rather an hereditary

president than a monarch of the European type. In Canada, government being parliamentary and "constitutional," monarchy is the delegation of a shadow; and any attempt to convert the shadow into a substance, by introducing a dynasty with a court and civil list, or by reinvesting the Viceroy with personal power, would speedily reveal the real nature of the situation. Pitt proposed to extend to Canada what as a Tory minister he necessarily regarded as the blessings of aristocracy; but the plant refused to take root in the alien soil. No peerage ever saw the light in Canada; the baronetage saw the light and no more; of nobility there is nothing now but a knighthood very small in number, and upon which the Pacific Railway scandal has cast so deep a shadow that the Home Government, though inclined that way, seems shy of venturing on more creations. Hereditary wealth and the custom of primogeniture, indispensable supports of an aristocracy, are totally wanting in a purely industrial country, where, let the law be what it might, natural justice has always protested against the feudal claims of the firstborn. To establish in Canada the State Church, which is the grand buttress of aristocracy in England, has proved as hopeless as to establish aristocracy itself. The Church lands have been secularised; the university, once confined to Anglicanism, has been thrown open; the Anglican Church has been reduced to the level of the other denominations, though its rulers still cling to the memories and to some relics of their privileged condition. As a religion, Anglicanism has little hold upon the mass of the people: it is recruited by emigration from England, and sustained to a certain extent by a social feeling in its favour among the wealthier class. More democratic churches far exceed it in popularity and propagandist force: Methodism especially, which, in contrast to Episcopacy, sedulously assigns an active part in church work to every member, decidedly gains ground, and bids fair to become the popular religion of Canada. Nor is the militarism of European aristocracies less alien to industrial Canada than their monarchism and their affinity for State Churches. The Canadians, as we have already said, can fight well when real occasion calls; so can their kinsmen across the line; but among the Canadians, as among the people of the Northern States, it is impossible to awaken militarism—every sort of galvanic apparatus has been tried in vain. Distinctions of rank, again, are wanting; everything bespeaks a land dedicated to equality; and fustian, instead of bowing to broadcloth, is rather too apt, by a rude self-assertion, to revenge itself on broadcloth for enforced submissiveness in the old country. Where the relations of classes, the social forces, and the whole spirit of society are different, the real principles and objects of government will differ also, notwithstanding the formal identity of institutions. It proved impossible, as all careful observers had foreseen, to keep the same political roof over the heads

of slavery and anti-slavery. To keep the same political roof over the heads of British aristocracy and Canadian democracy would be an undertaking only one degree less hopeless. A rupture would come, perhaps, on some question between the ambition of a money-spending nobility and the parsimony of a money-making people. Let aristocracy, hierarchy, and militarism be content with the Old World; it was conquered by the feudal sword; the New World was conquered only by the axe and plough.

4. The force, sure in the end to be attractive, not repulsive, of the great American community along the edge of which Canada lies, and to which the British portion of her population is drawn by identity of race, language, religion, and general institutions; the French portion by its connection with the Roman Catholic Church of the States; the whole by economic influences, against which artificial arrangements and sentiments contend in vain, and which are gathering strength and manifesting their ascendancy from hour to hour.

An enumeration of the forces which make in favour of the present connection will show their secondary and, for the most part, transient character. The chief of them appear to be these:—

*a.* The reactionary tendencies of the priesthood which rules French Canada, and which fears that any change might disturb its solitary reign. Strong this force has hitherto been, but its strength depends on isolation, and isolation cannot be permanent. Even the "palæocrystallic" ice which envelops French Canada will melt at last, and when it does French reaction will be at an end. We have already noted two agencies which are working towards this result—the leaven of American sentiment brought back by French Canadians who have sojourned as artisans in the States, and the ecclesiastical aggressiveness of the Jesuits.

*b.* "United Empire Loyalism," which has its chief seat in Ontario. Every revolution has its reaction, and in the case of the American Revolution the reaction took the form of a migration of the Royalists to Canada, where lands were assigned them, and where they became the political progenitors of the Canadian Tory party, while the "Reformers" are the offspring of a subsequent immigration of Scotch Presbyterians, mingled with wanderers from the United States. The two immigrations were arrayed against each other in 1837, when, though the United Empire Loyalists were victorious in the field, the political victory ultimately rested with the Reformers. United Empire Loyalism is still strong in some districts, while in others the descendants of Royalist exiles are found in the ranks of the opposite party. But the whole party is now in the position of the Jacobites after the extinction of the House of Stuart. England has formally recog-

nised the American Revolution, taken part in the celebration of its centenary, and through her ambassador saluted its flag. Anti-revolutionary sentiment ceases to have any meaning, and its death cannot be far off.

*c.* The influence of English immigrants, especially in the upper ranks of the professions, in the high places of commerce, and in the press. These men have retained a certain social ascendancy; they have valued themselves on their birth in the imperial country and the superior traditions which they supposed it to imply; they have personally cherished the political connection, and have inculcated fidelity to it with all their might. But their number is rapidly decreasing; as they die off natives take their places, and Canada will soon be in Canadian hands. Immigration generally is falling off; upper-class immigration is almost at an end, there being no longer a demand for anything but manual labour; and the influence of personal connection with England will cease to rule. The press is passing into the hands of natives, who are fast learning to hold their own against imported writing in literary skill, while they have an advantage in their knowledge of the country.

*d.* While the British troops remained in Canada, their officers formed a social aristocracy of the most powerful kind, and exercised a somewhat tyrannical influence over opinion. The traces of this influence still remain; but, with the exception of the reduced garrison of Halifax, the military occupation has ceased, and is not likely to be renewed.

*e.* The Anglican Church in Canada clings to its position as a branch of the great State Church of England, and, perhaps, a faint hope of re-establishment may linger in the breasts of the bishops, who still retain the title of "lords." We have already said that the roots of Anglicanism in Canada do not appear to be strong, and its chief source of reinforcement will be cut off by the discontinuance of upper-class emigration. It is rent in Canada, as in England, by the conflict between the Protestants and the Ritualists; and in Canada, there being no large endowments or legal system to clamp the hostile elements together, discord has already taken the form of disruption. As to the other churches, they have a connection with England, but not with England more than with the United States. The connection of Canadian Methodism with the United States is very close.

*f.* Orangism is strong in British Canada, as indeed is every kind of association except the country. It retains its filial connection with its Irish parent, and is ultra-British on condition that Great Britain continues anti-papal. Old Irish quarrels are wonderfully tenacious of life, yet they must one day die, and Orangism must follow them to the grave.

*g.* The social influence of English aristocracy and of the little court of Ottawa over colonists of the wealthier class. With this, to dismiss at once a theme more congenial to the social humorist than to the political observer, we may couple the influence of those crumbs of titular honour which English aristocracy sometimes allows to fall from its table into colonial mouths. If such forces cannot be said to be transient, the tendencies of human nature being perpetual, they may at least be said to be secondary; they do not affect the masses, and they do not affect the strong.

*h.* Antipathy to the Americans, bred by the old wars, and nursed by British influences, military and aristocratic, not without the assistance of the Americans themselves, who in the case of the Fenian raids, and in other cases, have vented on Canada their feelings against England. This antipathy, so far as it prevails, leads those who entertain it to cling to an anti-American connection. But generally speaking it is very hollow. It does not hinder young Canadians from going by hundreds to seek their fortunes in the United States. It does not hinder wealthy Americans who have settled in Canada from finding seats at once in the Canadian Parliament. It never, in fact, goes beyond talk. So far as it partakes of the nature of contempt it can hardly fail to be modified by the changed attitude of the British aristocracy, who have learned to exhibit something more than courtesy towards the victorious republic; while the Americans, it may be reasonably presumed, now that the cause of irritation is removed, will not think it wise to make enemies of a people whose destinies are inextricably blended with their own.

*i.* The special attachment naturally felt by the politicians as a body to the system with reference to which their parties have been formed, and with which the personal ambition of most of them is bound up. Perhaps of all the forces which make for the present connection, this is the strongest; it has proved strong enough, when combined with the timidity and the want of independence which lifelong slavery to a faction always breeds, to prevent any Canadian politician from playing a resolute part in such efforts as there have been to make Canada a nation. In some cases it is intensified by commercial connections with England, or by social aspirations, more or less definite, which have England for their goal. In this respect the interest of the politicians, as a class, is distinct from, and is liable to clash with, the real interest of the community at large. So in the case of Scotland, it was the special interest of the politicians to resist the union, as, without special pressure and inducements, they would probably have persisted in doing: it was the interest of the people to accept the union, as the flood of prosperity which followed its acceptance clearly showed. In the case of Scotland the interest of the people triumphed at last; and it will probably triumph at last in Canada.

Such, we say, are the chief forces that make for the existing connection; and we repeat that they appear to be secondary and for the most part transient. United, all these strands may make a strong cable; but one by one they will give way, and the cable will cease to hold. This conviction is quite consistent with the admission that the connectionist sentiment is now dominant, especially in Ontario; that in Ontario it almost exclusively finds expression on the platform and in the press; and that the existence of any other opinions can only be inferred from reticence, or discovered by private intercourse. A visitor may thus be led to believe and to report that the attachment of the whole population to the present system is unalterable, and that the connection must endure for ever. Those who have opportunities of looking beneath the surface, may at the same time have grounds for thinking that, on economical subjects at least, the people have already entered on a train of thought which will lead them to a different goal.

What has been the uniform course of events down to the present time? Where are the American dependencies of Spain, Portugal, France, and Holland? Those on the continent, with unimportant exceptions, are gone, and those in the islands are going; for few suppose that Spain can keep Cuba very long. Of the English colonies on the continent, the mass, and those that have been long founded, have become independent; and every one now sees, what clear-sighted men saw at the time, that the separation was inevitable, and must soon have been brought about by natural forces apart from the accidental quarrel. If Canada has been retained, it is by the reduction of imperial supremacy to a form. Self-government is independence; perfect self-government is perfect independence; and all the questions that arise between Ottawa and Downing Street, including the recent question about appeals, are successively settled in favour of self-government. Diplomatic union between two countries in different hemispheres with totally different sets of external relations, common responsibility for each other's quarrels, and liability to be involved in each other's wars—these incidents of dependence remain, and these alone. Is it probable that this last leaf can continue to flutter on the bough for ever? Lord Derby some years ago said that everybody knew that Canada must soon be an independent nation. Now he thinks the tide of opinion has turned in favour of imperialism, and he turns with the tide. But what he takes for the turn of the tide may be merely the receding wave; and he forgets what the last wave swept away. It swept away the military occupation, with all its influences, political and social. Even since that time the commercial unity of the empire has been formally abandoned in the case of the Australian tariffs; and now the marriage law of the colonies is clashing with that of the mother country in the British House of Commons.

It is, perhaps, partly the recoil of feeling from a severance felt to be imminent, as well as the temporary influence of Conservative reaction in England, that has led to the revival in certain quarters, with almost convulsive vehemence, of the plan of imperial confederation. Certainly if such a plan is ever to be carried into effect, this is the propitious hour. The spirit of aggrandisement is in the ascendant, and the colonies are all on good terms with the mother country. Yet of the statesmen who dally with the project and smile upon its advocates, not one ventures to take a practical step towards its fulfilment. On the contrary, they are accessory to fresh inroads upon imperial unity, both in the judicial and in the fiscal sphere. Colonial governors talk with impressive vagueness of some possible birth of the imperial future, as though the course of events, which has been hurrying the world through a series of rapid changes for the last century, would now stand still, and impracticable aspirations would become practicable by the mere operation of time; but no colonial governor or imperial statesman has ventured to tell us, even in the most general way, to what it is that he looks forward, how it is to be brought about, or even what dependencies the confederation is to include. It is therefore needless to rehearse all the arguments against the feasibility of such a scheme. The difficulties which beset the union under the same parliamentary government of two countries in different parts of the world, with different foreign relations and differing internally in political spirit, would of course be multiplied in the case of a union of twenty or thirty countries scattered over the whole globe, bound together by no real tie of common interest, and ignorant of each other's concerns. The first meeting of such a conclave would, we may be sure, develop forces of disunion far stronger than the vague sentiment of union arising from a very partial community of descent and a very imperfect community of language, which would be the sole ground of the federation. Even to frame the agreement as to the terms of union with the shifting parties and ephemeral cabinets of a score of colonies under constitutional government would be no easy task. The two Parliaments, one National, the other Federal, which it is proposed to establish in order to keep the national affairs of England separate from those of the Imperial Federation, would be liable to be brought into fatal conflict and thrown into utter confusion by the ascendency of different parties, say a war party and a peace party, in the National and the Federal House. The veriest Chinese puzzle in politics would be a practicable constitution, if you could only get the real forces to conduct themselves according to the programme. It was not in the programme of Canadian confederation that the provinces should form separate interests in the Federal Parliament, and force the party leaders to bid against each other for their support; though

any one who had studied actual tendencies in connection with the system of party government might have pretty confidently predicted that such would be the result. That England would allow questions of foreign policy, of armaments, and of peace and war to be settled for her by any councils but her own, it is surely most chimerical to suppose. A swarm of other difficulties would probably arise out of the perpetual vicissitudes of the party struggle in each colony, the consequent inability of the delegates to answer for the real action of their own governments, and the estrangement of the delegates themselves from colonial interest and connections by their necessary residence in England. An essential condition of federation appears to be tolerable equality among the members, or freedom from the ascendency of any overweening power; but for a century to come at least the power of England in the Federal Council would be overweening; and to obviate this difficulty some advocates of the scheme actually propose to repeal the union of England with Scotland and Ireland, so that she may be reduced to a manageable element of a Pan-britannic confederation. They have surely little right to call other people disunionists, if any opprobrious meaning attaches to that term.

Supposing such a confederation to be practicable, of what use, apart from the vague feeling of aggrandisement, would it be? Where would be the advantage of taking from each of these young communities its political centre (which must also be, to some extent, its social and intellectual centre), and of accumulating them in the already overgrown capital of England? Does experience tell us that unlimited extension of territory is favourable to intensity of political life, or to anything which is a real element of happiness or of greatness? Does it not tell us that the reverse is the fact, and that the interest of history centres not in megalosaurian empires, but in states the body of which has not been out of proportion to the brain? Surely it would be well to have some distinct idea of the object to be attained before commencing this unparalleled struggle against geography and nature. It can hardly be military strength. Military strength is not gained by dispersion of forces, by presenting vulnerable points in every quarter of the globe, or by embracing and undertaking to defend communities which, whatever may be their fighting qualities, in their policy are thoroughly unmilitary, and unmilitary will remain. Mr. Forster, in fact, gives us to understand that the Pan-britannic empire is to present a beneficent contrast to the military empires; that it is to be an empire of peace. But in that case it must, like other Quaker institutions, depend for its safety on the morality and forbearance of the holders of real and compact power, which is very far from being the dream of the advocates of "a great game."

In all these projects of Pan-britannic empire there lurks the assumption of a boundless multiplication of the Anglo-Saxon race. What are the grounds for this assumption? Hitherto it has appeared that races, as they grow richer, more luxurious, more fearful of poverty, more amenable to the restraints of social pride, have become less prolific. There is reason to suppose that in the United States the Anglo-Saxon race is far less prolific than the Irish, who are even supplanting the Anglo-Saxons in some districts of England, as the Home-Rule compliances of candidates for northern boroughs show. But the Irish element is small compared with the vast reservoir of industrial population in China, which is now beginning to overflow, and seems as likely as the Anglo-Saxon race to inherit Australia, where it has already a strong foothold, as well as the coast of the Pacific.

Canada, however, with regard to the problem of imperial confederation stands by herself, presenting, from her connection with the United States, difficulties from which in the case of the Australian colonies the problem is free. Of this some of the advocates of the policy of aggrandisement show themselves aware by frankly proposing to let Canada go.

It is taken for granted that political dependence is the natural state of all colonies, and that there is something unfilial and revolutionary in proposing that a colony should become a nation. But what is a colony? We happen to have derived the term from a very peculiar set of institutions, those Roman colonies which had no life of their own, but were merely the military and political outposts of the Imperial republic. With the Roman colonies may be classed the Athenian cleruchies and, substituting the commercial for the political object, the factories of Carthage. But colonies generally speaking are migrations, and, as a rule, they have been independent from the beginning. Independent from the beginning, so far as we know, were the Phœnician colonies, Carthage herself among the number. Independent from the beginning were those Greek colonies in Italy which rapidly outran their mother cities in the race of material greatness. Independent from the beginning were the Saxon and Scandinavian colonies, and all those settlements of the Northern tribes which founded England herself with the other nations of modern Europe. So far as we can see, the original independence in each case was an essential condition of vigour and success. No Roman colony, Athenian cleruchy, or Carthaginian factory ever attained real greatness. New England, the germ and organizer of the American communities, was practically independent for a long time after her foundation, the attention of the English government being engrossed by troubles at home; but she retained a slender thread of theoretic dependence by which she was afterwards drawn

back into a noxious and disastrous subordination. That thread was the feudal tie of personal allegiance, a tie utterly irrational when carried beyond the feudal pale, and by the recent naturalisation treaties now formally abolished; yet probably the main cause of the continued subjection of the Transatlantic colonies, and of the calamities which flowed both to them and to the mother country from that source.

It is natural that British statesmen should shrink from a formal act of separation, and that in their brief and precarious tenure of power they should be unwilling to take the burden and possible odium of such a measure upon themselves. But no one, we believe, ventures to say that the present system will be perpetual; certainly not the advocates of imperial confederation, who warn us that unless England by a total change of system draws her colonies nearer to her, they will soon drift further away.

Apart from lingering sentiment, it seems not easy to give reasons, so far as Canada is concerned, for struggling to prolong the present system. The motives for acquiring and holding dependencies in former days were substantial if they were not good. Spain drew tribute directly from her dependencies. England thought she drew it indirectly through her commercial system. It was also felt that the military resources of the colonies were at the command of the mother country. When the commercial system was relinquished, and when self-government transferred to the colonies the control of their own resources, the financial and military motives ceased to exist. But the conservative imagination supplied their place with the notion of political tutelage, feigning—though, as we have seen, against all the evidence of history—that the colony, during the early stages of its existence, needed the political guidance of the mother country in order to fit it to become a nation. Such was the language of colonial statesmen generally till the present Conservative reaction again brought into fashion something like the old notion of aggrandisement, though for tribute and military contingents, the solid objects of the old policy, is now substituted "prestige." That the political connection between England and Canada is a source of military security to either, nobody, we apprehend, maintains. The only vulnerable point which England presents to the United States is the defenceless frontier of Canada; the only danger to which Canada is exposed is that of being involved in a quarrel between the aristocracy of England and the democracy of the United States. Defenceless, it is believed, the frontier of Upper Canada has been officially pronounced to be, and the chances of a desperate resistance to the invader in the French province can scarcely be rated very high. It is said that the British fleet would bombard New York. If Canada were in the hands of the enemy, the bombardment of

New York would hardly alleviate her condition. But the bombardment of New York might not be an easy matter. The force of floating coast defences seems now to be growing superior to that of ocean-going navies. Besides, America would choose the moment when England was at war with some other naval power. Soldiers and sailors, and of the best quality, England might no doubt find in Canada; but she would have to pay for them more than she pays for soldiers and sailors recruited at home. Whether morality is embodied in Bismarck or not, modern policy is; and Bismarck seems not to covet distant dependencies; he prefers solid and concentrated power.

"Commerce follows the flag," is a saying which it seems can still be repeated by a statesman; but, like the notion that dependencies are a source of military strength, it is a mere survival from a departed system. Commerce followed the flag when the flag was that of a power which enforced exclusive trading. But exclusive trading has given way, as an imperial principle, to free trade, and the colonies, in the exercise of their fiscal power of self-government, have dissolved the commercial unity of the empire. They frame their independent tariffs, laying, in some cases, heavy duties on English goods. It will hardly be contended that, apart from commercial legislation, colonial purchasers inquire whether goods were produced under the British flag. "The best customer," says Sir George Lewis, "which a nation can have is a thriving and industrious community, whether it be dependent or independent. The trade between England and the United States is probably far more profitable to the mother country than it would have been if they had remained in a state of dependence upon her." As to Canada, what she needs, and needs most urgently, is free access to the market of her own continent, from which, as a dependency of England, she is excluded by the customs line. With free access to the market of her own continent, she might become a great manufacturing country; but manufactures are now highly specialised, and to produce with advantage you must produce on a large scale. Nor is the evil confined to manufactures; the farm products of Canada are depreciated by exclusion from their natural market, and the lumber trade, which is her great industry, will be in serious jeopardy, since, by the fall of wages in the States, the production of lumber there has been rendered nearly as cheap as it is in Canada, while Canadian lumber is subject to a heavy duty. The projects for opening markets in Australia merely serve to show how severely Canada feels the want of a market close at hand. Cut off any belt of territory commercially from the continent to which it belongs, industry will be stunted, the inflow of capital will be checked, and impoverishment will follow isolation. The Canadians will find this out in time, and the discovery will be the first step towards a change of system.

It is true that Canada has drawn a good deal of British capital into works little remunerative to the investors, though, perhaps, not more than the United States and other countries with which there was no political connection. But, if we consider credit as well as cash, the gain must be pronounced doubtful, and it is balanced by such a work as the Intercolonial Railway, into which Canada has been led by imperial influence, and which, after costing more than four millions sterling, will, as some leading Canadian men of business think, hardly "pay for the grease upon the wheels." The Pacific Railway, and the indemnity which Canada is forced to pay to British Columbia for the non-performance of an impracticable treaty, are too likely, in the opinion of many, to furnish another illustration of the expensiveness of the imperial connection.

That emigration is favourably influenced by political dependency is another lingering belief which seems now to have no foundation in fact, though it had in the days when emigration was a government affair. The stream of emigration, in ordinary times, sets, as has often been proved, not towards Canada, but towards the United States; and of the emigrants who land in Canada a large proportion afterwards pass the line, while there is a constant exodus of French Canadians from their own poor and overpeopled country (overpeopled so long as it is merely agricultural) to the thriving industries and high wages of the States. Emigrants, whose object is to improve their material condition, are probably little influenced by political considerations; they go to the country which offers the best openings and the highest wages; but English peasants and artisans would be likely, if anything, to prefer the social elevation promised them in a land of equality to anything like a repetition of the social subjection in which they have lived at home, while by the Irishman escape from British rule is deemed escape from oppression.

Whether the tutelage of the mother country has ever been useful to a colony, even in its infancy, except where there was actual need of military protection, is a question to which the language of the adherents of the colonial system themselves, when reviewing the history of colonial government, seems to suggest a negative reply. "Hitherto," says Mr. Roebuck, "those of our possessions termed colonies have not been governed according to any settled rule or plan. Caprice and chance have decided generally everything connected with them; and if success has in any case attended the attempts of the English people to establish colonies, that success has been obtained in spite of the mischievous intermeddling of the English government, not in consequence of its wise and provident assistance." Such is the refrain of almost all the works on the colonies, whether they treat of the general administration or of some special question, such as that of the Crown lands, which appears to have been solved by Downing Street in various ways, but always

wrong. Not by government, but by fugitives from the tyranny of government, the great American colony was founded; unaided and unregulated it grew, and laid the deep foundations of society in the New World. With tutelage came blundering, jobbery, mischief of all kinds, and at last a violent rupture, which, injurious as it was to the mother country, inflicted a still greater injury on the colony by launching it on the career of democracy with a violent revolutionary bias, whereas it needed a bias in favour of respect for authority. The presence of the British ambassador at the Centenary was not only the ratification of the revolt, but the condemnation of the colonial system. After the American Revolution, the next step of the British government was to divert the stream of English emigration from America—where there was abundant room for it, and whither, the pioneer work having then been done, it would have been most profitably directed—to Australia, where the pioneer work had to be done over again, measures being at the same time taken to taint the new society with convict blood. To what good this scattering of English emigration has led, beyond the poetic conception of a boundless empire, it would seem difficult to say; and Canada, before she expresses conventional joy at the annexation of Fiji, should ask herself whether a new colony is anything more to her than a new competitor for the labour which is her prime need. In Canada herself, tutelage, while it was really exercised, led to every sort of evil. Government was jobbed by an oligarchy called the Family Compact, which Downing Street supported, not from bad motives, but from sheer ignorance of facts, till the misrule ended in the insurrection of 1837. Things have gone smoothly only since real tutelage has departed, and left nothing but an image of royalty which reigns with gracious speeches and hospitality, but does not govern. There has been no want of good intentions on the part of English statesmen, nor would it be reasonable to suppose that there has been any special want of wisdom; probably no other statesmen would have done so well; but the task imposed on them was hopeless. One tree might as well be set to regulate the growth of another tree, as one nation to regulate the growth of another nation; and in this case the two trees are of different sorts and planted under different skies.

We can imagine the single mind of a despot moulding the political character of a colony, if not well, at least with adequate knowledge, with intelligence, and upon a definite plan. But England is not a single mind. England is the vast and motley mass of voters, including, since the Conservative Reform Bill, the most uneducated populace of the towns—people who, in politics, do not know their right hand from their left, who cannot tell the name of the leader of their own party, who vote for blue or yellow, and are led by

senseless local cries, by bribery, or by beer. These are the political tutors of Canada, a country in which both wealth and education are more diffused than they are here. How much does the average Englishman, or even the educated Englishman, know about Canadian politics? As much as Canadians know about the politics of Tasmania or the Cape. In *Phineas Finn* the hero of the tale, being under-secretary for the colonies, goes on a message to Marylebone "to find what the people there think about the Canadas." His report is, "Not one man in a thousand cares whether the Canadians prosper or fail to prosper. They care that Canada should not go to the States, because, though they don't love the Canadians, they do hate the Americans. That's about the feeling in Marylebone, and it's astonishing how like the Maryleboners are to the rest of the world." It will hardly be said that this is an unfair picture of a Londoner's normal frame of mind with regard to Canadian questions, or that Dorsetshire and Tipperary are better informed than London. When did a Canadian question influence an English election? How often is Canada mentioned in an election address? Canadian journals are never tired of exposing what they deem the scandalous ignorance of the leading journals of England on Canadian subjects, but they fail to draw the obvious moral. If the *Times* blunders, are the leaders of English opinion generally, and their constituents, likely to be better instructed and to decide aright? Burke, writing of the American Revolution, said that he could trace all the mischief "to the single source of not having had steadily before our eyes a general, comprehensive, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a just sense of their true bearings and relations." To say nothing of the ordinary holders of political power, in how many English statesmen, occupied as English statesmen are with home questions and party struggles, would Burke have found this comprehensive view, or the knowledge necessary for the formation of it? The Colonial Secretary himself is as often as not a man personally unacquainted with the colonies, not called to his post by special aptitude, but placed in it by party convenience. He must often depend for his information on such colonists as may find special access to Downing Street, or on the reports of governors, who, being images of royalty, are apt like royalty to be screened from truth. A peer he may be, but his peerage will not make him a Providence. The annexation of Manitoba and of British Columbia to Canada—with which the latter, at all events, has no geographical connection—is by some thought to have been a disastrous, by all allowed to have been a most critical, step: it was taken under the auspices of the late Lord Lytton, a brilliant and prolific novelist, brought into the government to make set speeches.

If any one supposes that the retention in Canada of the forms of monarchy excludes or mitigates any of the political evils, or even the coarseness to which democracy is liable in its crude condition, a year's residence in the country, a month's perusal of the party newspapers, or an hour's conversation with any Canadian man of business who has watched politics without taking part in them, will probably settle his opinion on that subject. That monarchical forms are no safeguard against corruption is a fact of which, unhappily, the colony has of late years had decisive proof. If the inquirer wishes to enlarge the basis of his induction, let him go through a file of Australian journals; he will there find a picture of public life, public character, and senatorial manners decidedly below the level of the better States of the Union. Canada has escaped the elective judiciary, but so has Massachusetts; and both that and the removable civil service were the work not of real Republicans, but of the Democratic party, that is, of the slave-owning oligarchy of the South using as its instruments the Northern mob. Her exemption from the civil war and its fiscal consequences Canada owes merely to her separation from the States; it would have been the same had she been an independent nation. Had the political connection with Great Britain never existed, and had the weight of Canada been early thrown into the scale of freedom, there might have been no civil war.

In the case of the Pacific Railway scandal, the Governor-General may be said to have formally avowed himself a fainéant. He decided that he was absolutely bound to follow the advice of his ministers, even when those ministers lay under the heaviest charges of corruption, and even as to the mode in which the investigation into those charges should be conducted; and his conduct was approved by the Home Government. He has, therefore, no authority, and of nothing nothing comes.

Most readers of the *Fortnightly* are probably prepared to regard with tolerance the proposition that figments and hypocrisies do no more good in politics than they do in general life. In Canadian politics they do much evil by blinding public men and the people generally to the real requirements of the situation. The hereditary principle was dead at its root; its work was done, and its age had passed away in the more advanced portion of humanity when the communities of the New World were founded. It lingers on, as things do linger on, in its native soil; but it can furnish no sound basis for government in the soil of reason and equality. The only conceivable basis for government in the New World is the national will; and the political problem of the New World is how to build a strong, stable, enlightened, and impartial government on that foundation. That it is a very difficult problem, daily experience in Canada, as well as in the neighbouring republic, shows, and to be successfully

resolved it must be seen in its true bearings, which the ostensible retention of the hereditary principle as the security for good and stable government obscures. Canada, though adorned with the paraphernalia of eight constitutional monarchies (one central and seven provincial), is a democracy of the most pronounced kind; the Governor-General was not wrong in saying that she is more democratic than the United States, where the President is an elective king, and where the Senate, which though elective is conservative, possesses great power, whereas the nominated Senate of Canada is a cypher. Demagogism and the other pests of democratic institutions are not to be conjured away by forms and phrases; they can be repressed and prevented from ruining the State only by developing remedial forces of a really effective kind, and by adjusting the actual machinery of the constitution so as to meet the dangers which experience may reveal. The treason law of the Plantagenets with which, as well as with the Lord Chamberlain's code of precedence, Canada is endowed, is not of much use to her while she is left without any legal means of repressing her real cancer, political corruption. Loyalty to the fainéant deputy of a distant Crown may be in a certain sense real; it may be felt by those who profess it; but it probably does not often prompt to a good political action, and it certainly never restrains from a bad one. Among Canadians, as among American politicians, the most "truly loyal" are often the most unscrupulous and corrupt. They are often, through the whole course of their public lives, disloyal to everything that represents public honour and the public good. A provincial court adds flunkeyism to demagogism without making the demagogue less profligate, less dangerous, or less vile. It does not even make him less coarse. No refining influence can really be exercised by a few dinners and receptions even over the small circle which attends them; while the social expenditure and display which are imposed on the Governor-General as the condition of his popularity in the colony, and of the maintenance of his reputation at home, are anything but a wholesome example for colonial society, which on the contrary needs an example of hospitality and social enjoyment cultivated in an easy and inexpensive way.

At present the bane of Canada is party government without any question on which parties can be rationally or morally based. The last question of sufficient importance to form a rational and moral basis for a party was that of the Clergy Reserves and the Church Establishment, since the settlement of which there has been absolutely no dividing line between the parties or assignable ground for their existence, and they have become mere factions, striving to engross the prizes of office by the means which faction everywhere employs. The consequences are the increasing ascendency of the worst men,

and the political demoralisation of a community, which, if a fair chance were given it, would furnish as sound a basis for good government as any community in the world. Of course England cannot be charged with introducing the party system into Canada; but she does fling over it the glamour of British association, and beguile a country really abandoned to all the instability and all the degrading influences of government by faction with the ostensible stability and dignity of the hereditary Crown. Indeed, the provision in the draught of confederation that both the parties should be considered in the first nomination of senators is, perhaps, the only authoritative recognition which the party system has ever received. In common with the other colonies, Canada is deemed happy in being endowed with a counterpart of the British Constitution. The British Constitution, putting aside the legal forms and phrases, is government by party; and whatever government by party may be in England, where there are some party questions left, in Canada it is a most noxious absurdity, and is ruining the political character of the people.

When Canadian Nationalists say that patriotism is a good thing, they are told to keep their wisdom for the copy-books; and the rebuke would be just if those who administer it would recognise the equally obvious truth, that there can be no patriotism without nationality. In a dependency there is no love of the country, no pride in the country; if an appeal is made to the name of the country no heart responds as the heart of an Englishman responds when an appeal is made to the name of England. In a dependency every bond is stronger than that of country, every interest prevails over that of the country. The province, the sect, Orangism, Fenianism, Freemasonry, Odd Fellowship are more to the ordinary Canadian than Canada. So it must be while the only antidote to sectionalism in a population with strongly marked differences of race and creed is the sentiment of allegiance to a distant throne. The young Canadian leaving his native country to seek his fortune in the States feels no greater wrench than a young Englishman would feel in leaving his county to seek his fortune in London. Want of nationality is attended, too, with a certain want of self-respect, not only political but social, as writers on colonial society and character have observed. Wealthy men in a dependency are inclined to look to the imperial country as their social centre and the goal of their social ambition, if not as their ultimate abode, and not only their patriotic munificence but their political and social services are withdrawn from the country of their birth.

Mr. Trollope finds himself compelled to confess that in passing from the United States into Canada you pass "from a richer country into one that is poorer, from a greater country into one that is less." You pass from a country embracing in itself the resources of a

continent, into one which is a narrow section of that continent cut off commercially from the rest; you pass from a country which is a nation into a country which is not a nation.

On the other hand, there were reasons which, not only to patriotic Canadians, but to patriotic Americans, if they took a comprehensive view of the interests of their country, seemed strong for wishing that Canada should remain politically separate from the United States. Democracy is a great experiment, which might be more safely carried on by two nations than by one. By emulation, mutual warning and correction, mutual supplementation of defects, they might have helped each other in the race and steadied each other's steps; a balance of opinion might have been established on the continent, though a balance of power cannot; and the wave of dominant sentiment which spreads over that vast democracy like the tide running in over a flat, might have been usefully restricted in its sweep by the dividing line. Nor was there any insurmountable obstacle in the way. Canada is wanting in unity of race; but not more so than Switzerland, whose three races have been thoroughly welded together by the force of nationality. She is wanting in compactness of territory, but not more so, perhaps, than some other nations—Prussia for instance—have been. In this latter respect, however, the situation has been seriously altered by the annexation of Manitoba and British Columbia, which in their present raw condition have no influence beyond that of distant possessions, but which, when peopled and awakened to commercial life, will be almost irresistibly attracted by the economical forces to the States which adjoin them on the south, and will thus endanger the cohesion of the whole confederacy. The very form of the Dominion indeed, drawn out and attenuated as it is by these unnatural additions, apart from the attractive influence of Minnesota and California, would seriously imperil its political unity, as will be seen, if, instead of taking Canada as it is presented by the political map, the boundary line is drawn between the habitable portion and that which belongs only to Arctic frosts. In the debate on confederation it was urged by the advocates of the measure that seven sticks, though separately weak, when bound together in a faggot would be strong. "Yes," was the reply, "but not so seven fishing rods tied together by the ends."

As to the expense of a national government, it would probably not be greater than that of the governor-generalship and the seven lieutenant-governorships is at present. Diplomacy in these days of rapid communication may be cheaply done, and Canada would not need much of it: she has no Eastern question.

The question of military security has reference solely to the danger to be apprehended on the side of the United States; and danger on the side of the United States, supposing Canada disentangled from English quarrels, we believe that there is none. The Americans,

as has been repeatedly observed, have since the fall of slavery given every proof of an unambitious disposition. They disbanded their vast armaments immediately on the close of the civil war, without waiting even for the Alabama question to be settled; they have refused to annex St. Domingo; they have observed a policy of strict non-intervention in the case of Cuba, which they might have made their own with the greatest ease; they have declined to take advantage of the pretexts furnished them in abundance, by border outrages, of conquering Mexico; it is very doubtful whether they would even have purchased Alaska, if Mr. Seward had not drawn them by secret negotiations into a position from which they could not well retreat. Slavery wanted conquest for the creation of new slave states, but with slavery the spirit of aggression appears to have died. Welcome Canada into the Union, if she came of her own accord, the Americans no doubt would. They would be strangely wanting in wisdom if they did not; for she would bring them as her dower not only complete immunity from attack and great economical advantages, but a political accession of the most valuable kind in the shape of a population, not like that of St. Domingo, Cuba, or Mexico, but trained to self-government, and capable of lending fresh strength and vitality to republican institutions. It is true that, slavery having been abolished, the urgent need of adding to the number of the Free States in order to counterbalance the extension of slavery in the councils of the Union no longer exists; but there are still in the population of the United States large elements essentially non-republican—the Irish, the emigrants from Southern Germany, the negroes—to which, perhaps, may be added a considerable portion of Southern society itself, which can hardly fail to retain something of its old character while it continues to be composed of a superior and inferior race. Against these non-republican elements, the really republican element still needs to be fortified by all the reinforcements which it can obtain. Welcome Canada therefore into the Union the Americans no doubt would. But that they have the slightest inclination to lay violent hands upon her, that such a thought ever enters their minds, no one who has lived among them, and heard the daily utterances of a by no means reticent people, can believe. Apart from moral principle, they know that though a despotic government may simply annex, a republic must incorporate, and that to incorporate four millions of unwilling citizens would be to introduce into the republic a most dangerous mass of disaffection and disunion. That the Americans have been litigious in their dealings with Canada is true; but litigiousness is not piracy; and as we have already said the real object of their irritation has not been Canada, but England. The Monro doctrine was held by Canning as well as by Monro; and, irrespectively of any desire of aggrandisement, the intrusion of an American power here would probably give as much

umbrage to England as the intrusion of the English power in their own continent gives to the people of the United States. That the Americans would feel pride in behaving generously towards a weaker State, will appear credible only to those who have seen enough of them to know that, though supposed to care for nothing but the dollar, they have in reality a good deal of pride.

As an independent nation, Canada would, of course, be at liberty to negotiate freely for the removal of the customs line between herself and the United States, and for her admission to all the commercial advantages of her own continent. At present not only is she trammelled by imperial considerations, but it can hardly be expected that the American government will place itself on a lower international level than that of England by treating with a dependency as a nation, especially as there are constant intimations that the dependency is retained, and is being nursed up, with the view of making it a rival power to the United States, and thus introducing into the continent the germs of future jealousy, and possibly of war.

That Canada can ever be made a rival power to the United States —that, if she is only kept long enough in a state of dependence, there will be an indefinite increase of her population and her strength—seems to be little better than a rhetorical fancy. The barrier of slavery being removed, the set of population is likely to be, not towards the frozen north, where the winter, besides suspending labour and business, eats up the produce of the summer in the cost of fuel, but towards those countries in which warmth is provided by the sun, and work may be carried on during the whole year. The notion that the north is the natural seat of empire seems to have no more solid foundation. It is apparently a loose generalisation from the success of the northern tribes which conquered the Roman empire. It is forgotten that those northern warriors had not only been hardened by exposure to the full severity of the northern climate, but picked by the most rigorous process of natural selection. Stove heat is not less enervating than the heat of the sun. But a nation Canada, so far as we can see, might have been, had the attempt been vigorously made at the propitious moment, when, owing to the effects of the civil war in the United States, the balance of prosperity was decidedly in her favour, when her financial condition appeared immensely superior to that of her neighbour, and when the spirit of her people had been stirred by confederation. That opportunity was allowed to pass, and, in all probability, it will never return.

A movement in favour of nationality there was—one which had a twofold claim to sympathy, because it was also a movement against faction and corruption, and which, though it has failed, has left honourable traces on public life. But it was not strong enough to make head against the influences which have their centre in the little court of

Ottawa and the attacks of the lower class of politicians, who assailed it with the utmost ferocity, seeing clearly that the success of the higher impulse would not suit their game. Moreover, the French province interposed between the British provinces of the east and west, is a complete non-conductor, and prevents any pulsation from running through the whole body. It must further be owned that in industrial communities the economical motives are stronger than the political, and that the movement in favour of Canadian nationality had only political motives on its side. Perhaps the appearance of a great man might after all have turned the scale; but dependencies seldom produce great men.

Had the movement in favour of nationality succeeded, the first step would have been a legislative union, which would in time have quelled sectionalism and made up for the deficiency of material size and force by moral solidity and unity of spirit. Canada, as was said before, is hardly a proper subject for federal government, which requires a more numerous group of states and greater equality between them. Confederation as it exists, we repeat, has done little more than develop the bad side of democratic government. A project is now on foot for a legislative union between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island; but this will only make matters worse by reducing the number of important states to three (Manitoba and British Columbia being in the merest infancy), two of which will be always combining against the third. That there would have been opposition to a legislative union of the whole of Canada on the part of Quebec is more than probable; but Quebec, if she had been handled with determination, would most likely have given way.

Canadian nationality being a lost cause, the ultimate union of Canada with the United States appears now to be morally certain; so that nothing is left for Canadian patriotism but to provide that it shall be a union indeed, and not an annexation; an equal and honourable alliance like that of Scotland with England, not a submission of the weaker to the stronger; and at the same time that the political change shall involve no change of any other kind in the relations of Canada with her mother country. The filaments of union are spreading daily, though they may be more visible to the eye of one who sees Canada at intervals than to that of a constant resident. Intercourse is being increased by the extension of railways; the ownership and management of the railways themselves is forming an American interest in Canada; New York is becoming the pleasure, and, to some extent, even the business, capital of Canadians; American watering-places are becoming their summer resort; the periodical literature of the States, which is conducted with extraordinary spirit and ability, is extending its circulation on the northern side of the line; and the Canadians who settle in the

States are multiplying the links of family connection between the two countries. To specify the time at which a political event will take place is hardly ever possible, however assured the event itself may be; and in the present instance the occurrence depends not only on the circumstances of Canada, where, as we have seen, there is a great complication of secondary forces, but on the circumstances of the United States. If the commercial depression which at present prevails in Canada continues or recurs, if Canadian manufactures are seen to be dying under the pressure of the customs line; if, owing to the depression or to overcostly undertakings, such as the Pacific Railway, financial difficulties arise; if, meantime, the balance of prosperity, which is now turning, shall have turned decisively in favour of the United States, and the reduction of their debt shall have continued at the present rate—the critical moment may arrive, and the politicians, recognising the voice of Destiny, may pass in a body to the side of Continental Union. It will be fortunate if a misunderstanding between the Canadian government and Downing Street about some question such as that respecting the pecuniary claims of British Columbia, which is now assuming such exaggerated proportions, does not supervene to make the final dissolution of the political tie a quarrel instead of an amicable separation.

To Canada the economical advantages of continental union will be immense; to the United States its general advantages will be not less so. To England it will be no menace, but the reverse: it will be the introduction into the councils of the United States, on all questions, commercial as well as diplomatic, of an element friendly to England, the influence of which will be worth far more to her than the faint and invidious chance of building up Canada as a rival to the United States. In case of war, her greatest danger will be removed. She will lose neither wealth nor strength; probably she will gain a good deal of both. As to glory, we cannot do better than quote in conclusion the words of Palmerston's favourite colleague, and the man to whom he, as was generally supposed, wished to bequeath his power:—

"There are supposed advantages flowing from the possession of dependencies, which are expressed in terms so general and vague, that they cannot be referred to any determinate head. Such, for example, is the glory which a country is supposed to derive from an extensive colonial empire. We will merely remark upon this imagined advantage, that a nation derives no true glory from any possession which produces no assignable advantage to itself or to other communities. If a country possesses a dependency from which it derives no public revenue, no military or naval strength, and no commercial advantages or facilities for emigration, which it would not equally enjoy though the dependency were independent, and if, moreover, the dependency suffers the evils which (as we shall show hereafter) are the almost inevitable consequences of its political condition, such a possession cannot justly be called glorious."

GOLDWIN SMITH.

# THE DECAY OF FEUDAL PROPERTY IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.[1]

CONSIDERING the immense space which the first French Revolution filled in the eyes of the generation which immediately succeeded it, it is surprising at first sight that the search after authentic materials for an opinion concerning its causes, course, and character was for a while but slackly prosecuted. A virtually inexhaustible store of such materials existed in the *cahiers*—the statements of grievances which, according to the ancient practice of the French States-General, were sent up from every administrative subdivision of France to the body which became the first Constituent Assembly. Yet it is only in comparatively recent days that this and other similar stores of historical wealth have been critically examined. The story runs (I do not know whether it has found its way into print) that a well-known German historian once expressed his amazement at having pointed out to him in Paris some dusty bundles of papers, with the remark that they had lain undisturbed since they were deposited in the Archives on the reconstruction, after the close of the Reign of Terror, of the gloomily famous Committees of Public Salvation and General Security. "But you have classical histories of the Revolution," he said; "have not these documents been examined by their writers?" "No," was the reply, "that is the dust of 1794."

There is, however, some account to be given of this neglect, especially as regards the *cahiers*. One cause of it has undoubtedly been that preference for general explanations of phenomena which has always been a heavy drawback on French genius; and the general explanations of the first French Revolution current in France are a multitude. But another, and probably the most powerful, cause is the nearness of the Revolution itself. De Tocqueville, who first dug deep into the *cahiers*, and showed what great results might be obtained by thoroughly exploring that mine, has left the striking remark that no foreigner can properly appreciate the state of sentiment in one section of French society, where there is scarcely a single family in which the guillotining of a parent or a near relative is not a recollection or a fresh tradition; and one of the fruits of this condition of feeling is a strong reluctance to connect the France of the Revolution with the France of the Monarchy. Another, and a much larger, portion of the nation traces its political and social rights to the period during which all this blood was shed; and hence arises a manifest disposition to regard the Revolution as a historical catastrophe, terrible but

(1) A lecture delivered at the Royal Institution.

inevitable, and to look on the society which succeeded it as no more closely related to that which preceded it, than is the vegetation which has grown on the sides of Vesuvius after an eruption to the vegetation which the lava destroyed. Between unwillingness to find the parentage of the Revolution in the old régime before it, and unwillingness to have its crimes placed in full light, the first condition of scientific history, the critical examination of its sources, was too much and too long overlooked. But of late, and mainly owing to the influence of that invaluable work on the relations between Old and New France, on which De Tocqueville was still engaged at his death, the business of correcting preconceived opinions by the aid of authentic historical materials has been rapidly proceeding. Two interesting books, one by M. Chassin ("Le Génie de la Révolution"), and the other by M. Doniol ("La Révolution Française et la Féodalité"), are among the firstfruits of renewed examination of the *cahiers;* and in the volume of his "Origins of Contemporary France," which M. Taine has lately published, he has given us an instalment of a work which may prove not unworthy to be compared with De Tocqueville's fragment. M. Doniol states that great quantities of the original *cahiers* are to be found in the French Archives; but, though some of them were separately printed in 1789, I am not acquainted with any collection of them fuller than that published, many years ago, by Prudhomme and Laurent de Mézières.

But although the diligent prosecution of these inquiries is comparatively recent, it has already led to considerable results. Some new facts have been discovered, some already known have been brought into clearer light, and several errors have been detected. Among the passages in the Revolution hitherto obscure which may now be better understood, one or two deserve especial remark. The hostility of the cultivating peasantry to the territorial nobility in all provinces of France except Brittany and Anjou, has generally been recognised, not merely as one of the causes of the Revolution, but as the chief cause of the rapidity with which it gathered head, and of the comparative stability which it manifested. The provincial cities and towns were slowly drawn into the movement through the action of Jacobin clubs, gradually established in them, and taking their instructions from the central body in Paris, which no doubt from the first was a furnace of revolutionary agitation. But the peasantry, always excepting those of the western provinces, were from the very beginning enthusiasts for the destruction of the ancient institutions, and so they remained until they gained their objects. This universal hatred of the peasants had for one of its effects a condition of the country which, no doubt, has often perplexed the reader of the ordinary histories. After a while France

became hermetically closed, and escape from the guillotine became almost impossible. Some writers, in explaining this, have attributed to Robespierre a special genius for police organization; but the truth seems to be that the cultivating classes, who at first witnessed with pleasure the emigration of the nobility, constituted themselves a voluntary police as soon as they found that, by detaining the nobles in France, they would probably send them to the scaffold. This extremity of detestation is not sufficiently accounted for by assigning general reasons for it. The complicity of the peasants with the rulers of the Reign of Terror was undoubtedly connected with a wish to preserve certain advantages which they had obtained just at the very period when France became a republic; and similarly an earlier series of incidents, which testify to the same unqualified bitterness of feeling, are now shown to have had a special rather than a general cause. You may remember those terrible outbreaks of violence which occurred even as early as 1789, and which are sometimes designated collectively the "burning of the chateaux." What is now seen clearly, but had only been suspected before, is that the acts of the incendiaries had a distinct object. The object in setting fire to a chateau was to burn the muniment-room; and the object of burning the muniment-room was to destroy the *titres* or title-deeds of the seigneur of the fief—as we should say, of the lord of the manor. All this would be hardly intelligible but for a fact, now established, which possibly requires a lawyer rather than an historian to appreciate it—the fact that the French nobility were everywhere engaged in never-ceasing litigation with the peasants. The majority of the French nobles, it should be understood, had little or no analogy to what we understand by a landed aristocracy. A certain number of them, relatively but a few, had great estates; but the largest part of them had little or no land let for rent to lessees or tenants-at-will. The multitude of petty noblemen and gentlemen—classes indistinguishable from one another in old France—lived on the money produce of the small incidental services due, as we should say, from owners of lands held in copyhold to the lord of the manor. Thus they had their *finances*, the "fines" of our copyhold tenure, the dues payable to the lord by the peasant proprietor on death or on the sale of his land. They had also their monopolies, such as the obligation of the peasant to send his grain to the lord's mill for grinding, or his beast to the lord's market for sale. And they had a number of miscellaneous and nondescript sources of income, such as a sole right to have a dovecote stocked with pigeons, which fed on the peasants' corn. Now on the legal foundations of these privileges a strong controversy was proceeding among the French lawyers during the half-century preceding the Revolution. Some maintained the legal doctrine which had made

great way in France at the period when feudalism was really strong—*Nulle terre sans seigneur*, "No lord, no land." On this principle, the presumption was always in favour of the liability to feudal dues, and the right to them could always be established by prescription. But another school, no doubt unconsciously influenced by the economical doctrines which had excited such interest among the educated classes in the latter part of the eighteenth century, contended that the lord must show his *titres*, and almost went the length of arguing that no feudal rights had a legal basis unless documentary evidence of title could be produced. The struggle between the competing principles produced an enormous amount of litigation, sometimes the lord encroaching on the strength of one view, sometimes the peasant on the strength of the other. In any event, the title-deeds of the lord had become of the greatest importance, and the advantage which the tenants gained by their destruction is obvious enough. At a later date it lost its value in the eyes of the peasantry, because more drastic remedies for their grievances had then been devised. The legislation of the Constituent Assembly swept away the greatest part of the feudal dues, and provided compensation for only a part of them. The Legislative or Second Assembly abolished the residue and withdrew the compensation. The Convention, or Third, found almost nothing to destroy, though it was passionately eager to fasten on a hated institution, and though the Revolutionary lawyers, who abounded in it, were the real authors of the legislative provisions, afterwards engrafted on the Code Napoléon, which for ever prevented the revival of feudal ownership in France. The transfer of property from one class to another through the abolition of the feudal dues was much more important than has been commonly supposed, and had much greater influence over the course of the Revolution. When in fact the Revolution ceased to be a social movement, it lost the greatest part of its aliment, and nothing remained for its authors except to tear one another to pieces.

While, however, the re-examination of the *cahiers* has placed beyond question the character of the grievances of the French peasantry, it has raised some new problems. Bitterly and strongly as these grievances were felt, were they of extraordinary proportions? Does the comparison of the relations between the French peasant and his lord with similar relations in other countries suggest that the small cultivator in France had exceptional and intolerable burdens to bear?

If I were to say that the first French Revolution took place because a great part of the soil of France was held on Copyhold Tenure, the statement would doubtless sound like a paradox. Those who have any practical knowledge of Copyhold, know it to be certainly an inconvenient form of landed property, but hold it probably to be, like all property, rather a privilege than a grievance. Those again

who have paid any attention to its history, have possibly heard that Copyhold Tenure has descended from the precarious holdings of Bondmen or Slaves, a condition to which the greatest part of the Anglo-Saxon population is supposed to have been reduced after the alleged destruction of the ancient land-law of England and confiscation of its soil by William the Conqueror. The popular theory of the origin of Copyhold, or at all events the theory in which most lawyers are educated, is explicitly set forth in a tract on the "Use of the Law," commonly printed in collections of the writings of Lord Bacon (Spedding's edition, vol. vii., pp. 481, *et seq.*). The Conqueror is described as having "got by conquest all the land of the realm (except Church lands and the lands of Kent) into his own hands in demesne, taking from every man all estate, tenure, property, and liberty of and in the same." He then distributed the soil of England among his tenants in capite, "reserving some retribution of rents or services or both to him and his heirs;" and "by example and resemblance of the king's policy in these institutions of tenures, the great men and gentlemen of the realm did the like as near as they could." Each of them, after reserving to himself the land in the immediate neighbourhood of his mansion-house, or manor, gave a certain portion of the "uttermost parts" of his estate to some "trusty servants, to find a horse for war and go with him when he went with the king to the wars . . . . which tenant is called a tenant of knight-service." Smaller parcels of land he assigned to socage tenants, who were to plough part of the domain of the lord and bring home the harvest; and the remainder of this domain, "which he kept to himself," he cultivated by his bondmen, and "he appointed them at the courts of his manor how they should hold it, making an entry of it into the roll of his court; yet still in the lord's power to take it away; and therefore they were called tenants-at-will by copy of court-roll, being in truth bondmen at the beginning; but, having attained freedom of their persons, they are now called copyholders, and are so privileged by the custom that the lord cannot put them out." The writer adds that "Manors being in this sort at first made, it grew out of reason that the lord of the manor should hold a court, which is no more than to assemble his tenants at times to be by him appointed. . . . . This court is called a Court Baron; and herein a man may sue for any debt or trespass under forty shillings' value; and the freeholders are to judge of the cause upon the proofs produced on both sides."

The tract on the "Use of the Law" appears to be wrongly attributed to Lord Bacon, who has elsewhere shown that he had much sounder ideas than its writer of the true history of English institutions. The account, however, which it gives of the origin of Manors and of copyhold tenures is the one which, on the whole, has

generally prevailed, and there is undoubtedly a good deal in the received authorities on copyhold to suggest it. Yet it is certainly not true, and perhaps the least drawback on it is that it is not true. For, by substituting for the truth a set of plausible fictions, it gives a wrong point to some instructive political lessons, and has besides the mischievous indirect effect of disguising from us that institutions, like forms of organic life, are subject to the great law of evolution.

The real facts are being gradually, though but slowly, established by very recent researches, but, so far as they can be stated in the space at our command, they are as follows:—

When Western Europe has settled down into comparative peace after the deadly strife which followed, first, the irruption of the Germanic races into the Roman provinces, and next, the disruption of the Carlovingian empire, and when the feudal world has at last been constituted, it wears superficially a variety and irregularity of outline very unlike the apparent uniformity of the Roman Empire. But, on close inspection, all feudal society is seen to be a reproduction of a single typical form. This *unit* consists of a group of men settled on a definite space of land, and forming what we Englishmen call a Manor, and what in France was called a Fief. The great misconception which runs through the account of this group which I took from the tract passing under Bacon's name, is as follows: the writer regards the Manor entirely as a mode of property, the manorial organization as a mere proprietary arrangement. But the Manor or Fief, in its origin, was as much a political as a proprietary body, as nearly akin to a State as to an Estate. It retained even in its decay some of the characteristic and curiously persistent marks of Aryan political organisms. The Lord is the βασιλεύς, the rex, the king.[1] The free tenants are the γερουσία, the senate, the council. The villeins are the mass of the people; and below them are the true bondmen, the slaves or thralls, or in later legal language, the villeins *in gross*. The Signorial Court, the Court Baron, is the ancient village assembly, in which the administration of justice has now taken precedence of other public concerns, but in which those public concerns continue to be discussed, the lord presiding, the free

(1) In the series of papers, called "Souvenirs d'Enfance," which M. Renan is publishing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, he describes a class of territorial nobles who were found in Brittany just before the Revolution, and who were quite distinct from the later nobility of royal creation. They had fallen into great poverty, but they received much consideration from the peasantry, who regarded them as the lay chiefs of the parishes of which the curés were the ecclesiastical heads. M. Renan mentions the remarkable fact that they touched for the king's evil. He says of one of them: "On croyait que comme chef il était dépositaire de la force de son sang, qu'il possédait éminemment les dons de sa race, et qu'il pouvait avec sa salive et ses attouchements la relever quand il était affaiblie. On était persuadé que pour opérer des guérisons de cette sorte il fallait un nombre énorme de quartiers de noblesse."—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1876.

tenants advising, the villeins attending without definite share or voice in the deliberations, like the crowd in the Homeric Agora. Those fines, dues, and monopolies which still annoy the English copyholder of our day, which went far to cause the first French revolution, and which had to be cleared away by a timely stroke of statesmanship before Prussia could begin a struggle to relieve herself from French military despotism, were in their origin rather in the nature of taxes than in the nature of rent. They represent the ancient provision for the service of the little village commonwealth. Some of them may have sprung from the oppressions of the lord, and some from agreement with him; but the greatest part had their origin in regulated force, the sovereignty of the little State.

The Lord, the Seigneur of France, is answerable for the conduct of the whole manorial group to its superiors and its neighbours. He is the manager or governor of the little society, with the advice of his free tenants. He is arbiter of its affairs in the signorial court. He is not the owner of all the land of the Manor; but he generally owns some of it under the name of his domain. Much, however, of his revenues, and here and there the most important part of them, consists of the various dues payable to him from all classes of his tenants. Immediately under him are his freeholders, who render him military or other honourable service and do *suit*, which involves giving an opinion on the judicial or other matters arising in the Court Baron. But the greatest part of the land included in the Manor or Fief, in some cases much the largest part of it, is in the hands of the Villeins. It was inevitable that the position of this stratum of the manorial community should be much misunderstood until the Comparative Method of Inquiry let in light upon it through observation of those more backward societies which have preserved to our days the life and social forms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The villeins owe to the lord all sorts of dues and services, personal labour, among others, on the lands which form his domain; they may not leave the Manor without his permission; no one of them can succeed to the land of another without his assent; and the legal theory even is that the movable property of the villein belongs to the lord. Yet it may confidently be laid down that, in the light of modern research, none of these disadvantages prove an absolutely servile status, and that all may be explained without reference to it. Those who remember that, twenty-five years ago, the Russian serfs were popularly supposed in England to be as much slaves as the negroes of a Mississippi planter, but nevertheless are aware that under the great measure of the present Russian emperor in 1861 the serfs, and not the lords, obtained much the largest part of the land, may be prepared for the assertion that the villeins of the middle ages were never in the strict sense of the word slaves, and never ceased to be in some sense landed proprietors.

To the typical form which I have described, Kingdoms were adjusted no less than Manors. The sovereign who became the most powerful in Europe, the King of France, was the lord of an exalted Manor. His free tenants were the Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, the Counts of Toulouse and Champagne; his domain consisted of Paris and of the old Duchy of France. These continental institutions were reproduced in England, but, as has often been the case, *with a difference*. The great power of the early Anglo-Norman kings came from their allowing nobody to be absolutely interposed, like a Duke of Burgundy, between themselves and their subjects, and from their exacting fealty and therefore military service from all Englishmen (Freeman, "N. Conquest," iv. 694). We can trace the Manorial group backwards to an earlier social form, a body of men democratically or rather aristocratically governed, in which the free tenants had as yet no lord, the Village Community.[1] We can also trace its gradual dissolution, until the forms of landed property were established with which we are all familiar. The exact point before us is, Why did the Manor in its decay produce such different results in England and France? Why did its transformation end in one country in a revolution which is an epoch in history? Why, in another, in a somewhat inconvenient form of landed property?

It is, in the first place, to be observed that the French peasant tenures of 1789 wear, *externally*, the strongest resemblance to the copyhold tenures which were found at the same date in England, and which indeed still survive though their area is much limited. From my own researches, I should be inclined to doubt whether there is a single service of the French peasantry established by authentic evidence of which at least a trace cannot be discovered among the incidents of English copyholds. Arthur Young, who travelled just before and just after the outbreak of the Revolution, singles out certain French services for their especial grotesqueness, but feudal obligations nearly answering to several of them are mentioned by one or other of the witnesses examined by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Copyholds which sat in 1850 and 1851. There are, no doubt, certain alleged incidents of the French tenure,

(1) Although no question has been more discussed by German and English scholars, the exact mode in which the Manor arose out of pre-existing social forms is still a very obscure problem. In a work published five years since ("Village Communities in the East and West," pp. 131 *et seq.*) I gave an abridged account of all that was then known or had been conjectured on the subject, but great additions to our knowledge may be expected from Russia, where the growth of lordships and of the chief incidents of villenage are of recent date, and where there appear to be materials for an authentic history of this social transformation. See vol. i. chap. viii. and vol. ii. chaps. xxii., xxix., and xxx. of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace's excellent work on Russia. Still more valuable information may be looked for from those results of special investigation which Mr. Wallace promises (in his preface) to lay before the public in a supplementary volume.

implying an extreme degradation of the tenant, which do not appear to have ever had their counterparts in England, though they have been thought to be discoverable in the half-legendary history of Scotland; but the evidence of them has of late been considered to be extremely doubtful, and it certainly consists in some cases of a misapprehension of the meaning of old French juridical terms. On the whole, the correspondence of the French and English tenures is remarkably close; and nothing can exceed the surprise of M. Doniol—the first of his countrymen, I believe, who has become alive to this correspondence—that grievances which all his authorities declare to have brought about the great Revolution, are in England grievances of no political significance whatever. M. Doniol has imagined the following ingenious illustration of the disadvantages of the existing English copyhold tenure. He supposes a capitalist from the South of England beginning negotiations for the purchase of an estate in the North which has struck his fancy. His solicitor tells him that Manors abound in the Northern counties, and that the estate is mostly copyhold. On further inquiry, he is informed that the land is subject to arbitrary fines—the *finances* of old French law—and that a sum of money is therefore payable to the lord of the manor every time a copyholder dies or sells his land; and every time the lord dies, a similar sum must be paid to his successor. These *arbitrary* fines were once really arbitrary, but the King's Court long ago declared that (save in some very exceptional cases) they must be reasonable and must not exceed two years' value of the land. The consequence, however, is, that every time any one in a series of hereditary copyhold tenants (father, son, or grandson) dies, and every time a death occurs in a similar series of lords of the manor, two years' value of the land must be paid. Hence, M. Doniol's would-be purchaser is warned that it never can be worth his while to make improvements on his property, since they would only add to the standard of the fine leviable in these eventualities. He is further warned that, on his death, the most valuable piece of personal property he possesses will be liable to be seized by the lord under the name of a Heriot; and it is a fact that the Pitt Diamond and the famous picture of Rubens, the "Chapeau de Paille," which is the gem of the Peel Collection in the National Gallery, were barely saved from seizure as Heriots, and the most valuable race-horse of its time was actually seized, their owners happening to have some fragments of copyhold amid their estates. M. Doniol's solicitor then goes on to enumerate a number of smaller inconveniences of the tenure. One of them was in France one of the chief grievances of the peasantry. On being properly summoned the copyholder must supply a man to assist in reaping the lord's harvest. In old France, the peasant went himself, but in England it merely comes to this, that the copyholder

loses a day's work of one of his labourers; the lord, however, does not gain it, for the labourer sent to him does as little work as possible, and by the custom he is entitled to a dinner, which is worth more than the value of his labour at its best.

M. Doniol concludes by asking who in his senses could buy such a property. The incidents of copyhold which he specifies have a real existence and are very familiar to lawyers; many others equally singular in the eyes of a foreigner were described to the Select Committees of the House of Commons. Nevertheless, as M. Doniol himself admits, there is a certain fallacy in his account. For purposes of illustration, he assumes that all copyhold land is burdened everywhere with these onerous services. The truth is that the picture is made up by uniting burdens spread over a great number of manors; and it may be asserted generally that in the southern counties of England manorial liabilities are seldom of much importance; and everywhere they have been extinguished in great quantities during the last five and twenty years by the proceedings of the Copyhold Commissioners.

The reasons which may ultimately lend to the compulsory enfranchisement on equitable terms of all English copyhold land are not at all likely to be the grievances of the copyholder. If he were to urge them, the answer openly or tacitly given would be that he is fortunate to have even an inconvenient kind of property, and that he is no more entitled to the public pity than a shareholder in a railway which pays intermittent dividends or none at all. Very probably he would be told that, whatever be the disadvantages of his property, they were doubtless allowed for in the price which he or his predecessors paid for it. The grounds on which enfranchisement will be enforced, if at all, will be, that copyhold tenure is an obstacle to agricultural improvement, on which it entails a direct penalty, and that it is a restraint on the productiveness of the soil. It is to be remarked, however, that this reasoning, or at least its cogency, is extremely modern. As recently as two centuries ago, an observer, not over sensitive to other people's interests, described the grievances of copyholders in language curiously like that used of the wrongs of the French peasantry in the *cahiers* sent up to the French States-General. Roger North, in his delightful book, "The Lives of the Norths," tells us that the Lord Keeper Guilford qualified himself for practice at the bar by acting as the steward of various Manors, and he quotes a good deal of the Lord Keeper's conversation on the subject of Manorial rights. Guilford was in the habit of saying that he found himself the executioner of the cruelty of the Lords and Ladies of Manors upon poor men; that small tenements and pieces of land which had been men's inheritances for generations were devoured by fines; that it was wonderful

how Parliament, which took away the royal tenures in capite, had never relieved the poorest landowners of the nation from extortion and oppression, and that the tenure ought to be abolished. Here is the very muttering of the volcano before the French revolutionary eruption; but there is this difference, that the class compassionated by North is a relatively small one as well as a poor one, for he goes on to observe on the large number of manors which had become altogether or partially extinct in England.

Now, if a hundred years ago, a great part of the class which, as a fact, consisted of agricultural labourers, and a considerable part of the class which, as a fact, consisted of tenant farmers, had been made up of copyholders standing to the Lord of the Manor in the relations which North describes, and if under the law of the equal division of property these copyholders were constantly multiplying their numbers without severing themselves from the land, there would have been in this country a state of agrarian society very nearly resembling that of France. You will allow, I think, that if no similar convulsion had resulted from it, it would not have been for want of explosive material. As a matter of fact, nothing of the kind occurred, and the very suggestion of an English Revolution caused by the oppression of copyhold tenants strikes every one as an absurdity. How then came the feudal edifice of which the outline had been extremely similar in England and France, to break into such different shapes? How came the same institution to become a grievance of the first order in one country, at most an inconvenience in the other? The answer to this question divides itself into many branches; some of them I could not follow without retracing much of the long and intricate history of English land-law, and without using much technical language, but the consideration of a few may not be out of place here.

One powerful cause of the difference lay in the strong distinction between the judicial organization of France and of England. In both countries, a considerable part of the popular law, the law which affected the mass of the people in most of their concerns, had been once administered by the local courts, the Manor courts and signorial courts, presided over theoretically by the lord, but practically by an expert deputy, the steward, attorney, or *bailli*. The French signorial court is extinct, and the only picture of it which remains is a caricature, in the play of Beaumarchais called the *Mariage de Figaro*. Yet even the sketch of Beaumarchais is a sketch of a tribunal in its way powerful and important, and thus very unlike those Manor courts which, though still summoned in our day for the transaction of business, betray in every part of their proceedings their extreme decay. A century since, the English Manor court was very much what it now is; but the signorial court of France was a com-

paratively flourishing institution. The English country gentleman, who was lord of the manor, was administratively a person of great authority and influence; but his ancient jurisdiction was in extreme decrepitude, and the only judicial powers which he prized were probably those which he derived, as a Justice of the Peace, from the King. The French Seigneur, on the other hand, was administratively a cipher; as Tocqueville has pointed out, the agents of the centralised royal authority had usurped all serious administrative functions; but then the court of his signory, though it had lost much, had retained a good deal of its ancient authority and activity.

The different condition of the local jurisdictions in the two countries was certainly due to the different action upon them of courts outside and above them. In England the King's Courts at Westminster Hall constantly corrected the jurisdiction of the manorial courts, limiting the area of land subject to it, confining it rigorously to specific cases, and strictly prescribing the manner in which it should be exercised. The heads of the little manorial societies long struggled against what they deemed to be an usurpation. Too few manor rolls have been published; but in those which have been made accessible you frequently find the lord and the homage (that is, the assembly of free tenants) making rules against resort to the King's Court. Thus, if you turn to page 239 of Mr. Scrope's History of the Manor of Castle Combe, you will see an entry of a distress made on the goods of a copyholder for violating the constitutional rule (*communis ordinatio*) of the Manor, that "no tenant is in any way or for any reason to implead, or procure the impleading of, any other tenant in any external court." Not only did the King's Courts disregard all such rules, but they established the principle that the lord might be made to answer to the King for any excess of his authority, or of his customary privileges. Some of the best known principles limiting manorial rights were settled in this way; among others, the doctrine which in its origin must have been most beneficial to the copyholder, that all so-called arbitrary fines must be reasonable, the standard of reasonableness being taken at two years' value. The most destructive influence exercised by the King's Courts over the manorial jurisdictions, consisted probably in the inclination of the higher tribunal to narrow the area of land held on tenures traceable to the ancient villenage. The King's Court would bind a lord to prove strictly that a particular piece of land was copyhold. The free tenure, technically called socage, was thus always extending at the expense of servile tenures; and Roger North expressly tells us that, at the time of which he writes—that is, about the middle of the seventeenth century—"most manors in England were more than half lost."

What the Courts at Westminster Hall were to the English Manor,

the French Parliaments were to the French Fief. They were originally creations of the King; the pedigree of the Parliament of Paris is as distinctly traceable as that of the Queen's Bench to the ancient Curia Regis; and originally the Parliaments were as untiring as the Courts of the English Kings, and in the teeth of far fiercer protests from the French nobility, in extending the authority of royal law at the cost of local law. Not only did they employ against the signorial courts the same weapons which were used by the English judges, but they borrowed a special instrument of attack from the Roman law, by insisting on their right to hear appeals from all subordinate jurisdictions. Yet there is no doubt that this hostility slackened after a while. Although, as I before said, a special current of decision set in in the latter half of the eighteenth century, yet, on the whole, the later doctrine of the French Parliaments was "*Nulle terre sans seigneur*;" and thus there was always a presumption against the existence of the free tenure most nearly corresponding to our socage. The Parliament of Paris, just before the Revolution, ordered the work of Boncerf, On the Inconveniences of Feudal Rights, to be publicly burnt; and the decree no doubt testifies to the opinions most strongly and permanently held by the majority of the French judges.

There is a general agreement among historians of French law that this later tenderness of the French Parliaments to signorial rights and signorial jurisdictions is attributable to the interest which the French "nobility of the gown" had acquired in signorial privileges. The change of feeling is connected with the innovation, generally regarded as disastrous, by which offices in the great French judicial assemblies became purchaseable and hereditary. Thenceforward, as M. Fustel de Coulanges has observed, a judge was almost invariably a man of inherited wealth; in the France of that day, the only investment for wealth was land or interests in land, and proprietorship was just as likely to consist in a right to signorial dues as in ownership of the soil. I am not in a position to controvert this view; yet I may venture to interpose the remark that the student of English history will perhaps doubt whether in all states of society the saleableness of judicial office is an unmixed evil. Our associations with the French Parliaments do them a certain amount of injustice. They had in fact inherited, from a time when legislative and judicial power were not clearly separated from one another, a claim to check the legislation of the kings of France, by refusing to register their edicts when they were, as we should say, unconstitutional. Their not always wise and almost always feeble efforts to stand in the way of high-handed legislation, are apt to lead us into contrasting them unfavourably with that famous body bearing the same name which has so long made laws for Englishmen. But, as courts of justice, they were extremely remarkable, more especially for having much of that inde-

pendence which we are used to consider a natural and necessary characteristic of legislatures. The very defects of their constitution contributed to this independence. While the justice administered in the English Courts was from very early times more emphatically than in any other European country the King's Justice—while each of the four Stuart Kings found no difficulty in packing the English bench with his creatures—the seats in a French Parliament were filled by men who retained a certain measure of independence, exactly because they had purchased or inherited their offices. The Parliaments may be justly taxed with many faults, but they were never servile instruments or pliant nominees of the King, down to the day when the States-General, which had not met since 1614, again assembled in 1789, and ground the King and the Parliaments and all French institutions to powder.

There were other causes, besides the tendency of judicial decision in the King's Courts, which helped to prevent the growth in this country of that spirit of discontent which exploded among the French peasantry in 1789 and 1790. I have no doubt that we must reckon among them that aggregation of property in large estates which is of old date in this country, though the pace at which it has proceeded has greatly increased of late. It may have produced other evils, but it reduced the particular evil of which I have been speaking to insignificant proportions. I could not fully account for this aggregation without entering upon the technical history of land-law; but one of its economical causes may be noticed here. The English Lords of Manors—a class which, it must be borne in mind, includes the forerunners of both the English nobility and the English gentry—had been originally much poorer than the corresponding order in France. The forerunners of the French nobility had settled or risen to power in some of the wealthiest, most populous, and most highly cultivated provinces of the Roman empire; and the imposts which afterwards became their feudal dues gave them no doubt great relative opulence. But England was a country of large forests and wastes, as indeed might be inferred from Macaulay's famous Third Chapter, describing its condition in comparatively modern times. Now one of the best ascertained incidents in the growth of feudalism is the falling of the waste lands of the manor into the hands of the lord, and a particular circumstance gave an especial importance to this gradually acquired property. England in the middle ages had a source of national wealth which can only be compared with our present coal and iron, with the wines of modern France, or with the gold of Australia and California. Her soil, her climate, and doubtless her tenures were specially fitted for the production of wool—those "wools of England" which the King, in the Roll of the Ordinance of the Staple, is made to call "the sovereign merchandise and jewel of our

realm." The English wool supplied the industrious cities of Flanders with material for their looms and was carried to all points of the Mediterranean seaboard. This it was which turned a poor nobility into a rich nobility; and, when the wars of the Roses have closed, a popular movement which has attracted too little attention and which has been much misunderstood shows the English lords of manors rapidly acquiring land, and acquiring it for purposes of sheep farming and of agriculture on a great scale. But the French noblesse seem to have never been able to buy up the holdings of their former villeins. A certain number of them had the vast estates described in M. Taine's recently published volume; but, taking France as a whole, and excluding church and crown lands, the sense of property in land was not in the seigneur but in the peasant. It is one of the most vulgar of errors to suppose that small properties in France date from the Revolution; immediately before it, Arthur Young, one of the most observant of English travellers, expresses himself as amazed at their multitude. And this multitude was increasing, since the peasants were buying up the domains of the richer nobility, ruined by the court life at Versailles. But all this mass of petty proprietors was subject to the payment of feudal dues and to the curtailment of their profits by small monopolies; and we may gain a feeble notion of the exasperation which the system caused by recalling the days when the English farmer had to allow the tithe-owner's agent to take every tenth sheaf from his field. But perhaps fiction is even more instructive on the point than history. If you turn to the "Bride of Lammermoor," and gather from it the opinion which the feudal tenants of the Lord of Ravenswood had of the raids of Caleb Balderstone on Wolfshope—if you extend this to a whole population and understand that a legion of Caleb Balderstones overran France—you may be able to bring home to yourself the view which the French peasantry took of the institutions under which they lived.

If we turn to England, we have reason to think that, by the end of the last century, the bulk of the class corresponding to the French peasantry consisted either of agricultural labourers or of tenant farmers. Doubtless much might be said on the excessive multiplication in this country, as compared with others, of the first portion of this class, the agricultural labourers; but the tenant farmers, though not given to hide their grievances, have never been politically dangerous. It is not indeed to be supposed that the Copyholder, cultivating his own land, is never found even now; probably a part of the very considerable number of small landowners which the so-called new Domesday Book shows to be left to us consists of this class. Several of them were examined by the Committees of the House of Commons which inquired into copyhold tenures, and they were pressed

with the question whether they were not at all events better off than the farmer holding on lease who paid a rent, not at irregular periods, but regularly every half-year. The true answer is, that a copyholder is not a hirer but an owner of land, but the comparison implied in the question is significant. No doubt the status of the tenant farmer has had much effect on the feeling of cultivating copyholders. It has served as a standard with which to compare their own condition; and indeed it is a fact now known to lawyers that copyholders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries frequently impaired their legal position by accepting leases of their land from the lord of the manor. But the French peasant, holding by servile tenure, never compared himself with the farmers of the domain land of the nobles, who were a very special class, the *metayers*, not only hiring their land from the lord, but having it stocked by him. The peasant compared his lot with that of the nobles themselves, and bitterly chafed at the contrast.

I have yet to mention one cause which perhaps more than any other prevented not only manorial rights but all rights in land from being seen in England at the end of the last century in precisely the same light in which they were viewed in Continental countries. It is a fact of great political and juridical interest that from very early times landed property changed hands by purchase and sale more frequently in England than elsewhere. The unusual *legal* facilities for this which existed here belong to that technical history of law from which, as before, I abstain; but it was certainly the early wealth of the country which led chiefly to these transfers. Some jurists have laid down, as a general principle, that every acquisition of property is founded on a previous contract or agreement. This no doubt is historically untrue, but the mistake is one which is closely connected with some of the most widely received ideas of the eighteenth century. The sacredness of contract was one of the fundamental ideas of the French philosophical creed, and it strongly influenced the proceedings by which the manorial rights of the French nobility were taken away. In the end, the nobles received no compensation for the loss of these rights; as the flame of revolution gathered head, it was as much as they could do if they saved their lives. But this was not at all intended by the First or Constituent Assembly. It abolished without compensation those rights only which it supposed to have sprung from the ancient helplessness of the villein; but wherever any class of rights seemed to it to have originated in a contract between the lord and his vassal, it abolished them indeed but provided for the lord's receiving their money-value. The distinction did some honour to the spirit of justice prevailing in the First Assembly, but no doubt it was founded on historical error. There is no reason for supposing that manorial rights originated in

simple violence, but there is equally little for supposing that any large number of them originated in agreement.

What, however, was untrue of France, was true in a certain sense of England, and is still truer now. The title of the Lord of the Manor and the title of the Copyholder were then, as now, far more deeply rooted in agreement than in any other deeply feudalised country. The lord had often, personally, or through his predecessors, purchased his rights; the copyholder had constantly obtained his land, subject to manorial rights, by purchase from somebody else. You will find that English political economy and English popular notions are very deeply and extensively pervaded by the assumption that all property has been acquired through an original transaction of purchase, and that, whatever be the disadvantages of the form it takes, they were allowed for in the consideration for the original sale. I cannot doubt that this assumption, to a very great extent a true one, is a very valuable safeguard to property; perhaps in our day not less valuable than the general sense of its expediency and than that feeling, as old as the oldest rudiments of civilisation, which has translated itself into the legal rules of prescription and into the respect of the most permanently powerful section of every society for its established institutions. If this be so, the immediate practical lesson is that we owe our best wishes to those attempts, hitherto not very successful, which have been made to give an impetus to the exchangeableness of land. If they ever succeed, they will facilitate one of the most conservative and reparative of processes, the purification by contract of the title to property.

I do not wish to be understood that the contrast between the view of feudal obligations and rights taken in England and France is wholly to be explained by the causes which I have analysed in this paper. This set of causes appears to me to have been kept too much in the background, and therefore I have thought them not undeserving of attention. It belongs to the civil historian to bring to light others which are intermingled with the whole structure of French society. De Tocqueville has strongly suggested, and others after him will probably demonstrate, that the enormous social prestige of the French Court and its constant indulgence of its military tastes had at length turned the French territorial nobility into a caste as distinct from the cultivating peasantry as is the Rajpoot from the Sudra, as distinct as was the white planter of the Southern States from the negro who laboured in his cane-fields. The effect of this deep alienation was completely to alter the normal or natural character of the social group of which I have spoken, the Manor or Fief. Left to itself, it is one of the most conservative of all institutions. In our own country the Manor is in extreme decay, and chiefly survives in its ecclesiastical organization as the Parish. In

France a revolution has passed over the Fief, and it has become a mere administrative subdivision, the Commune. But, as we move eastwards through the German and Sclavonic countries, this primitive social organism grows stronger and stronger. It is plainly discernible under the superficial crust of Mussulman institutions, until in India it emerges in its most ancient form, as the Village-Community, a brotherhood of self-styled kinsmen, settled on a space of land. Everywhere, however, it offers a more or less stubborn resistance to change; whether the instrument of change be military conquest or the centralising legislation of well-intentioned rulers, who from the nature of the case can only look on nations as miscellaneous aggregates of individuals, and can at most aim at the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Nobody who knows England outside cities and towns will think that deference to the Squire and the Parson is a phenomenon only fit to point a sarcasm or a joke. No Frenchman, except a Parisian, will laugh at what Frenchmen call the patriotism of the Steeple. But in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the normal operation of the Fief was reversed in France. Many causes, and among them, that personal friction which is the despair of all who would make History a science, had produced among the peasantry such intensity of hatred to their lord that they were ready to find allies against him anywhere—before the Revolution in the despotic King and his usurping agents—after the Revolution, in the Convention, in the Jacobin Club, in the Directory, in the First Consul who was soon to be the Emperor. And even now the tradition of the feudal dues and the fear of their revival are political influences of the first order, tending to make a great part of the nation ready, or not reluctant, to throw itself (as a great French orator said) into the arms of the first lucky corporal who makes it believe that he can preserve the institutions created by the Revolution, without bringing back the Revolution itself.

H. S. Maine.

# ON CERTAIN RELATIONS BETWEEN PLANTS AND INSECTS.[1]

At the close of the last century, Sprengel published a remarkable memoir on the relations of flowers and insects, and showed in a variety of cases how beautifully the flowers were so constructed as to secure their fertilisation by insects. Neither plants nor insects, indeed, would be what they are, but for the influence which each has exercised on the other. Some plants, indeed, are altogether dependent on insects for their very existence. We know now, for instance, that certain plants produce no seeds at all, unless visited by insects. Thus, in some of our colonies, the common red clover sets no seeds on account of the absence of humble bees; for the proboscis of the hive bee is not long enough to effect the object. According to Mr. Belt, the same is the case, for the same reason, in Nicaragua, with the scarlet-runner. But even in those instances in which it is not absolutely necessary, it is a great advantage that the flowers should be fertilised by pollen brought from a different plant, and, with this object in view, insects are tempted to visit flowers for the sake of the honey and pollen; while the colours and scents are useful in making the flowers more easy to find.

Fortunately for us, bees like the same odours as we do; and as the great majority of flowers are adapted for bees, they are consequently sweet; but it might have been otherwise, for flies prefer evil smells, such as those of decaying meat, and other animal substances on which they live as larvæ, and some flowers, consequently, which are fertilised by them, are characterized by very evil odours. Colours, also, are affected in the same manner, for while Bee flowers (if I may coin such an expression) have generally bright, clear colours, Fly-flowers are usually reddish or yellowish brown.

The real use of honey now seems so obvious that it is remarkable to see the various theories which were once entertained on the subject. Patrick Blair thought that the honey absorbed the pollen, and then fertilised the ovary. Pontedera thought it kept the ovary in a moist condition. Linnæus confessed his inability to solve the question. Other botanists considered that it was useless material, thrown off in the process of growth. Krünitz observed that in meadows much visited by bees the plants were more healthy, but the inference he drew was, that the honey, unless removed, was very injurious, and that the bees were of use in carrying it off.

(1) The substance of this article was delivered as a lecture before the Society of Arts. Some additions have been made to it, in its present form.

Kurr observed that the formation of honey in flowers is intimately associated with the maturity of the stamens and pistil. He lays it down, as a general rule, that it very seldom commences before the opening of the anthers, is generally most copious during their maturity, and ceases so soon as the stamens begin to wither, and the development of the fruit commences. Rothe's observations also led him to a similar conclusion, and yet neither of these botanists perceived the intimate association which exists between the presence of honey and the period at which the visits of insects are of importance to the plant. Sprengel was the first to point out the real office of honey, but his views were far from meeting with general consent, and even so lately as 1833 were altogether rejected by Kurr, who came to the conclusion that the secretion of honey is the result of developmental energy, which afterwards concentrates itself on the ovary.

No doubt, however, seems any longer to exist that Sprengel's view is right; and that the true function of honey is to attract insects and thus to secure cross-fertilisation. Thus most of the Rosaceæ are fertilised by insects and possess nectaries; but, as Delpino has pointed out, the genus Poterium is anemophilous, or wind fertilised, and possesses no honey. So also the Maples are almost all fertilised by insects and produce honey; but *Acer negundo* is anemophilous and honeyless. Again among the Polygonaceæ some species are insect-fertilised and melliferous, while on the other hand certain genera, Rumex and Oxyria, have no honey, and are fertilised by the wind. At first sight it might appear an objection to this view,—and one reason perhaps why the earlier botanists missed the true explanation may have been the fact,—that some plants secrete honey on other parts besides the flowers. Belt and Delpino have, I think, suggested the true function of these extra floral nectaries. The former of these excellent observers describes a South American species of acacia, which, if unprotected, is apt to be stripped of the leaves by a leaf-cutting ant, which uses the leaves, not directly for food, but, according to Mr. Belt, to grow mushrooms on. The acacia, however, bears hollow thorns, and each leaflet produces honey in a crater-formed gland at the base, and a small, sweet, pear-shaped body at the tip. In consequence, it is inhabited by myriads of a small ant, *Pseudomyrma bicolor*, which nests in the hollow thorns, and thus finds meat, drink, and lodging all provided for it. These ants are continually roaming over the plant, and constitute a most efficient body-guard, not only driving off the leaf-cutting ants, but, in Belt's opinion, rendering the leaves less liable to be eaten by herbivorous mammalia. Delpino mentions that on one occasion he was gathering a flower of *Clerodendron fragrans*, when he was suddenly attacked by a whole army of small ants.

I am not aware that any of our English plants are protected in

this manner from the browsing quadrupeds, but not the less do our ants perform for them a very similar function, by keeping down the number of small insects, which would otherwise rob them of their sap and strip them of their leaves.

Forel watched, from this point of view, a nest of *Formica pratensis*. He found that the ants brought in dead insects, small caterpillars, grasshoppers, cercopis, &c., at the rate of about twenty-eight a minute, or more than one thousand six hundred in an hour. When it is considered that the ants work not only all day, but in warm weather often all night too, it is easy to see how important a function they fulfil in keeping down the numbers of small insects.

Some of the most mischievous insects, indeed—certain species, for instance, of aphis and coccus—have turned the tables on the plants, and converted the ants from enemies into friends, by themselves developing nectaries, and secreting honey, which the ants love. We have all seen the little brown garden ant, for instance, assiduously running up the stems of plants, to milk their curious little cattle. By this ingenious idea, not only do the aphides and cocci secure immunity from the attacks of the ants, but even turn them from foes into friends. They are subject to the attacks of a species of ichneumon, which lays its eggs in them, and Delpino has seen the ants watching over them with truly maternal vigilance, and driving off the ichneumons whenever they attempted to approach.

But though ants are in some respects very useful to plants, they are not wanted in the flowers. The great object is to secure cross-fertilisation; but for this purpose winged insects are almost necessary, because they fly readily from one plant to another, and generally confine themselves for a certain time to the same species. Creeping insects, on the other hand, naturally would pass from each floret to the next; and, as Mr. Darwin has shown in his last work, it is of little use to bring pollen from a different flower of the same plant; it must be from a different plant altogether. Moreover, creeping insects when they quitted a plant would naturally creep up another close by, without any regard to species. Hence, even to small flowers (such as many cruciferæ, compositæ, saxifrages, &c.), which, as far as size is concerned, might well be fertilised by ants, the visits of flying insects are much more advantageous. Moreover, if larger flowers were visited by ants, not only would they deprive the flowers of their honey without fulfilling any useful function in return, but they would probably prevent the really useful visits of bees. If you touch an ant with a needle or a bristle, she is almost sure to seize it in her jaws; and if bees when visiting any particular plant were liable to have the delicate tip of their proboscis seized on by the horny jaws of an ant, we may be sure that such a plant would soon cease to be visited.

On the other hand, we know how fond ants are of honey, and how zealously and unremittingly they search for food. How is it, then, that they do not anticipate the bees and secure the honey for themselves? Kerner has recently published a most interesting memoir on this subject, and pointed out a number of ingenious contrivances by which flowers protect themselves from the unwelcome visits of such intruders. The most frequent are the interposition of *chevaux de frise*, which ants cannot penetrate, glutinous parts which they cannot traverse, slippery slopes which they cannot climb, or barriers which close the way.

Firstly, then, as regards *chevaux de frise*. In some respects these are the most effectual protection, since they exclude not only creeping insects, but also other creatures, such as slugs. With this object, it will be observed that the hairs which cover the stalks of so many herbs usually point downwards. A good example of this is afforded, for instance, by a plant allied to our common blue scabious, *Knautia dipsacifolia*. The heads of the common carline (*Carlina vulgaris*), again, present a sort of thicket, which must offer an impenetrable barrier to ants. Some species of plants are quite smooth, excepting just below the flowers. The common but beautiful cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus*) is quite smooth, but the involucres forming the flower-head are bordered with recurved teeth In this case neither the stem nor the leaves show a trace of such prickles. In this species the stigma projects about one-fifth of an inch above the flower, so that if ants could obtain access they would steal the honey without fertilising the flower; a flying insect, on the contrary, alighting on the flower, could scarcely fail to touch the stigma.

Another common mode of protection is by glutinous surfaces.

Kerner has called attention to a very interesting illustration afforded by *Polygonum amphibium*. The beautiful rosy flowers of this species are rich in nectar; the stamens are short; the pistil, on the contrary, projects considerably above the corolla. The nectar is not protected by any special arrangement of the flower itself, and is accessible even to very small insects. The stamens ripen before the pistil, and any flying insect, however small, coming from above, would assist in cross-fertilisation. Creeping insects, on the contrary, which in most cases would enter from below, would rob the honey without benefitting the plant. *P. amphibium*, as its name denotes, grows sometimes in water, sometimes on land. So long, of course, as it grows in water, it is thoroughly protected, and the stem is smooth; while, on the other hand, those specimens which live on land throw out certain hairs which terminate in sticky glands, and thus prevent small insects from creeping up to the flowers. In this case, therefore, the plant is not sticky, except just when this condition is useful.

All these viscous plants, as far as I know, have upright or horizontal flowers. On the other hand, where the same object is effected by slippery surfaces, the flowers are often pendulous; creeping creatures being thus kept out of them, just as the pendulous nests of the weaver bird are a protection from snakes and other enemies. As instances of this kind, I may mention the common snowdrop, or the Cyclamen.

I have elsewhere suggested that the so-called "sleep" of flowers had reference to the habits of insects, on the ground that flowers which are fertilised by night-flying insects would derive no advantage by being open in the day; while, on the other hand, those which are fertilised by bees would gain nothing by being open at night. I confess that I suggested this with much diffidence, but it may now, I think, be regarded as well established.

*Silene nutans*, the Nottingham catchfly, is a very instructive species from this point of view, and indeed illustrates a number of interesting points in the relations between plants and insects. Its life history has recently been well described by Kerner. The upper part of the flowering stem is viscid, from which it has derived its local name, the Nottingham catchfly. This prevents the access of ants and other small creeping insects. Each flower lasts three days, or rather three nights. The stamens are ten in number, arranged in two sets, the one set standing in front of the sepals, the other in front of the petals. Like other night flowers, it is white, and opens towards evening, when it also becomes extremely fragrant. The first evening, towards dusk, the stamens in front of the sepals grow very rapidly for about two hours, so that they emerge from the flower; the pollen ripens, and is exposed by the bursting of the anther. So the flower remains through the night, very attractive to and much visited by moths. Towards three in the morning the scent ceases, the anthers begin to shrivel up or drop off, the filaments turn themselves outwards so as to be out of the way, while the petals, on the contrary, begin to roll themselves up, so that by daylight they close the aperture of the flower, and present only their brownish-green undersides to view, which, moreover, are thrown into numerous wrinkles. Thus, by the morning's light, the flower has all the appearance of being faded. It has no smell, and the honey is covered over by the petals. So it remains all day. Towards evening, however, everything is changed. The petals unfold themselves, by eight o'clock the flower is as fragrant as before, the second set of stamens have rapidly grown, their anthers are open, and the pollen again exposed. By morning the plant is again asleep, the anthers are shrivelled, the scent has ceased, and the petals rolled up as before. The third evening again the same process, but this time it is the pistil which grows, and the long spiral stigmas on the third

evening take the position which on the previous two had been occupied by the anthers, and can hardly fail to be dusted by the moths with pollen brought from another flower.

An objection to the view that the sleep of flowers is regulated by the visits of insects, might be derived from the cases of those flowers which close early in the day, the well-known *Tragopogon pratense*, or "John Go-to-bed at Noon," for instance; still more, such species as *Lapsana communis*, or *Crepis pulchra*, which open before six and close again before ten in the morning. Bees, however, are very early risers, while ants come out much later, when the dew is off the grass; so that it might well be an advantage to a flower which was quite unprotected to open early for the bees, and close again before the ants were out, thus preserving its honey for another day.

So much for the first part of my subject. I must now pass to the second—the action of plants upon insects. It would here, perhaps, be most natural to discuss the modifications which have been produced in insects by the search after honey and pollen; especially the gradual lengthening of the proboscis in butterflies, moths, and bees, to enable them to suck the honey, and the adaptation of the legs of bees to enable them to carry off the more or less dry and dusty pollen. Having, however, already treated of them elsewhere, it will be better for me to take other illustrations, and fortunately there is no lack or difficulty.

Many of the cases in which certain insects escape danger by their similarity to plants are well known; the leaf insect and the walking-stick insect are familiar and most remarkable cases. The larvæ of insects afford, also, many interesting examples, and, in other respects also, teach us, indeed, many instructive lessons. It would be a great mistake to regard them as merely preparatory stages in the development of the perfect insect. They are much more than this, for the external circumstances act on the larvæ, as well as on the perfect insect, and both, therefore, are liable to adaptation. In fact, the modifications which insect larvæ undergo may be divided into two kinds—developmental, or those which tend to approximation to the mature form; and adaptational or adaptive, those which tend to suit them to their own mode of life.

It is a remarkable fact that the forms of larvæ do not depend on that of the mature insect. In many cases, for instance, very similar larvæ produce extremely dissimilar insects. In other cases similar, or comparatively similar, perfect insects have very dissimilar larvæ. Indeed, a classification of insects founded on larvæ would be quite different from that founded on the perfect insects. The *Hymenoptera*, for instance, which, so far as the perfect insects are concerned, form a very homogeneous group, would be divided into two—or rather one portion of them, namely, the saw-flies, would be united to the

butterflies and moths. Now, why do the larvæ of saw-flies differ from those of other *Hymenoptera*, and resemble those of butterflies and moths? It is because their habits differ from those of other *Hymenoptera*, and they feed on leaves, like ordinary caterpillars.

From this point of view, the transformations of the genus Sitaris, which has been very carefully investigated by M. Fabre, are peculiarly interesting.

The genus Sitaris (a small beetle allied to *Cantharis*, the blister-fly, and to the oil-beetle) is parasitic to a kind of bee (*Anthophora*) which excavates subterranean galleries, each leading to a cell. The eggs of the sitaris, which are deposited at the entrance of the galleries, are hatched at the end of September or beginning of October, and M. Fabre not unnaturally expected that the young larvæ, which are active little creatures with six serviceable legs, would at once eat their way into the cells of the anthophora. No such thing: till the month of April following they remain without leaving their birthplace, and consequently without food; nor do they in this long time change either in form or size. M. Fabre ascertained this, not only by examining the burrow of the anthophoras, but also by direct observations of some young larvæ kept in captivity. In April, however, his captives at last awoke from their long lethargy, and hurried anxiously about their prisons. Naturally inferring that they were in search of food, M. Fabre supposed that this would consist either of the larvæ or pupæ of the anthophora, or of the honey with which it stores its cell. All three were tried without success. The first two were neglected, and the larvæ, when placed on the latter, either hurried away or perished in the attempt, being evidently unable to deal with the sticky substance. M. Fabre was in despair: "Jamais expérience," he says, "n'a éprouvé pareille déconfiture. Larves, nymphes, cellules, miel, je vous ai tous offert; que voulez-vous, donc, bestioles maudites?" The first ray of light came to him from our countryman, Newport, who ascertained that a small parasite found by Léon Dufour on one of the wild bees was, in fact, the larva of the oil-beetle. The larvæ of sitaris much resembled Dufour's larvæ. Acting on this hint, M. Fabre examined many specimens of anthophora, and found on them at last the larvæ of his sitaris. The males of anthophora emerge from the pupæ sooner than the females, and M. Fabre ascertained that, as they come out of their galleries, the little sitaris larvæ fasten upon them. Not, however, for long: instinct teaches them that they are not yet in the straight paths of development; and, watching their opportunity, they pass from the male to the female bee. Guided by these indications, M. Fabre examined several cells of the anthophora; in some, the egg of the anthophora floated by itself on the surface of the honey, in others, on the egg, as on a raft, sat the still more minute larva of the sitaris.

The mystery was solved. At the moment when the egg is laid the sitaris larva springs upon it. Even while the poor mother is carefully fastening up her cell, her mortal enemy is beginning to devour her offspring; for the egg of the anthophora serves not only as a raft, but as a repast. The honey, which is enough for either, would be too little for both; and the sitaris, therefore, at its first meal, relieves itself from its only rival. After eight days the egg is consumed, and on the empty shell the sitaris undergoes its first transformation, and makes its appearance in a very different form.

The honey, which was fatal before, is now necessary, the activity, which before was necessary, is now useless; consequently, with the change of skin, the active, slim larva changes into a white, fleshy grub, so organized as to float on the surface of the honey, with the mouth beneath and the spiracles above the surface: "Grâce à l'embonpoint du ventre," says M. Fabre, "la larve est à l'abri de l'asphyxie." In this state it remains until the honey is consumed; then the animal contracts, and detaches itself from its skin, within which the further transformations take place. In the next stage, which M. Fabre calls the pseudo-chrysalis, the larva has a solid corneous envelope and an oval shape, and in its colour, consistency, and immobility reminds one of a dipterous pupa. The time passed in this condition varies much. When it has elapsed the animal moults again, again changes its form; after this it becomes a pupa, without any remarkable peculiarities. Finally, after these wonderful changes and adventures, in the month of August the perfect sitaris makes its appearance.

In fact, whenever in any group we find differences in form or colour, we shall always find them associated with differences in habit. Let us take the case of caterpillars. The prevailing colour of caterpillars is green, like that of leaves. The value of this to the young insect, the protection it affords, is obvious. We must all have observed how difficult it is to distinguish small green caterpillars from the leaves on which they feed. When, however, they become somewhat larger, their form betrays them, and it is important that there should be certain marks to direct the eye from the outlines of the body. This is effected, and much protection given, by longitudinal lines, which accordingly are found on a great many caterpillars. These lines, both in colour and thickness, much resemble some of the lines on leaves (especially those, for instance, of grasses), and also the streaks of shadow which occur among foliage. If, however, this is the explanation of them, then they ought to be wanting, as a general rule, in very small caterpillars, and to prevail most among those which feed on or among grasses. Now, similar lines occur on a great number of caterpillars belonging to most different groups of butter-

flies and moths, as you may see by turning over the illustrations of any monograph of the lepidoptera. They exist among the hawk-moths, as, for instance, in the humming-bird hawk-moth; they occur in many butterflies, as, for instance, in *Arge galathea*, which feeds on the cat's-tail grass; and in many moths, as, for instance, in *Pyrophila tragopoginis*, which feeds on the leaves of the "John go-to-bed at Noon" (*Tragopogon*). Now you will find that the smallest caterpillars rarely possess these white streaks. As regards the second point also, the streaks are generally wanting in caterpillars which feed on large-leaved plants. The *Satyridæ*, on the contrary, all possess them, and all live on grass. In fact we may say, as a general rule, that these longitudinal streaks only occur on caterpillars which live on or among narrow-leaved plants. As the insect grows, these lines often disappear on certain segments, and are replaced by diagonal lines. These diagonal lines occur in a great many other caterpillars belonging to the most distinct families of butterflies and moths. They come off just at the same angle as the ribs of leaves, and resemble them very much in general effect. They occur also especially in species which feed on large-leaved plants, and I believe I may say that though a great many species of caterpillars present these lines, they are rarely, if ever, present in species which live on grass, while, on the contrary, they are very frequent in those species which live on large-leaved plants. It might at first be objected to this view that there are many cases, as in the elephant hawk-moth, in which caterpillars have both. A little consideration, however, will explain this. In small caterpillars these oblique lines would be useless, because they must have some relation, not only in colour, but in their distances apart, to the ribs of the leaves. Hence, while there are a great many species which have longitudinal lines when young, and diagonal ones when they are older and larger, there is not, I believe, a single one which begins with diagonal lines and then replaces them with longitudinal ones. The disappearance of the longitudinal lines on those segments, which have diagonal ones, is striking where the lines are marked. It is an advantage, because white lines crossing one another at such an angle have no relation to anything which occurs in plants, and would make the creature more conspicuous. It is an advantage, therefore, that when the diagonal lines are developed, the longitudinal ones should disappear. There is one other point in connection with these diagonal lines to which I must call your attention. In many species they are white, but in some cases, as for instance in the beautiful green caterpillar of the privet hawk-moth, the white streak is accompanied by a coloured one—in that case lilac. At first we might think that this would be a disadvantage, as tending to make the caterpillar more conspicuous; and in fact if we

put one in full view out, for instance, on a table and focus the eye on it, the coloured lines are very striking. But we must remember that the habit of the insect is to sit on the inside of the leaf, generally near the midrib, and in the subdued light of such a situation, especially if the eye is not looking exactly at them, the coloured lines beautifully simulate a line of soft shadow, such as must always accompany a strong rib; and I need not tell any artist that the shadows of yellowish green must be purplish. Moreover, any one who has ever found one of these large caterpillars will, I am sure, agree with me that it is surprising, when we consider their size and conspicuous colouring, how difficult they are to see.

But though the prevailing colour of caterpillars is green, there are numerous exceptions. Some caterpillars are white. These either feed on wood, in which they burrow, such as the species of *Sphecia* and *Trochilium zeuzera*, or on roots, as the ghost-moth (*Hepialus humuli*); *Hipparchia hyperanthus* (the ringlet butterfly) has also whitish caterpillars, and this may at first sight appear to contradict the rule, since it feeds on grass. Its habit is, however, to keep at the roots by day, and feed only at night.

In various genera we find black caterpillars, which are of course very conspicuous, and, so far as I know, are not distasteful to birds. In every case, however, it will be found that they are covered with hairs or spines, which protect them from most birds. In such species the bold dark colour may be an advantage, by rendering the hair more conspicuous. As instances of caterpillars which are black and hairy, I may quote, among our English butterflies, *Melitæa cinxia*, *M. artemis*, *M. athalia*, *M. selene*, *M. dia*, *M. Euphrosyne*, *Argynnis aglaia*, *Vanessa polychloros*, *V. io*, and *V. antiope*; while among moths there are *Arctia villica*, *A. caja*, and *Heraclea dominula*. I do not know, however, of any large caterpillar which is black and smooth.

Brown caterpillars, also, are frequently protected by hairs or spines in the same way. As instances may be mentioned *Cynthia cardui*, *Argynnis lathonia*, *Eriogaster lanestris*, *Odonestis potatoria*, *Lasiocampa rubi*, *L. trifolii*, and *L. roboris*. Brown caterpillars, however, unlike black ones, are frequently naked. These fall into two principal categories: firstly, those which, like the *Geometridæ*, put themselves into peculiar and stiff attitudes, so that in form, colour, and position they closely resemble bits of dry stick; and, secondly, those which feed on low plants, concealing themselves on the ground by day, and only coming out in the dark.

Yellow and yellowish-green caterpillars are abundant, and their colour is a protection. Red and blue, on the contrary, are much less common colours, and are generally present as spots.

Caterpillars with red lines or spots are generally hairy, and for

the reason given above. Such, for instance, are *Vanessa antiopa*, *Limenitis camilla*, *Oenistis quadra*, *Deiopœa pulchella*, *Acronycta tridens*, *A. psi*, *A. rumicis*, *A. euphorbiæ*, *A. auricoma*, *Diphthera orion*. On the other hand, *Papilio machaon* has red spots and still is smooth; but as it emits a strongly-scented liquid when alarmed, it is probably distasteful to birds. I cannot recall any other case of a caterpillar which has conspicuous red spots or lines, and yet is smooth.

Blue is among caterpillars even a rarer colour than red. Indeed, among our larger species the only cases I can recall are the species of *Gastropacha*, which have two conspicuous blue bands, the Death's-head moth, which has broad diagonal bands, and *Chærocampa*, which has two bright blue oval patches on the third segment. The species of *Gastropacha* are protected by being hairy, but why they have the blue bands I have no idea. It is interesting that the other species both frequent plants which have blue flowers. The peculiar hues of the Death's-head hawk-moth caterpillar, which feeds on the potato, unite so beautifully the brown of the earth, the yellow and green of the leaves, and the blue of the flowers, that, in spite of its size, it can scarcely be perceived unless the eye be focussed exactly upon it.

*Chærocampa nerii* is also a beautiful case. Many of the hawk-moth caterpillars have eye-like spots, to which I shall have to allude again presently. These are generally reddish or yellowish, but in *Ch. nerii*, which feeds on the periwinkle, they are bright blue, and in form as well as colour closely resemble the blue petals of that flower. *Ch. celerio* also has two smaller blue spots, with reference to which I can make no suggestion. It is a very rare species, and I have never seen it. Possibly, in this case, the blue spots may be an inherited character.

No one who looks at any representations of hawk-moth caterpillars can fail to be struck by the peculiar colouring of those belonging to the genus *Anceryx*, which differ in style of colouring from all other sphinx larvæ, having longitudinal bands of brown and green. Why is this? Their *habitat* is different. They feed on the leaves of the pinaster, and their peculiar colouring offers a general similarity to the brown twigs and narrow green leaves of a conifer. There are not many species of Lepidoptera which feed on the pine, but there are a few; such for instance are *Achatia spreta* and *Dendrolimus pini*, both of which have a very analogous style of colouring to that of *Anceryx*, while the latter has also tufts of blueish green hair which singularly mimic the leaves of the pine. It is still more remarkable that in a different order of insects, that of the *Hymenoptera*, we again find species, for instance, *Lophyrus socia*, which live on the pine, and in which the same style of colouring is repeated.

Let us now take a single group and see how far we can explain its

various colours and markings, and what are the lessons which they teach us. For this purpose I think I cannot do better than select the larvæ of the *Sphingidæ*, which have just been the subject of a masterly monograph by Dr. Weissmann, the learned professor of Freiburg.

The caterpillars of this group are very different in colour—green, white, yellow, brown, sometimes even gaudy, varied with spots, patches, streaks, and lines. Now, are these differences merely casual and accidental, or have they a meaning and a purpose? In many, perhaps in most cases, the markings serve for the purpose of concealment. When, indeed, we see caterpillars represented on a white sheet of paper, or if we put them on a plain table, and focus the eye on them, the colours and markings would seem, if possible, to render them even more conspicuous, as, for instance, in *D. galii;* but amongst the intricate lines and varied colours of foliage and flowers, and if the insect be a little out of focus, the effect is very different.

Let us begin with the *Chærocampa elpenor*, the elephant hawk-moth. The caterpillars, as represented in most entomological works, are of two varieties, most of them brown, but some green. Both have a white line on the three first segments; two remarkable eye-like spots[1] on the fourth and fifth, a very faint median line, and another more than four inches long. I will direct your attention specially, for the moment, to three points:—What mean the eye-spots and the faint lateral line; and why are some green and some brown, offering thus such a marked contrast to the leaves of the *Epilobium parvum*, on which they feed? Other questions will suggest themselves later, for I must now call your attention to the fact that, when they first quit the egg, and come into the world, they are quite different in appearance, being, like so many other small caterpillars, bright green, and almost exactly the colour of the leaves on which they feed. That this colour is not a necessary or direct consequence of the food, we see from the case of quadrupeds, which, as I need not say, are never green. It is, however, so obviously a protection to them, that the explanation of the green colour of small caterpillars suggests itself to every one. After five or six days, and when they are about a quarter of an inch in length, they go through their first moult. In their second stage they have a white subdorsal line stretching along the body, from the horn to the head; and after a few days, but not at first, traces of the eye-spots appear on the fourth and fifth segments. There is also a second pale line running along the side. After another five or six days, and when

(1) The shaded portions, which replace the eye-spots on the other segments, are an instance of the general rule that a character which appears on every two segments, has a tendency to develop itself on every other segment.

about half an inch in length, our caterpillars moult again. In their third stage, the commencement of the eye-spots is more marked, while, on the contrary, the lower longitudinal line has disappeared. After another moult, the eye-spots are still more distinct, the white gradually becomes surrounded by a black line, while the centre becomes somewhat violet. The subdorsal line has almost, or entirely, disappeared, and in some specimens faint diagonal lines make their appearance. Some few assume a brownish tint, but not many. A fourth moult takes place in seven or eight days, and when the caterpillars are about an inch and a half in length. Now, the difference shows itself still more between the two varieties, some remaining green, while the majority become brown. The eye-spots are more marked and the pupil more distinct, the diagonal lines plainer, while the subdorsal line is only indicated on the first three and eleventh segments. The last stage has been already described.

Now the principal points to which I desire to draw attention are (1) the green colour, (2) the longitudinal lines, (3) the diagonal lines, (4) the brown colour, and (5) the eye-spots.

As regards the first three, I think, however, I need say no more. The value of the green colour to the young insect is obvious; nor is it much less clear that when it is somewhat larger, the longitudinal lines are a great advantage, while subsequently diagonal ones become even more important.

The next point is the colour of the mature caterpillars. We have seen that some are green and others brown. The green ones are obviously merely those which have retained their original colour. Now for the brown colour. It is evident that this makes the caterpillar even more conspicuous among the green leaves than would otherwise be the case. Let us see, then, whether the habits of the insects will throw any light upon the riddle. What would you do if you were a big caterpillar? Why, like most other defenceless creatures, you would feed by night and lie concealed by day. So do these caterpillars. When the morning light comes they creep down the stem of the food plant, and lie concealed among the thick herbage and dry sticks and leaves near the ground, and it is obvious that under such circumstances the brown colour really becomes a protection. It might indeed be said that the caterpillars having become brown, concealed themselves on the ground; that in fact we were reversing the state of things. But this is not so, because while we may say, as a general rule, that (with some exceptions due to obvious causes) large caterpillars feed by night and lie concealed by day, it is by no means always the case that they are brown, some of them still retaining the green colour. We may then conclude that the habit of concealing themselves by day came first, and that the brown colour is a later adaptation. It is, moreover, interesting to note,

that while the caterpillars which live on low plants often go down to the ground and turn brown, those which feed on large trees or plants remain on the under side of the leaves, and retain their green colour.

Thus, in *Smerinthus ocellatus*, which feeds on the willow and sallow; *S. populi*, which feeds on the poplar; and *S. tiliæ*, which frequents the lime, the caterpillars all remain green; while in the convolvulus hawk-moth, which frequents the convolvulus; *Chærocampa nerii*, which feeds in this country on the periwinkle; *Chærocampa celerio*, *Ch. elpenor*, and *Ch. porcellus* (small low species which feed on galium), most of the caterpillars turn brown. There are, indeed, some caterpillars which are brown, and yet do not go down to the ground, as, for instance, those of *Aspilatis aspersaria*, and indeed of the *Geometridæ* generally. These caterpillars, however, as already mentioned, place themselves in peculiar attitudes, which, combined with their brown colour, make them look almost exactly like bits of stick or dead twigs.

The last of the five points to which I called your attention was the eye-spots. In some cases spots may serve for concealment, by resembling the marks on dead leaves. In *Deilephila hippophae*, which feeds on the hippophae, or sea buckthorn, a very grey-green plant, the caterpillar also is a very similar grey-green, and has, when full grown, a single red spot on each side, which, as Weissmann suggests, at first sight much resembles in colour and size one of the berries of hippophae, which, moreover, are present, though not ripe, at the same period of the year. Again, in *Chærocampa tersa* there is an eye-spot on each segment, which mimics the flower of the plant on which it feeds (*Spermacoce hyssopifolia*). White spots, in some cases, also resemble the spots of light which penetrate foliage. In other instances, however, and at any rate in our elephant hawk-moth, the eye-spots certainly render the insect more conspicuous. Now in some cases, as Wallace has pointed out, this is an advantage rather than a drawback. Suppose that from the nature of its food or any other cause, as, for instance, from being covered with hair, a small green caterpillar was very bitter, or in any way disagreeable or dangerous as food, still in the number of small green caterpillars which birds love it would be continually swallowed by mistake. If, on the other hand, it had a conspicuous and peculiar colour, its evil taste would serve to protect it, because the birds would soon recognise and avoid it, as Weir and others have proved experimentally. I have already alluded to a case of this among the hawk-moths in *Deilephila euphorbiæ*, which, feeding on euphorbia, with its bitter milky juice, is very distasteful to birds, and is thus actually protected by its bold and striking colours. The spots on our elephant hawk-moth caterpillar do not admit of this explanation,

because the insect is quite good to eat—I mean for birds. We must, therefore, if possible, account for them in some other way. There can, however, I think, be little doubt that Weissmann is right when he suggests that they actually protect the caterpillar by frightening its foes.

Every one must have observed that these large caterpillars have a sort of uncanny, poisonous appearance; that they suggest a small thick snake or other evil beast, and the eyes do much to increase the deception. Moreover, the segment on which they are placed is swollen, and the insect when in danger has the habit of retracting its head and front segments, which gives it an additional resemblance to some small reptile. That small birds are, as a matter of fact, afraid of these caterpillars (which, however, I need not say, are in reality altogether harmless) Weissmann has proved by actual experiment. He put a caterpillar in a tray in which he was accustomed to place seed for birds. Soon a little flock of sparrows and other small birds assembled to feed as usual. One of them lit on the edge of this tray, and was just going to hop in, when she spied the caterpillar. Immediately she began bobbing her head up and down, but was afraid to go nearer. Another joined her, and then another, until at last there was a little company of ten or twelve birds, all looking on in astonishment, but not one ventured into the tray, while one which lit in it unsuspectingly beat a hasty retreat in evident alarm as soon as she perceived the caterpillar. After watching for some time, Weissman removed the caterpillar, when the birds soon attacked the seeds.

Other caterpillars also are probably protected by their curious resemblance to spotted snakes. Moreover, as Weissmann points out, we may learn another very interesting lesson from these caterpillars. They leave the egg, as we have seen, a plain green, like so many other caterpillars, and gradually acquire a succession of markings, the utility of which I have just attempted to explain. The young larva, in fact, represents an old form, and the species in the lapse of ages has gone through the stage which each individual now passes through in a few weeks. Thus the caterpillar of *Chærocampa porcellus*, the small elephant hawk-moth, a species very nearly allied to *Ch. elpenor*, passes through almost exactly the same stages as that of *Ch. elpenor*. But it leaves the egg with a subdorsal line, which the caterpillar of *Ch. elpenor* does not acquire until after its first moult. No one can doubt, however, that there was a time when the new-born caterpillars of *Ch. porcellus* were plain green, like those of *Ch. elpenor*. In this respect, then, *Ch. porcellus* is a newer specific form than *Ch. elpenor*. Again, if we compare the mature caterpillars of *Chærocampa* we shall find that there are some forms, such as *Ch. myron* and *Ch. cherilus* which never develop eye-spots, but even when

full grown correspond to the second stage of *Ch. elpenor*. Here, then, we seem to have a species still in the stage which *Ch. elpenor* must have passed through long ago.

The genus Deilephila, of which we have in England three species —the euphorbia hawk-moth, the galium hawk-moth, and the rayed hawk-moth—is also very instructive. The caterpillar of the euphorbia hawk-moth begins life of a clear green colour, without a trace of the subsequent markings. After the first moult, however, it has a number of black patches, a white line, and a series of white dots, and has, therefore, at one bound, acquired characters which in *Ch. elpenor*, as we have seen, were only very gradually assumed. In the third stage the line has disappeared, leaving the white spots. In the fourth the caterpillars have become very variable, but are generally much darker than before, and have a number of white dots under the spots. In the fifth stage there is a second row of white spots under the first. The caterpillars not being good to eat, there is, as has been already pointed out, no need for, nor attempt at, concealment. Now if we compare the mature caterpillars of other species of the genus, we shall find that they represent phases in the development of *D. euphorbiæ*. *D. hippophae*, for instance, even when full grown, is a plain green, with only a trace of the line, and corresponds, therefore, with a very early stage of *D. euphorbiæ*; *D. zygophylli*, of South Russia, has the line, and represents the second stage of *D. euphorbiæ*; *Deiliphila livornica* has the line and the row of spots, and represents, therefore, the third stage; lastly, *D. vespertilio* and *D. galii* have progressed further, and lost the longitudinal line, but they never acquire the second row of spots which characterise the last stage of *D. euphorbiæ*.

Professor Weissmann's memoir, from which these facts are taken, is most suggestive, and opens up many points of interests.

For such inquiries as this, the larvæ of Lepidoptera are particularly suitable, because they live an exposed life; the different species even of the same genus often feed on different plants, and are therefore exposed to different conditions, and last, not least, because we know more about the larvæ of the Lepidoptera than of any other insects. The larvæ of ants all live in the dark; they are fed by the perfect ants, and being, therefore, all subject to very similar conditions, are all very much alike. It would puzzle even a good naturalist to determine the species of an ant larva, while, as we all know, the caterpillars of butterflies and moths are as easy to distinguish as the butterflies and moths; they differ from one another as much as, sometimes more than, the perfect insect.

There are five principal types of colouring among caterpillars. Those which live inside wood, or leaves, or underground, are generally of a uniform pale line; the small leaf-eating caterpillars

are green, like the leaves on which they feed. The other three types may, *si parva licet componere magnis*, be compared with the three types of colouring among cats. There are the ground cats, such as the lion or puma, which are brownish or sand colour, like the open places they frequent. So also caterpillars which conceal themselves by day at the roots of their food-plant tend, as we have seen, even if originally green, to assume the colour of earth. The spotted or eyed cats, such as the leopard, live among trees; and their peculiar colouring renders them less conspicuous by mimicking spots of light which penetrate through foliage. So also many caterpillars are marked with spots, eyes, or patches of colour. Lastly, there are the jungle cats, of which the tiger is a typical species, and which have stripes, rendering them very difficult to see among the brown grass which they frequent. It may, perhaps, be said that this comparison fails, because the stripes of tigers are perpendicular, while those of caterpillars are either longitudinal or oblique. This, however, so far from constituting a real difference, confirms the explanation, because in each case the direction of the lines follows those of the foliage. The tiger, walking horizontally on the ground, has transverse bars; the caterpillar, clinging to the grass in a vertical position, has longitudinal lines, while those which live on large veined leaves have oblique lines like the oblique ribs of the leaves.

Thus, then, I think, we see reasons for many at any rate of the variations of colour and markings in caterpillars, which at first sight seem so fantastic and inexplicable. I should, however, produce an impression very different from that which I wish to convey, were I to lead you to suppose that all these varieties have been explained or are understood. Far from it, they still offer a large field for study; nevertheless, I venture to think the evidence now brought forward, however imperfectly, is at least sufficient to justify the conclusion that there is not a hair, or a line, not a spot or a colour, for which there is not a reason, which has not a purpose or a meaning in the economy of nature.

JOHN LUBBOCK.

# CICERO AS A POLITICIAN.

I do not know that there is any matter of thought which more exercises our minds than considerations as to the patriotism, or want of patriotism, displayed by the political leaders of the day. We can generally form our opinions easily, though perhaps erroneously, as to the capabilities of the men. We feel that this one is dull and heavy, but industrious; that the other is bright and quick, but unsafe through temper or idleness. And as to much in their moral characters we are certain; for instance that they have clean hands,—or the reverse, which latter is a fault now of rare occurrence; that they may be trusted to speak truth, or may not be trusted. But of that highest merit in a statesman, of that virtue without which none can be fit to lead in politics, we are very apt to be in doubt. Has this man or that been prompted to push himself into public life chiefly by a desire to do good to his country, or by personal ambition, or by professional aspirations, or by restless energy; or, as is often the case, simply by chance? There will probably have been mixed motives. Let a man be ever so patriotic, he cannot divest himself of a desire to shine among his fellows. That last infirmity of noble minds is itself so noble that this age will not regard it as a fault. And though a man's patriotism be perfectly clear, he will still be glad to be paid for his work. But when once a politician has so risen among public affairs as to have handled, or to have come nigh to handling the helm, then, we all feel, that unless patriotism be his first motive he is untrue to his country. He has so buckled on his armour that he can hardly even take it off without sinning against his fellows. But it is the love, not the relinquishing of power which too frequently mars the patriot. The man who was at first content to serve his country simply, teaches himself at last to believe that his country may be best served by service done to himself. Thus the mind of the statesman sinks to the level of the mind of the king. It may therefore be well to examine the life of a man who, whatever were his faults, was certainly a patriot.

It would be impossible now, I fear, to create much general enthusiasm for Cicero. He lived too long ago, and the difference between his life and ours is too great, to allow of a resuscitated interest. But his patriotism was so pure, so life-long, and so energetic, he was so specially clean-handed in an age specially defiled by corruption, and the records of his life have been left to us in language so charming, that I trust I may be borne with if I myself deal with the subject somewhat enthusiastically. I will

speak first of him as a public man, and then, in another number, I may perhaps be allowed to glance at those lighter but still grave pursuits which to Cicero were the recreations of a politician's life.

It has no doubt been the practice of late to belittle Cicero. We have been told of his vanity. He was vain. It is the fact that he praises himself till those who most admire him become sick of the praise. Had he been simpler it would have been better. But self-glorification was the custom of the time and the mainspring of Roman life. The "veni, vidi, vici" style was common to the Romans. They asked for triumphs and demanded public thanksgivings to the gods in their own honour. Cæsar boasts that such a ceremony was decreed to him for the unprecedented period of fifteen days. It was common with the provincial governors to force their provincial subjects to send home deputations to praise them. It was common for a friend to ask a friend for public eulogy. It was common for a poet to laud himself. We remember the "Ipse Menalcas" of Virgil and the "Exegi monumentum" of Horace. This is distasteful to us;—and it will probably be distasteful to those who shall come after us, two or three hundred years hence, that this or that British statesman should have made himself a knight of the garter or an earl. Now it is thought to be proper enough. It will shock men in future days that great peers or rich commoners should have bargained for ribands, and lieutenancies, and titles. Now it is the way of the time. We are shocked now when we learn that Walpole bought members of Parliament. In Walpole's day it was the custom of the trade.

Of Cicero it must be remembered that what we know of these foibles we know from his own writings,—from his speeches and from his letters. The speeches and letters of his contemporaries have not been found worthy of preservation. Had we the orations of Hortensius or the letters of Pompey we should probably find the same fault.

Writers also who have lately dealt with Cicero's name have slighted him because he did not ultimately succeed. There is no doubt a growing feeling in favour of Cæsarism and success which has ceased to be shocked at means and will be satisfied with any Napoleon who can seat himself for a time securely on a throne. Dean Merivale, in a charming little book lately published, tells us of that "unhappy patriot Cicero," in which epithet how much of scorn there is;—and he tells us also that Cicero was never a real power in the State, "except once or twice, and for a moment only." We know that Cicero failed. The object in which he passed his life was that of restoring the Republic to its former greatness and to its old simplicity. Both the greatness and the simplicity he probably exaggerated, but the very exaggeration is proof of his patriotism. How much farther Roman degradation

might have gone but for his efforts, no one can know. That he did much to bring back the efficacy of its laws we do know. That he saved Rome in the time of Catiline, all history declares. That he struggled to save it in the time of Antony, those who read history will acknowledge.

Cicero was one of those few who have fixed their minds early in life upon the achievement of great things, and have risen in the world without external advantages by a sustained confidence in their own powers. Such success can spring only,—not from the mere possession,—but from the consciousness of the possession of great intellectual and physical ability. That determination to do great things, "to scorn delights and live laborious days," which was so soon seen in Macaulay, and was a law of life to Cicero, may come early to many; but there are few strong enough to abide by it. Cicero did abide by it. As to his studies they were what any energetic and talented young man of the day may have pursued. It was his purpose to become a Roman advocate. But when we find him first[1] exercising his talents in that profession it is his courage rather than his eloquence we admire. The days of Sylla's proscription were just over, but the blood caused by it was still running, and the egregious robberies which the dictator's confiscations had produced were continued. The wonderful story of Roscius Amerinus, on which a tale of most sensational pathos might be written, cannot be told here. As told by Cicero in the speech in which he defends Amerinus, it makes the flesh creep and fills the reader with awe at the nature of life in Rome in those days. But it shows also the early determination of the young orator to do something towards rescuing his country from its state of thraldom. Though Sylla was still all-powerful, though Cicero himself was of the Sullane party in the State and had even served as a boy in Sylla's camp, he does not hesitate to hold up to ignominy the friends and followers of the dictator in a manner which at that time must have placed his life in jeopardy. They who have called Cicero a coward because he was never quick at fighting, can hardly have known the sort of danger which he encountered of his own accord as an advocate and a statesman.

When Cicero was thirty (77 B.C.) he married his wife Terentia, a lady with some fortune, and in the next year he became the father of a daughter and obtained his first step in public honours by being elected Quæstor. This office he got at the earliest possible age, by the suffrages of all the tribes, and thus became a senator for life. When his year of office was over, he went, in the usual routine, to one of the provinces as second in command under the pro-consul.

(1) The oration Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino is generally printed as Cicero's second extant speech. There is reason, however, to think that it was the first spoken.

Chance allotted to Cicero a portion of Sicily. Here he did his duty in such a manner as to obtain the special regard of the provincials, who, when he protected instead of robbing them, were equally delighted and surprised at conduct so little expected and so seldom experienced. It was then and there that he made that character which induced the Sicilians shortly afterwards to apply to him for aid in prosecuting Verres, that most corrupt and most rapacious of governors of whom history has given us a record.

There were three great periods in the life of Cicero at which he so displayed his patriotism, his energy, and especially his courage, as to have merited a higher place among the statesmen of the world than has been given to him. These were the periods of the trial of Verres, of Catiline's conspiracy, and of his final struggle with Marc Antony after the murder of Julius Cæsar. In the two first Cicero was triumphant, and triumphantly happy. In the latter his enemies were too strong for him, and he was certainly, as Dr. Merivale says, an unhappy patriot. But in all of them he displayed so great a courage in circumstances of most unusual danger, that it is marvellous that cowardice should have been imputed to him;—unless, indeed, it is still thought that bravery can only be shown in fighting. In each crisis he had to act with the fear before his eyes of those who were dominant in the State, who were never scrupulous as to bloodshed, and to whom he knew that he must give undying offence in struggling for liberty, justice, and humanity.

I wish that this was the time, or that here could be space for telling the story of Verres. There is a pleasure certainly in hearing the horrors of past misrule, and in comparing the security and comfort of to-day with the dangers of bygone years. When we read of the treatment applied to Defoe, to Prynne, to Latimer, and other victims of British tyranny, we roll ourselves up pleasantly in the blankets of our existing liberty. But this story of Verres exceeds, I think, all that we read elsewhere of the abominations of personal misrule. Were not the evidence overwhelming, we could not believe that such things should have been possible. The man having been prætor, became in his turn pro-prætor, or governor of Sicily. Here he was left in power for three years. Rapacity was perhaps the distinguishing trait in his character;—though in lust, in greediness, in arrogance, and in cruelty he seems also to have exceeded other men. Knowing well that the systematic robbery which he practised could not pass unquestioned, he, with much foresight, apportioned the plunder of his three years to three purposes. The first would suffice to enrich himself for life; the second would obtain for him the eager services of the best among Roman advocates; the third would enable him to bribe the judges when, as would certainly be the case, he should be brought before the judgment

seat. And the details of his villainy are as amusing as they are shocking. In one case the great Roman prætor,—for this happened at Rome before the Sicilian adventures,—was desirous of levying money from the estate of a person who had, in the performance of his duties, become liable for the preservation of a temple dedicated to Castor. The temple was in such excellent condition that there seemed to be no opening. At last one of the "dogs," who, as he boasted, followed him at his heels,[1] suggested to him that he might allege that the columns were not absolutely perpendicular. The charge was at once made, with an injunction that they should be amended and made exact to a plumb line by a certain impossibly early day;—the joke being that the columns were as nearly perpendicular as it is in the nature of columns to stand. Verres, however, went to work, and, as no contractor could undertake to perform the job by the time named, he employed his own men to alter a few stones, and then exacted the full caution money for which the poor wretch stood pledged. This was at Rome. In Sicily, when a good but timid local chief magistrate, one Sopater by name, could not be induced to give up a certain public statue of great beauty which the tyrant demanded, alleging with tears in his eyes that his brother magistrates would not part with it, the Roman governor had the provincial great man stripped naked and placed aloft in the market place, in mid winter, on the crupper of a marble horse. There the poor man was frozen almost to death, but did live through it to bear testimony of the deed. On another occasion certain pirates,—were not taken, indeed, for Verres had other uses for public money than that of employing it on public services,—but fell into the pro-prætor's power by an accident at sea. According to all rule they should have been put to death; but their captain had the means of buying his own safety, and many of his men were young and handsome, and could be sold as slaves for much money. Only the old and useless pirates were taken to execution. But the people of Syracuse, who hated these pirates, would not be thus satisfied. There were notoriously more, and the Syracusans clamoured for their execution. Then there was a tumult, and Verres was frightened. Now these pirates had with them some unfortunate Roman citizens whom they had taken as prisoners, and of them Verres could in no way make money. He therefore muffled up his compatriots, so that they should not be known by their complexion, and sent them out and executed them,—poor innocent Roman compatriots,—in lieu of the saleable pirates!

I would fain go on, the stories are so delightful, and my readers may perhaps have forgotten their Verres. But Cicero, and not Verres,

(1) "Dicit ei quidam ex illis canibus, quos iste Liguri dixerat esse circa se multos." In Verrem, Act. II. Lib. I. Cap. li.

should be the hero of the moment. One would think that a man who had done these things might have been made an easy victim to the law if only the necessary evidence were there. But it was far otherwise. Verres knew well whence was to come that security to which he looked for the enjoyment of his plunder. At that time, while his ravages in Sicily were being carried on, the judgment seats in Rome were filled only by senators. There had been various changes in this respect, but Sylla ten years before this had enacted that none but senators should sit as judges. These senatorial judges had been notoriously and uniformly corrupt. The law just at this time was again changed, and other classes were joined with the Senate on the bench; but in this trial Cicero had to deal with senatorial corruption. We have a list of the judges who sat upon the case, and they were all senators,—the very men for whom Verres had apportioned the plunder of one year. He belonged to their order. They also had been, or would be, provincial governors. They were men to whom rapacity, and cruelty, and robbery had been made familiar by Sylla's rule. There probably was not a Verres among them. Such a man Nature can hardly produce twice in one and the same age. But the thing itself,—provincial plundering,—was not a vice odious to them. Opposition to the thing was much more odious. As Cicero himself observes in these Verrine orations, dishonesty had so grown that even honest men did not know when or at what point to arrest it.[1] Cicero, in undertaking the case of Verres, bad as Verres had been, had all the aristocracy of aristocratic Rome against him.

It is difficult to make a reader of the present day understand the nature of the difficulties in the advocate's way. It was necessary that he should go to Sicily to get up his case,—to go and return,—and in doing this he had to guard himself against the assassins who had been hired to stop him. "Only," says he, "that had I not been present, you, Verres, would have escaped, do you think that I would have come from Vibo to Velia in a little boat through those ruffians and armed robbers of yours?"[2] Then all the intricate mysteries of Roman law terms and Roman festivals had been brought to bear, so that the trial might be postponed for another year,—when other consuls would be in power,—which scheme was planned by the very man who was to be one of the next year's consuls, who was now the advocate of Verres,—by that Hortensius who was the first of Roman advocates till his fame was eclipsed by that of Cicero. But all these tricks Cicero overcame by his marvellous celerity,—and by his resolution to give up that opportunity of a lengthened oration which such a case deserved. He threw down his defiance to the judges, and to

(1) "Si, ternos denarios qui coegit erit absolutus; quaternos, quinos, denos denique aut vicenos cogat alius; quæ erit reprehensio?" In Verrem, Act. II. Lib. III. Cap. xciv.

(2) In Verrem, Act. II. Lib. II. Cap. xli.

Hortensius. To know what this meant at that time the reader must remember that Sylla had prevailed; that the aristocracy had been re-established; that the judges on the bench were prætors, ædiles, and tribunes, and that Hortensius at the moment was perhaps the most powerful man in Rome. It must be remembered also that these men were all, in their hearts, attached to the cause of Verres.

There are, in all, seven Verrine orations, of which only two were spoken. The other five were written and published when the trial was over, so that Cicero might not lose his labour, but enjoy the triumph of that lengthened telling of his story, the "fructum laudis ex perpetuâ oratione," as he calls it, which the tricks of his adversaries denied him before the bench. But in judging of Cicero's advocacy in this case,—either as to its conduct or its success,—we must take only the two first and the two shortest orations. Now the manner of the thing was thus;—according to the Roman law it was open to any one to bring such an accusation as this against a magistrate. If two or more put themselves forward for the purpose, then a preliminary trial was held as to which should perform the duty. The judges had to decide to which claimant it would be best for the Republic that the accusation should be confided. But the judges,—as judges then were in Rome,—might not improbably decide with another view. In this case, a poor creature was put forward, one Cæcilius, who had been a friend of Verres but now professed himself to be an enemy. There can be no doubt that the object was to secure an acquittal by the weakness of the accusation. Hortensius against Cæcilius, with a bench of senators, would have placed Verres out of all danger. And such was the plan. Then Cicero had to plead that he might be chosen. And he so did it, that he made the other choice impossible. "If you elect Cæcilius," he says, in the last words of the first oration, "the Roman people will know that an honest inquiry in this matter,—honest, strict, and searching,—is not to your mind, and does not suit your Order in the State." Then they chose Cicero, and the first step was gained.

The next speech, the only one actually spoken by Cicero at the bar in the trial of Verres, was very short; but perhaps of all the orations it tells us the most of the spirit and energy of the man. He was then thirty-seven, and, though at that mature age, may be said to have been at the beginning of his career. There was with him in what he did on this occasion an object far greater than that of punishing Verres, or even of obtaining redress for his friends the Sicilians. Nor did he work with any motive of immediate personal gain, or even of future gains, as far as honorarium was concerned. The Cincian law forbad patrons to take payment or presents for services done to their clients,

and as far as our imperfect evidence goes, it seems that Cicero obeyed this law throughout his whole life. So Plutarch tells us; but the fact that no one tells us the contrary is testimony stronger than Plutarch's. Of other advocates we hear quite other stories, as of Hortensius. But, as far as I know, no biographer, no historian, no enemy,—and who had more?—no rival, has ever said that Cicero's hands were foul with illegal gain.[1] His real object was to become prominent in the Republic, and the means he took was the honest service of the Republic.

It becomes clear to the reader as he follows the story that in his heart of hearts Cicero hated such a man as Verres, that he hated injustice on the bench, and that though he personally liked Hortensius, he hated the unscrupulous use which his great rival made of his powers. In this short spoken speech against Verres there are passages of immense power. He began by reminding the Bench before him of the infamy to which the Senate had been brought by the venality of senatorial judges, and tells them that an opinion had become fixed, not only in Rome but throughout the nations, that no rich man need fear condemnation from such men as then sat upon the judgment seat. "Now in such a moment as this, when you, and your order, and your privileges are in such peril,—it is now that this Verres is brought before you, a man whose life and deeds have long since condemned him in the opinion of all, but who is able to boast that he is already acquitted,—because he has money at command."[2] He goes on to say that he has no wish to increase the stain, but rather to remove it. If they will now be true judges they may redeem their character; but if the wealth of the accused shall suffice for his acquittal, he, Cicero, will take care that the Republic shall know that the acquittal has been achieved, not by the innocence of the accused, or the inefficiency of the accuser, but by the venality of the Bench. And these men whom he addressed,—fourteen in number,—were all brother senators, and brother magistrates, and all of them probably older than himself.

Then he addresses himself to Hortensius,—the counsel who was, as we should say, on the other side,—"My contest," he says, "is altogether with you. If you were carrying on this case against me after your common practice, by eloquence, by ingenuity in cross-examining my witnesses, I would act with you after the same fashion. I would simply make out my case. But as you are working with cunning, craftily, so as to postpone your answer to another term, I will be crafty too, and will so hurry the matter on that your answer must be immediate. And do not suppose," he says, "that I would have descended to the task of accusing a wretch whom all the world knows

(1) He has been charged with usury, but on little or no evidence. That in the latter portion of his life he paid much for borrowed money is certain.

(2) In Verrem, Act. Prima, Cap. i.

to be guilty, unless it were that the intolerable masterdom and greed which for years past has characterised you at the bar were now to be exercised on behalf of this abandoned culprit." Then he goes on,—"This is what I assume to do. This is the duty I put upon myself. This is the grand spectacle which as a new Ædile[1] I promise to my fellow-countrymen. I advise, I proclaim, I demand that they who have been accustomed to act either as principals or agents for the corruption of justice, and who have had the audacity to say that they will so act in the present case, shall keep their hands off in the matter now on trial."[2]

And they did, and the orator had so spoken that he was believed by the judges, and by the counsel, and by the criminal. Hortensius would not speak against him, and Verres put an end to the trial by retiring into voluntary exile. To us, whose laws are different, this seems but a lame conclusion; but to Cicero it was a great triumph, and to Verres a punishment as severe as any which the law could have inflicted. He paid his fine and went away from Rome for ever. The reader is made unhappy by finding that nothing worse could have been imposed on this exasperating offender, but he receives some little comfort when he hears that twenty-seven years afterwards Verres was slaughtered by order of Antony, because, in his banishment at Marseilles, he would not give up a certain beautiful statuette which he had stolen and which Antony desired to possess.

Cicero went through his ædileship and became prætor with still increasing popularity. He then declined the provincial government which was the prætor's usual and much-coveted reward, in order that he might remain in Rome and sue for the consulship. Of the growing anarchy in Rome at that time it is impossible to speak here at length. But it has to be acknowledged that Cicero had set his heart upon doing that which was impossible. The empire had become so unwieldy that the old mode of rule by annual magistrates and by the suffrages of the people had become impracticable. This tyrant or the other, or this or that handful of oligarchs was cropping up one after another. Whether it was Marius or Sylla, or Pompey or Catiline, or Cæsar or Antony, we see that power was drifting into the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous leaders who were for the most part greedy of pleasure, greedy of money, greedy above all things of dominion, and careless of blood. In the list just given there is not one whose character entitles him to the love of his fellow creatures. Cæsar, who was the best, was crafty and ambitious beyond them all. He was absolutely unscrupulous as to money, and could exterminate a whole town,—men, women, and children,—

(1) Perhaps it is unnecessary to say that the Ædile inaugurated his year of office by giving spectacles to the people, often at cost ruinous to himself.

(2) In Verrem, Act. Prima, Cap. xii.

without remorse. That those men should have been such as they were,—that the great Romans of the time were treacherous, inhuman, and selfish,—would be nothing to us here, were it not that Cicero was so much the reverse. That, living among all those men, sharing with them their honours, contesting with them the same offices, breathing the air of the same Forum, there should have been one, their rival in political importance, who was purely patriotic through it all, who craved in his heart, above all other cravings, the majesty, the welfare, the honour, and the liberty of the people,—this it is which makes it now worth our while to examine the man's character after two thousand years and to teach ourselves that the patriot,—though an unhappy patriot,—is more worthy of our attention than successful emperors. Cato, too, was a patriot; but who can care for Cato? His hands were clean, but he did not go where men defile their hands. He was unpractical and useless, endeavouring to carry into his public life that so-called philosophy which Cicero kept for the amusement of his leisure. Cicero did go where men defile themselves; but he kept himself clean. From first to last he was in the thick of everything,—struggling, striving, attacking, defending, shouting aloud, always in favour of liberty,—but always conservative and always honest.

In due time,—that it is to say at the earliest possible period of his life,—he was elected Consul, and was so elected by the acclamation of all the tribes. The letter[1] of advice which his brother Quintus wrote to him as to his conduct in the approaching struggle is worth reading, as showing what it was necessary that a "Novus Homo" should do to secure this highest honour. Cicero, as having been the first of his family who had aspired to high office, was altogether "Novus Homo."

The quelling of Catiline was of course the great event of the year of his consulship,—the one event so great that historians, poets, and essay writers have not even as yet done with it. Of all prose words in the Latin language the "Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientiâ nostrâ?" with which he commences the first of these orations, are the most familiar to us. Those at the beginning of the second oration, "Abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit," are almost equally so. The great well-born revelling Roman conspirator is much better known to us than Perkin Warbeck, or Guy Fawkes, or the Duke of Monmouth. But before we speak of Catiline we must say a word in reference to the three orations which Cicero, as consul, made on a law proposed by the tribune Rullus for a division of lands among the people. As to these speeches, Pliny the Elder says, addressing the shade of the orator, "You speak, and the tribes abandon their agrarian law,—they give up, that is, their own resources."[2] And it was so. Cicero

(1) De Petitione Consulatus.
(2) Hist. Nat., Lib. VII. C. xxxi.

would of course speak against such a law, and therefore in opposition to the supposed interest of the people. We all know what an agrarian law means;—it is confiscation, and has been generally a payment proposed by demagogues to the people for their support. In this case the proposition came from the tribunes of the people, whom, as consul, Cicero was able to oppose, and did oppose successfully, in the Senate. That, however, was nothing; the Senate would of course be with him. But the second and third of these orations were made to the people themselves, and, as Pliny tells us, by the sweetness of his voice and the strength of his arguments, he cozened them, the popular crowd, out of their dearest predilections. It is often said among ourselves that no man can gain a vote in the House of Commons by his eloquence, but what should we say of a man who could persuade the mass of the people to abandon their most cherished prejudices?

Then came the affair of Catiline, throughout the whole of which we know not which to admire most, the prescience, the courage, or the sagacity of the Consul. He had no one high in power to help him, for his brother consul was Catiline's brother rebel,—or would have been had he dared. The great object was not to kill the conspirator, by doing which he would have added fuel to the fire and have strengthened the purpose of those who were as yet but half inclined to join the conspiracy, but to make Rome too hot to hold the rebel, so that the rebel should be forced to take himself off; and this he succeeded in doing, though Catiline's audacity was so great that he dared to keep his place in the Senate when Cicero was denouncing him. By degrees the Consul pulled his net so close, became so sure of his facts, brought his proofs so directly home, that Catiline was obliged to go.

For the facts, the history of the year, readers must of course look elsewhere. It is with the spirit of the man and with that only that I have to deal here. There are four of these orations, and each of them is very short. Their united length is hardly more than half that of a speech made by him in the same year of his consulship for a wretched client called Cluentius. But they are full of fire, and convince the reader of the hot action of the man at the very time at which they were spoken. The first was addressed to the Senate, and seems to have been delivered extempore, at the spur of the moment, and to have been occasioned by the audacity of Catiline in taking his place in the assembly at such a time. But though it was produced by a sudden impulse, it shows that as chief officer of the State he had made himself acquainted with every detail of the conspiracy. How he had learned all that he did know is a mystery to us;—though we have heard something of a certain lady who betrayed a lover's secrets, and a good deal of those ambassadors from the Allobroges, who, when they were invited to assist the conspirators,

thought that they would serve themselves best by telling everything to the Consul. The second and third orations are addressed to the people, and are, I think, much the finest. In the first of these he proposes to justify his conduct in regard to Catiline,—that is to make the people believe that he was performing his duty as their servant in prosecuting a man whose proceedings were not only illegal but injurious to them. In the second, he explains the position of things at that moment. When Catiline had left Rome, "had gone out from among them, had run off, had escaped, had burst away," he had not abandoned his conspiracy. He had taken himself to an armed force which was subject to him at some distance from the city, and had left certain friends within the walls ready for fire and slaughter when Catiline should show himself before the gates. But with the assistance of that false lady, of whom mention has been made, and of those ambassadors, with probably other appliances of some Roman detective force, Cicero knew everything, and soon had in his hands the power of arresting the chiefs of those who had been so left in Rome. All this is what he tells the people in the third Catiline oration,—the second, that is, which he addressed to them. The fourth was spoken to the Senate on the day but one following. There were five of these conspirators now left in the city upon whom he was determined that punishment should fall. Four of these he summoned to his presence as he might have summoned any other free citizen. They went to him at once, not knowing the evidence which he held against them, ignorant of the treason of their fellow traitors, and he took them with him to the temple in which the Senate was being held. Two of them were fellow senators. There he declared everything, and the question was put to the Senate whether these men should be allowed to live or be made to die. The fourth Catiline oration is that by which he brought the Senate to consent to their execution. It was the law in Rome that no citizen should be put to death without a decree of the people. No decree of the Senate was sufficient for such a purpose. Among a people with whom individually life was held in no respect, who had no horror of blood, the laws defended the lives of citizens as though the breath of a citizen were too sacred to be assailed. Murder was common enough,—and suicide; but executions were almost unknown. It was, however, also law in Rome that when the Senate had decreed that on a special emergency, "the Consuls were to see that harm did not befall the State," then the usual laws should be temporarily abrogated and a special dictatorial power should be created. Such a decree had been passed on the occasion of Cicero's first oration, and whatever power such a decree could give was given to him as consul. Now the question arose whether these conspirators should be put to death. That they did not

deserve death no one dared to say. Cæsar, who was most anxious to save them, who in his heart had been one of them, spoke in their favour, trying to protect their lives. He acknowledged fully the atrocity of the crimes imputed; he acknowledged the guilt of the criminals; he was in favour of the most severe punishment which could be inflicted, short of death. He proposed banishment and confiscation. Many others exerted themselves for the culprits. Senators were already quite alive to the danger, to the possible illegality of the proceeding. Many had stayed away, fearing to encounter this responsibility. But, at the end, Cicero, who on no other occasion ever demanded blood, Cicero who of all men of those days was the most humane, who was, we may almost say, the one humane man of that day, carried the Senate with him. The condemned ones were taken away for execution. There were five of them in all. Not a moment was allowed to them. When the thing had been done, the great Consul said to those around him, "Vixerunt." "With them all that belongs to life is of the past."

Whether the Senate had legally the power to make such a decree, or whether the Consul was obeying or outraging the law in obeying that decree, I will not attempt to say. Historians and lawyers and biographers have been in doubt on the subject from that day down to the present. It is evident from many of Cicero's words that he looked forward to some future calamity as the result of his whole conduct in the matter. "I know," he says to Catiline, "if quelled by me you take yourself off into exile, how great a tempest of hatred will fall upon me, if not now when men remember all your sins, yet at some future day. But if it shall fall on me only and not on the Republic, of what matter will it be?"[1] I am inclined to think that Cicero knew that he was stretching the law. But there can be no doubt that he was actuated by grand motives. The men he executed, Cethegus, Lentulus, and the others, were not personal enemies whom he hated. Catiline was much more odious to him. But had he killed Catiline within the walls, there would have been civil war. By killing those few he thought,—and he was justified in thinking,—that he would save the city from that prolonged horror.

There can be no doubt that the citizens generally not only approved of what he did, but lauded him to the skies. He was accompanied home, we are told, after the execution of the conspirators by the acclamations of the people, and was followed by the chiefs of the Senate. It was night, and they displayed torches in all the houses to lighten his way. The women showed him their children at the windows. Catulus in the Senate, who was prince of the Senate and of all men there enjoyed the highest respect, and Cato before the people, who of all men was by the people the most respected,

(1) In Catilinam, I. C. ix.

obtained for him, with the assent of all classes, the appellation of Father of his country. Juvenal, writing about a hundred and sixty years afterwards, reminded his countrymen that Rome, in the days when Rome was really free, had called Cicero by that hallowed name.[1] All the evidence we have goes to prove the assertion so often made by himself, that he, without bloodshed, had saved his country. Sallust, who was Cæsar's friend and therefore Cicero's enemy, does not dispute it, but acknowledges, when speaking of the first of Cicero's Catiline orations, that Marcus Tullius had made a speech most useful to the Republic.[2] It is impossible to doubt that the Romans of the day felt that he had at his own great personal risk saved the city from destruction, and that their gratitude was commensurate with the benefit conferred on them.

So far Cicero's life had been thoroughly triumphant. Of domestic trouble he had as yet, as far as we know, suffered nothing. He had in his youth made up his mind to be an orator, and of orators he was the chief. In his profession as advocate, or defender of cases before the judges, he had become pre-eminently first, even against such rivals as Cotta and Hortensius. As soon and as rapidly as the law would allow him he had become quæstor, ædile, prætor, and consul. Large legacies had been made to him, and no doubt he had been paid liberally by the foreign states of whose affairs he had been the chosen protector. His friends were the leading men in Rome and all had gone well with him. But it is impossible not to learn from even his earlier orations,—and from the whole course of his epistles afterwards,—that he had at his heart a feeling, not quite a conviction but an ever-increasing fear, that the glory of the Republic was a thing of the past. The grand days of the Scipios,—which after all were not probably so grand as he believed them to have been,—were never to return. The purity of the judgment seat was gone. Men came up, one after another, who wanted empire,—under whatsoever name,—for themselves. It was necessary that he should belong to a party, as otherwise he could do nothing in the State; and, therefore, he belonged to Pompey's party. But there was hardly a hope for him that the old republican honesty should be restored. It was after all but an aristocratic republic, an oligarchical republic, a republic with slaves, a republic which had for some years before Cicero's time been subject to one tyranny and another. Whatever it might have been in the old semi-mythic days before the Punic wars, it had come to be such that we cannot now imagine that any efforts, any dozen of Ciceros, could have put it on its legs again. But in all these efforts he was pure. In all of them he was sincere.

(1) "Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit."—JUVENAL, Sat. VIII.

(2) Sallust, Conjuratio Catilinaria, C. xxxi.

In his first attacks upon Sylla's creatures, in his words of caution to those Verrine judges, in his earnest and successful prayers (Orat. De Lege Manilia) that Pompey's hands might be strengthened against the Eastern enemies of the Empire, he throughout had his eyes fixed firmly on the greatness and well-being and honour of the Republic, and hitherto, though there must have been those inner qualms, he had personally been successful.

But after his consulship,—after his victory over the Catiline faction, his woes began. It is impossible, even at this distance of time, to speak of them without that regret which is always felt when a great man has produced his own discomfiture by his own folly. Cicero so belauded himself for his own enterprise, that his friends became tired of him. That "Pater patriæ" was so rung into men's ears, accompanied by one or two foolish verses of which he probably was the author,[1] that even Pompey became sick of him, and Cæsar, who had never openly quarrelled with Cicero,—and who to the end never did quarrel with him,—had an easy opportunity of getting rid of him. I cannot tell here the wretched story of Clodius, and Cæsar's wife, and the mysteries of the Bona Dea. It will suffice to say that the matter created a fury of internecine hatred between Clodius and Cicero; that Cicero endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain the punishment of Clodius, and that Clodius succeeded in obtaining a sort of decree from the people by which Cicero was banished and his property confiscated. But, previous to the decree, Cicero had taken himself into banishment; the causes of all which condition of affairs, and how some thought that Cicero should have defended himself by a civil war, may be learnt by reference to his biography, or to his letters and own orations.

Four years after his consulship, when Piso and Gabinius were consuls, Cicero went into banishment. I mention the names of the two consuls because the bitterness of Cicero's hatred towards them, and the violence of the language with which he assailed them publicly on his return, show both the terrible strength of the man and the nature of the language in which a great pro-consular Roman senator found it compatible with his dignity to indulge. He is abusive when he talks of Verres, very abusive when he speaks afterwards of Antony. But his language as to Piso and Gabinius beats all the rest. He went into exile in northern Greece, and was very wretched while he was there. We have a few letters from him, chiefly to Atticus, with one or two to his wife and daughter and brother, full of wailing. But, with all his activity of intellect, he could bring himself to no work. He was absent from Rome nearly a year and a

(1) As to "Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ," there can be no doubt. In spite of Quintilian, I have tried to convince myself that the other more unfortunate line, "O fortunatam natam me consule Romam," was not really his.

half, but he seems to have been so depressed as to have written nothing. He was not only banished, but his property was confiscated and destroyed. His mansion on the Palatine hill was burned, and Clodius, in order that even the soil on which it stood might never be recovered, built a temple on it dedicated to the goddess Liberty. Rome was all the world to Cicero, and we can understand what must have been his misery when he heard that his household treasures were laid waste. And then, added to all that, exceeding all that, piling up the bitterness of his misery to the uttermost point of endurance, was the ingratitude of the city which had so lately called him its preserver. He never quite allows himself to break out against either Pompey or Cæsar, who were at this time joined with Crassus in some impalpable bond which has been called a triumvirate; but he knew that they could have saved him, and his soreness against Pompey must have been very great. From this time forth Cicero must surely have hated Pompey.

He was exiled in April, B.C. 58, and in the August of the next year he was recalled. The glory with which he was received, the acclamations with which he was greeted, the clamorous joy of the citizens and the solemn deputation of the Senate, would seem to be totally at variance with what had been done so short a time before, were it not plain to us that the banishment was never really carried by a constitutional vote of the people, but had been effected by Clodius in a manner which tells us plainly enough that violence had taken the place of law in the public doings of Rome. Cicero came back, however, in a blaze of triumph, of which he certainly made the most; and got back his land on the Palatine hill in spite of the temple to Liberty, the college of priests deciding that no valid consecration of the ground had been effected. He also had voted to him, out of the public purse, money for the rebuilding of his house.

We must now pass rapidly over some years in our patriot's life. When he was fifty-six he was persuaded to go out as pro-consul or governor to Cilicia. This was a duty which he had hitherto shunned, as he disliked the idea of being far from Rome. It was a privilege which all other Roman chiefs had greatly coveted, as it not only conferred great temporary power but also considerable wealth on an honest governor, and enormous wealth on those who were dishonest. There were different shades of dishonesty; but we find that there were but few who resisted the temptation of provincial plunder when it came in their way. Cicero was at last made to understand that he owed it to the State to take his turn, and he went to Cilicia. I do not know that any of his works show more clearly the nature of the man than his letters from thence, which tell us not only his ideas of government but the way in which he performed his duty. He did not take a shilling from the province which was not his own

by the clearest reading of the law, and he did all he could to prevent others taking what was not their own. There is a story of one Scaptius, who was but an agent for Brutus, the great Brutus whom we have all thought so honest,—the Brutus who in our own literature condemns Cassius for his itching palm,—but who in this matter appears in the character of a most extortionate usurer. The debtor was a certain municipality in Cicero's province, and Cicero had to deal between his friend Brutus and the impoverished town. He was for a while stout against Brutus,—would not let Brutus use the law for the collection of illegal interest,—but at last allowed the matter to be postponed. "This I did for Brutus," he says in one of his letters to Atticus; and for so saying he has been much reviled. A judge in these days would be subject to ignominy who thought of a friend when giving judgment; but the reader of the story as it is written by Cicero himself to Atticus cannot but feel how unusual and how violent a struggle Cicero made after purity of justice in opposition to the practice and tradition of his office.

There can be no doubt, at any rate, that his government was most popular, and that for the time he was, as it were, a very providence to those Asiatic people. At Rome the Romans did not care much for his honesty. But he had succeeded also in some small military matters, and he returned to Rome, most unfortunately for his own comfort, with a claim to the glorification of a triumph.

But Cæsar had then passed the Rubicon. What was to be the effect of such a step was not as yet plain to any Roman, neither to Cæsar, to Pompey, nor to Cicero. But gradually it did become plain to the latter that he must take one side or the other. At this moment he could not enter the town, because of that wretched triumph, in demanding which he was obliged to be persistent; nor could he go anywhere without his lictors, such being his condition as a Roman Imperator, which character he was bound to support till this question of the triumph was decided.

From this time forth Cicero's life is pitiable, but nevertheless was for the most part admirable. He never for a moment abandoned his ideas as to a republic, or his aspirations that his fellow citizens might even yet be free and great,—even yet, in spite both of Cæsar and Pompey. But though there was always some remnant of hope, though there were intermittent moments of almost triumphant expectation, still despair was predominant, despair not as to himself but as to his country. The heaviest censure to which Cicero has been subjected has come from his conduct during these six last years of his life. He is said to have trimmed, to have vacillated, to have been timid, and to have sought safety indifferently with one set of friends or with another. I think that the charge has come from a want of appreciation of the scrupulous nature of the man. In the

days which led to Pharsalia, to the destruction of Pompey and the empire of Cæsar, he had ample reason for doubting Pompey. Pompey had shown plainly enough by this time that he too would be a tyrant if he could, and a most bloody tyrant should he be successful. But Cicero's position was such that he could not but belong to one side or the other. He hated fighting, not only for himself, but the idea of it, as we do, regarding it as a barbarous mode of deciding questions. Danger such as he encountered in opposing Sylla's ordinances, in putting down Catiline, in confronting Clodius, and afterwards in attacking Antony, was anything but distasteful to him. But now he had to go either into one camp or the other, and both were odious to him. At last he went to Pompey's camp. Cæsar was attacking the Republic, and Pompey was, nominally, defending it. One side was almost as bad as the other, but the choice was forced on him.

He did not himself get as far as Pharsalia; but when the battle was over and Pompey had fled, he came back to Italy with all the stain of defeat upon him. It was as bad with him as though he had retired from the fatal field. He was, however, permitted by Cæsar, —and by Antony as Cæsar's lieutenant,—to take up his residence in Rome and to follow his course as a senator and advocate. He was then sixty and there were for him three years of comparative quiet. But he lost his daughter Tullia, whom of all beings he loved the best, and he thought himself bound to put away his wife Terentia after more than thirty years of married life, for some cause which is now not known. But divorce with these Romans was almost as common as marriage. Tullia had been thrice married and twice divorced. During this period he wrote many of his essays—indeed all that which we know as his philosophy—and pleaded causes even before Cæsar himself. It is singular in these latter orations to find the invocation to the great dictator instead of those to which we have been accustomed. "Novum crimen, Cæsar, et ante hunc diem inauditum,"[1] Cicero begins, whereas it used to be "Judices," or "Patres Conscripti," or "Quirites," names which were all dear to him as having belonged to the real Republic. Now he was forced to address himself to a usurper who was lord not only of the armies but of the very judgment seat of Rome. We learn from his letters how he suffered from this, but still he endeavoured to do his duty as a great patron and advocate of those who had claims upon him.

What else or what more could he do? That is the question that has to be asked of those who censure his conduct at this time. No doubt he received favour from Cæsar. To be allowed to live in Rome was a favour. To be allowed to live at all was a favour. He could not open his mouth but by favour. He could only take Rome

(1) Pro. Q. Ligario.

as he found it, and, securing his own position by a certain amount of homage, still struggle to do what good might come in his way. He praised Cæsar to the skies; but in Cæsar's conduct there was much which to him was praiseworthy. He tells Cæsar that he alone among conquerors had spared the conquered.[1] No doubt he hated Cæsar's tyranny. No one can doubt that he did so. But if he were to do anything in Rome he must make the best of it. With such a tyrant, and in a position so high as that held by Cicero, there was but one step between flattery and assassination; and that was, self-extinction. He might have put himself out either by suicide or exile, but there was always present to Cicero's mind an idea that he might do some good by standing at his post.

Then came the assassination. In this Cicero had no part, nor was he consulted on the subject. The assassins did not trust his spirit, thinking that it would be too high in its nature, or perhaps too low, for such an enterprise. They felt at any rate that he was not the man, as one might say, for such a job. But it must be understood, whether to his glory or to his disgrace, that Cicero gave his hearty approval. In the first Philippic, before he had come to an internecine quarrel with Antony, he speaks of Cæsar's murder as a deed worthy of all praise.[2] In forming our opinion upon this, we have to remember the different ideas of right and wrong prevailing in those days and in these. Now all assassination is mean and dastardly. But then the horror which we feel was felt by none. Even the friends of Cæsar did not quarrel with Brutus and Cassius on that score; and the "Tu Brute" from the dying tyrant's lips was not an expression of wonder that he should have been struck, but that a friend should have raised his hand to strike him. When we remember what had been the proscriptions of Sylla, what were the subsequent murders of Antony and Octavius, that on this occasion Cæsar was the only victim, and that the doom had been pronounced solemnly by thoughtful men with the object of rescuing the Republic from a tyrant, we may congratulate ourselves that we now are more enlightened and more humane than were the Romans then, but we are hardly entitled to judge of them as we should judge now of any who might perpetrate such an act. Cicero, in declaring, as he frequently did, that the deed was one redounding to the glory of the doers, encountered at any rate no obloquy from any of his own countrymen.

When Cæsar was dead men began to ask themselves what was to be the effect of his death. The assassins should have endeavoured to

(1) Pro Rege Dejotaro, Chap. xii., "Solus, inquam, es, Cæsar, cujus in victoriâ occiderit nemo nisi armatus."

(2) Philippica Prima, c. iv. Speaking of Brutus, he says he was "Erectus maximi ac pulcherrimi facti sui conscientia."

come to some answer before the deed; but they had hardly done so. With Cicero the first idea was that the commonwealth should be quieted by a general amnesty,—an amnesty for the sake, not chiefly of the assassins who were to be regarded as heroes rather than murderers, but of Cæsar's friends and Cæsar's servants. How this gradually was converted into a keen desire for war I must leave my readers to learn from history; but that history may be collected from our orator's letters and from the fourteen Philippics with which he attacked Antony. Twelve of these were spoken in the Senate, the first being mild enough when compared with the others. The second was never spoken,—was only written and at the time shown to the orator's friends. The fourth was addressed to the people. Were such language as is used throughout these orations to fall from the lips of any public speaker in our days, we should call it vulgar, abusive, and indecent. And even as we read it now as coming from a Roman it is distasteful. Very much of it is downright "Billingsgate,"—as had been those attacks on the two consuls who had permitted his exile. But no one will say that they were not bold. It had gradually come to pass,—gradually but still very quickly,—that the great result for which Cæsar had been assassinated was passing away from the grasp of the assassins and their friends. Antony had shown himself to have more of readiness, and of policy, and of resolution, than the conspirators had expected. And therefore, instead of peace and amnesty, Cicero, who was panting for his own Republic, was now burning for war and punishment. The intention of the Philippics was to stir up all his country for the good fight. There were the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, and there were the leaders of the conspiracy, one of whom, Decimus Brutus, was in command of a considerable army at Mutina (Modena as we call it), and there were Roman generals in different provinces more or less well inclined to the Republic,—to one of whom especially, Plancus, his letters at this time are most energetic and eloquent;—all these he did his best to instigate to fight it out to the very last, so that if possible the Republic might be restored and the coming tyranny averted.

All this he did with his life in his hands, and must have known that he was so doing it. Antony was not a man to be merciful, and certainly not to an enemy who had attacked him after Cicero's fashion. A soldier may forgive a soldier for fighting, though indeed such forgiveness was not a Roman weakness. But it is not in the heart of a man to forgive such abuse as was heaped by Cicero upon Antony. It was certainly not in Antony's heart to forgive such words from Cicero. But as a Nelson could propose to his mind at a certain moment a peerage or Westminster Abbey, so could Cicero resolve that now would he lose his life or make it glorious to the end. He was then an old man, with all his joys gone, his

daughter dead, his old wife apart from him, his fortune dissipated, his friends at variance with him; but he could still collect his energies and rush into the contest with all the courage of a youthful hero. The violence of the Philippics was suited only to the taste of Rome; but their courage and their patriotism should be dear to us down to the present day.

Antony prevailed,—Antony and "young Octavius," who of all the Romans of that day seems to have been the falsest and the most cruel. And then Cicero had to die. Fault has been found with him even for his manner of dying. He half fled but did not quite fly from the butchers. How sad and yet how human it all was! Life to Cicero was a sacred thing, a dear possession, something with which so much good might be done, with which by him so much good had been done! And then there were ideas flitting through his mind,—not Christian, for Christ had not been; but so nearly Christian! He had told his hearers that that conscience within him which he had recognised as a God had forbidden men to go hence till He should summon them.[1] And yet for what was he now to live, or how could he longer make life useful? And therefore he only half fled, allowing himself to be taken; and when the assassin came he quietly gave his throat to the knife. Then died as pure a patriot as any of whom we have the record.

ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

(1) Tuscu. Quest., Lib. I. Cap. xxx.—"Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus, injussu hinc nos suo demigrare."

# MISS MARTINEAU.[1]

In the higher departments of knowledge it is always a question how much it is well for us to know, because life at its best is always disturbed by being thought about, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid thinking about knowledge which has been hardly earned: on the other hand knowledge is a safeguard against mistakes which few escape by spontaneous perseverance in good, and it is a necessary condition for remedying the mistakes when made. And the question becomes more perplexing when we turn from the mass to the *élite*, because our knowledge of them is no safeguard against our own errors or theirs, for we never know them till they are gone from us. They commonly leave behind them a double body of tradition, for few even of the *élite* are strong enough to silence in their lifetime the echoes of the opposition they arouse. To a few who are led to take account of both traditions, the conflict between them is perplexing, but the majority are content with one; they idealize virtues and allow for faults without explicitly recognising them, or they idealize faults and allow, however grudgingly, for virtues. This seems the only possible estimate of figures which loom so large before us as Napoleon or even Wellington; there is practically no choice between seeing Napoleon as a demigod (only partially beneficent) and seeing him as a maleficent monster of genius. Englishmen can see nothing in Wellington but the hero of the Peninsula and Waterloo, the "Happy Warrior" of Wordsworth. The common craving for man-worship which Miss Martineau considered one of the best instincts of the race, finds too much food in such large natures to be balked by the criticism which always ends by discovering balances and connections and drawbacks and compensations, and too often substitutes languid regret for bracing reprobation and barren respect for fruitful reverence.

Miss Martineau knew herself unusually well, and she has determined that we should know all that she had to tell us. The knowledge will rather dim the brightness of the popular tradition which rests upon the first wonderful years in London and the first happy years at Ambleside; it will give some substance to the reserve of the minority which persisted in finding Miss Martineau disagreeable; it contains a most unsparing revelation of a most unattractive nature; but it contains also a picture of the diligent, unflinching heroism by which that nature was trained to a life of nobleness and

(1) "Harriet Martineau's Autobiography, with Memorials," by Maria Weston Chapman. Three volumes. Smith, Elder, & Co.

at last of happiness. Nor is the picture less impressive for the austerity of the artist's method. She has resolved not only that we should know her intimately, but that we should know her almost exclusively through her own deliberate judgment. She wrote her autobiography partly because she knew she could write it, but principally because she thought it a duty to withhold her letters from publication. She was told, and she believed, that her letters would have done her credit. They would have shown her, at any rate, in her less strenuous moods, and we know that in her later years her playfulness was very amiable, and that from the commencement of her prosperity it was very hearty, while in her books—and the autobiography is no exception—we always see her, so to speak, with her lamp lit and her loins girded. But she felt strongly that correspondence ought to be private and confidential, and that it was a hardship that celebrities should be debarred from unreserved correspondence, and so she felt bound to do what she could to protect their freedom by protesting in her own person against the satisfaction which is so often and so readily given to a curiosity which she thought unworthy.

Perhaps in one way her reputation will be the gainer by her self-denial. Her deliberate judgments are often so outspoken and severe that one rather shrinks from guessing how far her extempore severity may have carried her in confidential intercourse, written or oral. She reprobated almost too strongly the spirit of detraction as it showed itself in one like De Quincey, who consoled himself for his own failure by a disinterested curiosity and communicativeness about the failings of others, to whom he wished no evil, though they had succeeded. But conscientiousness like Miss Martineau's has temptations of its own: people who attend as much as is prudent or permissible to what they like and dislike have no excuse for sitting in judgment on their neighbours; if they are reasonable they seek and shun as it suits them, and leave others to do the same. Miss Martineau always thought of duty before pleasure: the one thing "not to be borne" was seeing a piece of work that wanted doing which she could do, and leaving it undone. And this temper is always rare; those who are animated by it see work undone or ill-done within the reach of other hands, and they seldom see such sights with patience. In default of singularly perfect patience they find themselves always in the attitude of approving or disapproving, and life is not long enough to approve and disapprove with invariable regard to the principles of morality and the merits of each individual case. The temptation to something like censoriousness is stronger when every virtue but simplicity and sincerity and single-mindedness has been a laborious conquest. Those who have made great efforts do not find it easy to make allowance for the weakness of

others; because they know that all have some power of effort, and they remember what their own efforts cost, they are persuaded that others might do as much if they would, and that it is selfish irresolution or distraction that keeps them back. It is hardly a compensation for this perpetual attitude of criticism that the critic is often generous, and always in intention just. One feels after all that the great majority of even distinguished and benevolent people will not bear being looked at all round in the hard white light of some one else's conscience; and it is difficult to see why we should inoculate ourselves with an indiscriminate appetite for truth.

In Miss Martineau the appetites for truth and justice were inbred together, and the narrative of her early years reminds us more than once of Aristotle's profound saying, "That between friends there is no need of justice"—which implies that where the need of justice is felt upon one side or the other the parties can hardly be friends. The whole narrative of her youth is painful and instructive especially from its resemblance to what we know of the early life of great Catholic devotees. Of course there was one decisive difference. Miss Martineau did not inherit a tradition too vast and imposing to be easily criticized, so complex as to provide endless exercise for the intellect and imagination, and full of food for the emotions. Apart from this, the resemblance was very close: healthy natures develop many ways, and no two are really alike. The variety of healthy aptitudes and appetites is endless, and so is the variety in their relative strength; but all strong natures which are inwardly diseased, and yet have no perverted impulses, are marked with a common seal. They have no rest within, they are driven to aspiration; they have no natural spontaneous adequate activity, and all contact with their surroundings is a torture to them. They are full of fears and yearnings, and their inner life, uncomfortable as it is, appears to them from the first the true life, the only life from which they have any hope. And when at last the outer life, after many struggles, attains its due development, it is the translation of the inner; while to most the inner life on earth is little more than a very broken series of fleeting idealized reflections of the outer.

Harriet Martineau was born at Norwich, June 12, 1802, the sixth of a family of eight. Her father was a manufacturer, a cadet of a line of Huguenot surgeons who had flourished at Norwich ever since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; her mother, who seems to have entered more into her life, was English. Both were conscientious and indefatigable in providing for their children's good, but they held in its extremest form the old-fashioned theory that children must be brought up to fall into place as they can, and that their convenience matters less than their elders', which could not but make the impression of constant injustice on a sensitive child.

Even now children who are brought up with a large measure of the "cheerful tenderness" which Harriet Martineau desiderated, if they are at all precociously clear-headed, find it impossible to acquiesce in the judgment of their elders, who have to manage them as they can without understanding them. One, perhaps the most serious, of Miss Martineau's infant troubles was certainly within the reach of better knowledge. She suffered horribly from indigestion until she was considered old enough to have tea for breakfast, and throughout life milk disagreed with her; but milk was the traditional food for children, and she had to live upon it till she was thirteen. From eight to thirteen, though a resolute child, she was never able to keep her resolution to spend a single day without crying. Her Aunt Kentish, whom she learnt to know and love at Bristol at the age of sixteen, was the first person of whom she was not afraid. And her fear was as much of things as of persons. A clock whose wooden hammer she could see fall before she heard the stroke, was awful enough to make her miserable for months. A dream which ended in nothing more alarming than her seeing her mother break sugar and give her a lump, was at the time a source of yet acuter terror. She found endless difficulties in getting out of bed, in taking medicine, in speaking to a stranger—all forms of the distressing malady which is commonly called shyness, from the symptom that is noticed first. She never asked for sympathy; she was too shy; and besides, she was convinced that nobody cared for her—except God, of whom she was never afraid. She had the constant desire to kill herself and go to heaven, and force people to care for her. It was not only vindictiveness or misery which made her religious. At the age of two or three she used to preach to whoever would listen, "Never ky for trifles," "Dooty first, and pleasure afterwards." She had an instinctive veneration for ministers, and a craving for notice from them, which survived for more than fifty years, though she had long convinced herself that the character and judgment of the professional teacher of religion were decidedly rather below than above the average. Her religion soothed her feelings long before it influenced her conduct; she confessed her faults and felt forgiven, and compensated her utter want of self-respect by supposing that her sufferings proved her a favourite of the Heavenly Father. This feeling grew upon her till she got into a habit of castle-building about sufferings and sacrifices, as children who are at ease and less active than they should be, build castles about imaginary pleasures and successes. The habit is in most cases a wasteful one, and Miss Martineau judged herself very severely for it. She thought, which is likely enough, that it brought on her deafness rather earlier. The deafness was probably the result of the same constitutional weakness which kept her all her life without the sense of smell and made her lose the

sense of taste very early. Perhaps a more important result of her castle-building was to exhaust all that was unpractical in her imagination and leave her free, when her mind had found its appropriate activity, to fix her whole attention upon limited rational aims.

It was not for want of endeavour that her religion did not bear practical fruit in her childhood. At the age of eight she took herself in hand seriously, stimulated by the example of Ann Turner, a friend of her own age who came to stay at Norwich. But she found then, and the experience was destined to become familiar, that her direct efforts at self-improvement and self-management had less effect than putting herself under the operation of favourable influences. The observation is a striking proof of her religious genius; nothing marks the difference between the saintly and the secular temper more clearly than that to the one righteousness is a gift, to the other virtue is a heritage or a conquest. To the truly religious, the value of self-discipline is that it increases the capacity of "corresponding to grace," and it is not unlikely that the constant effort of aspiration and the constant baffled struggle after self-control did more than Miss Martineau recognises to prepare her for her opportunities as they came. The first was much enforced companionship with a crippled child, a discipline of patience against which she never murmured, though she felt the strain. She may have borne the discipline the better because on all personal subjects she was naturally reticent. She never spoke of her troubles or perplexities, and actually remained up to the age of nineteen under a latent impression that a "spring gun was painted pea-green, and only used in spring," having seen the word as a child, and having guessed at the meaning instead of asking it. The only direction in which she could break through the shyness which long continued to grow on her, was to ask visitors for a maxim, which she copied into a little volume, her earliest attempt at book-making.

In her early years Norwich was at the height of its self-decreed literary reputation as the Athens of England, and she was favourably placed for profiting by such advantages as Norwich had to bestow; her mother had the entrée of the literary suppers and despised their frequenters. Although such literary coteries are hotbeds of conceit and false pretension, one is almost inclined to regret their suppression. The centralisation of intellectual activity in the capital makes serious rational reflection in one's own and one's neighbour's affairs increasingly difficult. People try to follow the general movement of ideas, and find it harder and harder to keep their footing on their own ground, and to form opinions with deliberate attention upon their own experience, which opinions, if carefully formed, are precisely the kind which are most comfortable to the holder, and most serviceable to the community, and most easily improved by further

knowledge. It was no misfortune to Miss Martineau to be brought up in a circle where every one who had any power of thinking or speaking tried it, without having to solve the preliminary question whether it was adequate to deal with the universe. Nor was it a misfortune that her domestic training was rather hard; if she had been better understood she would probably have missed the mastery of all household matters on which she lived to congratulate herself; for she had no natural aptitude for them, she mastered them methodically, learning first what had to be done, and then painfully practising how to do it, and this discipline she would have escaped had she not been tasked as harshly by her mother as by her own conscience. A discriminating and sympathetic treatment would have recognised prematurely that she was naturally unfit for these things, and fit for something better. But though she regretted what was the fault of her constitution as though it had been the fault of her training, she valued as it deserved the teaching she received at Norwich and at Bristol, and was grateful for the consideration with which she was sent to the latter place. With strong affections she was never happy at home, and in her girlhood she was more than unhappy; she was in a state in which almost everything had to be broken to her, partly because she was apt to object, and partly because she was so hypersensitive that everything wounded her. At Bristol she was comparatively at ease, and was considered one of the good and clever girls of the school, and when she came home she was both laughed at and respected for her extreme conscientiousness. This was fostered by the influence of Dr. Carpenter the elder, who, under very uncongenial circumstances, cultivated the ascetic and sacerdotal temper, and succeeded in inoculating her with asceticism, which expressed itself in sabbatarianism and a ferocious economy of time.

Her literary life began early with contributions to the *Monthly Repository*, then edited by Mr. Aspland, when her maiden effort so moved her eldest brother that he called her "dear" for the first time, and exhorted her to leave other women to darn stockings. Her first considerable work was a collection of devotions for young persons, which one is rather surprised to find had lost its meaning and interest for her in the few years which passed between the first edition and the second. It is a favourable specimen of the attempt which all denominations were then making to talk themselves into piety and earnestness. It would not be unfair or irrelevant to compare it with Bishop Blomfield's Family Prayers, which have more unction, and of course are more orthodox, and are also less distinctly practical. In both aspiration is really conceived as the principal function of prayer, though Dr. Blomfield had not, like Miss Martineau, convinced himself of the necessarian hypothesis, which resembles the moon in two ways—it turns round completely, and yet no set of spectators ever sees more than one side of it. Those who do not

hold it, always see it as predisposing worthless people to indolence and recklessness, by suggesting the consideration that all their shortcomings of which they are aware have been, and all the future shortcomings which they not unreasonably expect will be, the certain products of the interaction of faulty organization, and more or less unfavourable surroundings. Those who hold it are struck with a sense of relief in contemplating the shortcomings of others, and sometimes, like Miss Martineau, proceed to observe that there are worthless people who protect their belief in their own freewill by never testing it, and hug the confidence that they can realise their ends at any moment by a resolution (which they never take), without the gradual training to the fulfilment of appointed conditions, in whose unfailing efficacy really capable and energetic people are well content to trust. The problem had exercised her early, and she was convinced, when she wrote her autobiography, that she had mastered it at twenty, though she still retained a belief in miracles, and rediscovered the accepted answer to Hume's essay, and endeavoured without success to extract a code of conduct from the Bible, which led her to the reflections which twenty or thirty years later were to become fashionable among Broad Church Anglicans on the spirituality of Christianity.

During the greater part of the thirteen years which elapsed between her return from Bristol and the Reform Bill, she wrote incessantly, eagerly, and easily; in society as soon as she was at ease she was very talkative, and the sound education she had received enabled her to be talkative with her pen. She wrote invariably not for fame nor for money, not even to do good, simply under a sense that there was something to be said and she could say it. From the first her writings have two great merits: if she has a doctrine to set forth it is clearly conceived, and if she has a scene or character to present it is clearly imagined. This applies even to her first ambitious attempt, Traditions of Palestine, which was the one of her books after Eastern Travel on which she liked to look back best. The fine writing and thinking which are fatiguing to a reader now, were very likely elevating then, not only to the writer but to her restricted public, and the conception of what Christianity looked like to serious and open-minded Jews at the time has the merit of Mitford's history of Greece—it is not historical, but it is alive. Her other tales during this period are less important; they are a sort of provincial imitation now of Miss Edgeworth, now of Miss Austen, always with a strong flavour of a tract. A chapter of one of them, Sense with Sensibility, shows that she was aware of the influence of her model, and the story shows considerable sympathy with the romantic aspects of Catholicism, though the writer's judgment is already too strong for her sympathies. Mean-

while, her circumstances had changed considerably, her eldest brother had married and settled in Devonshire, and gone to Madeira and died; her eldest sister had married in Newcastle and she had gone there to be under the care of her brother-in-law, a doctor, whose treatment did something to establish her in tolerable health. The crisis of 1825 and 1826 affected her father's business very severely; he had not speculated himself, but the speculations of others made his business rather brisker at first and entailed numerous losses afterwards. He died before the final collapse, cheered by the devotional writings of his daughter, whose shyness was still strong enough to make her shrink from his sight. In 1820 a more personal misfortune had come upon her—the deafness which had been long impending was hastened by a sort of accident which, she says, "I do not choose to describe." She did not take to a trumpet as soon as in her own judgment she ought, "for it is the duty of the deaf to give as little trouble as possible, and to preserve as long as possible their true memory of sound." However, though she delayed this duty, she made a vow to submit without a murmur to all the incidents of the misfortune which had befallen her, from the loss of music, which she enjoyed passionately and performed admirably, when she had no audience, and the greater loss of public worship, to the disarrangement of her cap-borders by the trumpet, which would sooner or later be indispensable. Neither this trouble, nor her suffering from ill health, nor the death of her eldest brother's baby, to which she was much attached, interfered with her happiness. She felt herself for the first time useful and beloved at home, and this compensated her for a purely personal trouble—the interruption of her relations with a college friend of James, her youngest and long her favourite brother, who seems to have been more in love with her than she with him. After her father's death her lover came forward again, knowing that she was poor, and having been too generous to press his suit while he thought her rich. They were soon virtually engaged, but the engagement was terminated by his death following upon insanity, the result of his long struggle and suspense. The calamity was aggravated to her by the insults of his family, who had been given to understand by cautious insinuations that she was actually engaged to another while accepting her friend's addresses. If he had lived they could hardly have been happy. Her veneration for his *moral* was such that she felt she dared not undertake the charge of his happiness, and yet she dared not refuse, because she saw it would be his deathblow. Besides, the veneration in which she held domestic life showed her that that life was not for those whose self-respect had been early broken down, or had never grown. She knew what she lost, but she did not regret it. There was a power of attachment in her which was never touched; but her strong will,

combined with anxiety of conscience, made her only fit to live alone, and her taste and liking were for living alone.

In 1827 she read Mrs. Marcett's Conversations on Political Economy, and wrote her first tales on the machinery riots at Manchester. Two years later came the final collapse of the old manufactory in which her own property and that of her mother and sisters was still invested. Even at the time it hardly seemed a misfortune; the blow came like "a blister on a series of dull pains, the necessity for exertion was itself a relief and almost a pleasure," and all concerned lived to be heartily glad that it had been decided in time, that they should live by working, not by pinching and sparing. None gained more by the change than Miss Martineau herself: she was free for the first time to write openly and to adopt literature as her vocation in life. Mrs. Chapman has preserved in the Memorials an interesting paper of the resolutions she adopted then. She believed herself "to be possessed of no uncommon talents, and of not an atom of genius," yet she hoped to be "useful to refined as well as unenlightened minds," but as much remained to be done before this aim could be attained, she wished "to be content with a much lower degree of usefulness." Of posthumous fame she had not the smallest expectation or desire. "Further she resolved," and of this resolution for the next two years she had great need, "that disappointment should not be permitted to relax her exertions, and that mortifications of vanity should prove stimulants rather than discouragements. The same consideration should induce patience under *painful labour, delay, and disappointment.*" The two last resolutions she kept when she might easily have dispensed with them. "To consider my own interests as little as possible, and to write with a view to the good of others; therefore to entertain no distaste to the humblest literary task which affords a prospect of usefulness." "Should success be granted, to take no honour to myself, remembering that I possess no original power or intrinsic merit."

She had less encouragement than many debutants of less promise. Houlston, of Derby, was always ready to print and to pay for her tales, and Mr. Fox, who had succeeded Mr. Aspland as the editor of the *Monthly Repository*, was always ready to print her essays and verses, and repay her by "frank and generous criticism." After 1829 he paid her fifteen pounds a year for reviewing. But no other magazine would look at her articles, and although she was offered work at proof correcting and other literary drudgery, it is hardly strange that her mother should have thought it better to bring her home to maintain herself by fancy work, since what literary work she could get made it necessary for her to be much in London, and even the *Monthly Repository* preferred to have its work done on the spot, under the editor's eye. It is less strange than it appears that

Miss Martineau, then twenty-seven, should have accepted the decision without resistance. Obedience was always difficult to her, but the instinct of submission was almost as strong in her as the instinct of service.

She did not lose by her sacrifice. Immediately upon her return she set to work to compete for three prize essays, intended to recommend the principles of Unitarianism to Roman Catholics, Jews, and Mussulmans. She won all three prizes, and even now the essays addressed to Jews and Mussulmans may be read with pleasure and respect, if not exactly with instruction. That addressed to the Jews is the best; it is an ingenious and respectful application of the doctrine of Lessing's Education of the Human Race, on the hypothesis that the traditional dates of Hebrew literature are genuine. A good deal of the substance of the work reappears in the Eastern Travels, though the point of view has changed.

The prize-money enabled her to go to Dublin, where her brother James and his wife were then settled, and she stayed there till September, 1831, writing all the time, and pondering the scheme of her Political Economy Series. She wished it to be quarterly, her brother and the publishers advised that it should be monthly, and she decided accordingly, though the idea was overwhelming at first. She was convinced, and the event proved she was right, that the work "was wanted—was even craved by the popular mind." But though she was convinced that the great labour she was undertaking would not be in vain, she was not sanguine; she was staking her all upon a work which it might be difficult to bring before the world at all, and whose success she expected to be almost as fatal to herself as its failure, for then and always she had the courage to work without the courage to hope. She needed all her courage; two or three publishers to whom she wrote from Dublin replied that the public mind was so engrossed with the agitation about the Reform Bill and the approach of the cholera, that they feared there was no chance for such a series. Baldwin and Cradock, and Whittaker entertained the scheme, the former even went so far as to advertise in the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and to engage a stitcher to sew up the numbers. But they drew back, and she went up to town to some cousins at a brewery, where she was always welcome, with or without notice, to see what could be done. There was nothing to be done that could not have been done at Norwich. For three weeks she wore herself out tramping along the wet December streets, to be refused by one publisher after another, and coming home to work undauntedly at the two first numbers which had to be ready when a publisher should be found. The only publisher to be found was Mr. Charles Fox, the brother of the editor of the *Repository*, who insisted on a subscription to protect him from risk,

and Miss Martineau had to accept his terms, though seeing that the only result of the subscription would be to expose her to much useless humiliation, as those of her friends and acquaintances who subscribed "did her more harm with their tongues than they did her good with their guineas;" she received more affronts than one, and always noticed afterwards that the gentlemen apologised and the ladies did not. There were happy exceptions: her cousins at the brewery subscribed for fourteen copies of the whole series, and paid in advance; the Gurneys inquired into her plan, and sent her a message that if the early numbers failed to pay expenses, she was to come to them before discontinuing the series.

Her publisher was in an ill-humour, and kept her in the dark as long as possible as to the prospects of her success, but ten days after the publication she received a letter with three postscripts to inform her that it was necessary to print five thousand copies. From that day, the 10th of February, 1832, she was free from pecuniary care.

Everybody praised her series, and everybody wished to make her the organ of any view which he or she wished to bring before the public; members of Parliament sent down blue-books by post, and the postmaster sent word one day that she must send for her own share of the mail, for it could not be carried without a barrow.

One of the first effects of her success was that she felt it necessary to live in London, within reach of the information that was pouring in upon her; she moved to lodgings in Conduit Street in November, 1832; in September, 1833, she moved to a small house in Fludyer Street, Westminster, where she lived with her mother and aunt till 1839. As soon as she came to London she was a "lioness," and what is perhaps even a higher distinction, a mythical heroine. All kinds of legends circulated about her, which are duly embalmed with emphatic corrections in the autobiography. Very little was known of her antecedents, and her intimate relations with the Reform Ministry and the wide range of knowledge employed in her series suggested ample materials for guessing; and the interest that was felt in her was strong enough to convert every guess into a certainty for a wide circle of eager gossips. Her own life was one of ceaseless exertion and excitement. She wrote on an average twelve pages a day of thirty-three lines to the page, mainly between eight and two, after which if things went smoothly she received visitors till four, after which she ran out for an hour till it was time to dress and be taken out to dinner, after which came one or more evening parties. It was a rare holiday to spend a night in the country, and it was not always that she could take respite of a day or two on the completion of a number, and sleep for eight hours instead of five and a half. When she was closing the series with the illustrations of taxation, it was an immense relief to her when she decided on having five instead of

six, because she would have a month's less work. Fortunately the excitement suited her, society amused her without elating her, and she was almost the only author of the period who could settle to work regularly every morning the first thing after an early breakfast, and dispense with all stimulants except success and usefulness; perhaps like Scott she owed something to the extreme simplicity of her habits up to her full maturity, and something to the firmness with which she resisted the insidious advice of doctors who recommended her to keep light wine in a cupboard within reach of her hand. Success did not spoil her, she preserved her independence of spirit a little savagely, she preserved her simplicity of judgment and desires. Sydney Smith pronounced her safe at the end of the first season; she had kept her own laugh, her own manner, and her own voice.

The entire simplicity with which she bore her great success is the more remarkable because it was in large measure due to circumstances, in other words, exaggerated. We have a right to expect that those who are born to greatness shall bear it worthily; we have no right to expect that those who have greatness thrust upon them shall bear it like Harriet Martineau. She tells us in her autobiography that none of her fiction has any permanent artistic value, and of the Political Economy Series this is certainly true; the stories differ a good deal as to the connection, or the want of it, between the events narrated and the chapter of Political Economy Illustrated; and there are few failures like the Charmed Sea, where some Polish exiles improvise two systems of currency, by way of episode in a story which would be touching, apart from its grotesque interlude. But even where the story and the political economy are most successfully fused, the expository conversations which Miss Martineau enjoyed writing as much as anything else are fatal to literary effect. Character and local colour disappear at once, and the dialogue is no more dramatic than a catechism. But when the three series appeared the public could not afford to be critical; although the country was beginning to right itself after the collapse which followed the war and the over speculation of the first decade of peace, confusion, and irritation, and sensible distress were at their height. People were feeling for the first time what a very costly and perilous thing it is for a country which has been mainly agricultural to become mainly manufacturing, in the course of a war which makes heavy taxation necessary, when economical knowledge is so imperfect that taxation is imposed almost at random. And it is just its relation to the confused passion of the period which explains the wonderful and blessed effectiveness of Miss Martineau's stories on political economy, taxation and poor-laws. She felt the whole weight of the trouble of the time as few of the official Liberals

felt it, and she felt it without any admixture of class or party passion: her feeling throughout is that the people, high and low, rich and poor, one with another are perishing for lack of knowledge. When she discusses protection or monopoly she does not represent these for whom restrictive laws are passed as tyrants fattening on the wrongs of the community: she prefers to point out their sufferings from the instability of an artificial trade; even the landlord who exacts the full rent of land that he has done nothing to improve is a public benefactor because he brings poor soil into cultivation by handicapping the occupiers of rich. Nothing could be more soothing, or more encouraging, or more helpful than Miss Martineau's serene one-sided confidence in the body of doctrine which she "then believed to be a science," and which is still the completest account accessible of a large mass of important facts, which could not be neglected without loss or realised without profit. Readers who look back from our present position of peace and stability upon bygone storms will suspect the writer of playing providence and multiplying occasions to display the action of laws which would have been recognised long ago if their action were unfailing. But the question then was, not under what qualifications the generalizations of economists are to be trusted, but whether those generalizations are to be trusted on the whole, and Miss Martineau's incidents were lifelike enough (indeed many of them, like the story of Berkeley the Banker, were taken from life) to help most open-minded people to some degree of belief. The literary setting, too, helps the effect, though it is not perfect enough to stand alone; until the characters begin to talk political economy they are natural, and the situation is always vividly outlined. The reserve of detail which is imposed by the plan of the series makes the undeniable power of the writer more impressive, and this power, heightened as it is by strong social inspiration, is enough to make one think that it would have furnished a really great novelist if the inspiration had been æsthetic. All through the work there is a sense of the seriousness and sacredness of the elementary pieties of human life. We are never allowed, in studying the gospel according to Adam Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo, to forget that man shall not live by bread alone; now and again, as in the Cornish number of the Poor Law Tales, the problem how the spiritual trust of the disinherited in the unseen is to survive the disappointment of specific expectations, is handled in a way that anticipates "Silas Marner."

Whatever were the causes of her success, she owed little to the effusive recognition of the Whig government, except an attack in the *Quarterly Review*, which took the very unjustifiable form of an insinuation that she was concerned in a very indiscreet propaganda which some Malthusians, as sincere and intelligent as herself, were

carrying on at the time. The attack raised her spirits; contumely always did, which shows that she was of the family of the saints, and her series sold the better for it, though a suspicion of impropriety long clung to her name, which hindered the sale of her later works. The *Edinburgh Review*, in due course, followed with a laudatory article by Mr. Empson, who, with a delicacy of feeling which deserved a more lenient judgment than he received from Miss Martineau, had abstained from seeking an introduction until his article in her honour appeared, that it might not be said that she was praised by a personal friend. She was not ungrateful, but she thought the article weak, and anything with the official stamp on it did her harm. The poor-law tales which she wrote at the request of Lord Brougham for the Diffusion Society, did not succeed so well as her own series, which was being carried on at the same time; and though she was delighted to find that the heads of the New Poor Law, which were communicated to her when they were a cabinet secret, were quite in accordance with her own convictions, and was amused to find that Lord Althorp adopted her suggestion about the excise on green glass bottles and sweets in his last budget, she had no confidence in the Whigs; she was offended by their constant aristocratic assumption of giving the people just as much knowledge and power as was good for them. She had often to explain, till the appearance of her history of the thirty years peace, that she was not a revolutionist or a democrat, but her simplicity and austerity were always up in arms against any claim to deference from herself or others; she was a stickler for equality in manners, though not in fortune or station, and she was one of the first to take up the theory that the *élite* of the artisans were, upon the whole, the wisest and most public-spirited body of citizens in the community.

It was decidedly a fortunate inspiration of Lord Henley's, who advised her to go to America for rest and change after the termination of her three series, although the suggestion entailed a rumour that her expenses were paid by Lord Brougham and Lord Henley, who had confided to her a mysterious mission. Lord Henley's motive for making the suggestion was that he thought that America was a land of promise where philanthropic problems were solved. Miss Martineau's reason for accepting it was that she wished to rough it, and convince herself that she was not dependent upon the luxury of which for two years she had enjoyed a share which in her own judgment was large. Unfortunately the need of rest and change was not her only motive for travel; she needed to escape from her home almost as much as to escape from her work; in her family relations she had always been generous and faithful, but it was beyond her power to be genial, and her laborious life gave a tinge of hardness and ungraciousness to all she did. The letter

which Mrs. Chapman has printed, in which she invites her mother and aunt to settle with her in London, is enough to show that the plan was sure to be a failure. She saw the difficulties much too clearly, and her affection was strong enough to keep her constant under them, not strong enough to carry her over them. She lived in a whirl of "distinctions which she could not impart," and she was not disposed to undertake the additional strain of cultivating her mother's acquaintances. Besides, her astonishing disinterestedness must have been trying, because she was quite willing to enjoy her success and to be fêted to the end of the chapter, if she was not too openly exhibited. If she would have worked for money and reputation, it was quite in her power to make her own fortune and her family's; if she had kept, as Miss Brontë did, to the society of those with whom she wished to be intimate, her family might have understood and applauded her resolution to keep herself unhampered by mercenary considerations. But no mischief-maker was needed, though she tells us that a mischief-maker was at hand, to make her mother discontented with her narrow life when she saw her daughter leading a brilliant one; and the situation only became more irritating for being reasonably discussed.

Her tour in America was a triumphal progress until she attended an Abolitionist meeting and announced, in answer to an appeal to say a few words of sympathy, that she believed slavery to be incompatible with the law of God, and sincerely approved of the *principles* of the Abolitionists. She had meant her adhesion to be very reserved. She had already made the acquaintance of Mrs. Chapman, who had introduced herself with a letter which Miss Martineau thought eloquent and impertinent; and though subsequent intercourse had modified this impression, she was still inclined to remonstrate with her friend for living in an attitude and atmosphere of "rebuke." But the preposterous outburst of indignation with which her public adhesion to the anti-slavery cause was received, made her an ardent partisan of her fellow-sufferers. She had been perfectly frank in setting forth her anti-slavery convictions when she was the guest of slave-owners, and she did full justice to the immense patience which the Southerners had to practise towards their slaves, who were unprofitable and provoking to an extent which is hard to realise, and to the devoted industry of the Southern women, who were sorely overtasked by having to manage a family which included hundreds of grown-up children. But the fact that speech on the subject was not free, that those who spoke freely were liable to outrage and misrepresentation, told very strongly upon her when she had been outraged and misrepresented too. She came to the conclusion that the Abolitionists, and especially her own friends, were saints and martyrs. She became aware of a disposition to worship Mrs.

Chapman, and in a less degree the Follens, as she had worshipped Dr. Carpenter.

Every one in America, and before she went to America, had taken for granted that she would write a book on her travels, but she postponed her decision till her return to England. When she came to London the publishers almost fought for her. She agreed with Mr. Saunders, whom she had learned to like in the course of her negotiation with him about Two Old Men's Tales, although Bentley and Colburn offered her higher terms. She was not satisfied with the book in later years; it is pervaded by a "metaphysical" conception of freedom and defaced by a good deal of fine writing on the inadequacy of dogmatic theology and the repression of the energy of women. Carlyle preferred the less ambitious and more objective book which she published to utilise her lighter experiences, under the title, Retrospect of Western Travel. But the earlier and more formal book, with all its faults, is the more important of the two; its weighty judicial completeness made representatives of every misunderstood nationality, from O'Connell to the moderate Milanese patriots, anxious to secure a report upon their case by Miss Martineau.

None of these invitations were accepted, and her last three years in London, though brilliant and occupied, were hardly so strenuous or so fruitful as her first; her articles in the *Westminster* were less laborious than her series on political economy, and the public were less impatient for them. But her life was still a very wearing one: her home troubles had not abated, and she did not wear her honours easily: her deafness was itself sufficient to double the strain of society, and that strain is severe enough upon people who are not deaf, and who take homage and admiration, if they fall in their way, very much as they come. Miss Martineau despised what she saw a little too much to be amused very heartily, and she spent a good deal of energy, which would have been better husbanded, in standing on ceremony with grandees, and in virtuously repelling the overtures of persons who had treated her badly or allowed any one to treat her badly in a paper which they controlled. Upon these grounds she refused the acquaintance of the elder Sterling, and then was surprised that the younger Sterling did not speak to her when they met at Carlyle's. After writing her first novel, which contains a good deal of shrewd observation and pathos, relieved by a little rather sensational incident, she went to travel on the continent, and her health broke down: she came back to London and fell ill again, and went to Newcastle to consult her brother-in-law, and thence, with the instinct of wild creatures that creep apart to die, to lodgings in Tynemouth, where she remained for five years, only shifting from her bed to the sofa. She was assured by the doctors, and among them by Sir

Charles Clarke, that she was suffering from an incurable internal tumour, and though she exerted herself to maintain her activity, the exertion was so painful that she had to give way. During the first two years she was still able to write, but weakness and constant opiates gradually deprived her of the power, and as she had invested her savings in a deferred annuity she was distressingly poor. Lord Melbourne offered her a pension which she declined privately, because she disapproved in her own conscience of pensions, and the *Times*, which had never forgiven her, gave rather an ungracious publicity to her decision; but her admirers subscribed £1,400, which made her easy, and Lady Byron sent her £100 that she might not be deprived of the luxury of giving. She awaited death in the spirit of half-ironical stoicism embodied in the beautiful little volume, Life in the Sick-room, which comes nearer to being classical than the majority of her useful and objective books. But life came to her instead of death: in the middle of her illness Sir E. L. Bulwer Lytton had advised her to consult a *somnambule*. In May 1844 she had no less than three letters of advice to try mesmerism. She tried it, and in six months the tough overtasked frame righted itself completely. The doctors, of course, began by disbelieving in the recovery, and ended by disbelieving in the malady, which was reasonable enough: what was not so reasonable was that they insisted in believing that they had been misled by the patient who had accepted their diagnosis of her symptoms. A more tragical result was the culmination of the experience which led her to pronounce the fraternal relation the most trying in the world—a dictum which the sisters of Macaulay, whom Miss Martineau persisted in calling heartless after she had read his memoir, would have found it hard to endorse.

And her experience of mesmerism was to be the occasion of a greater change which had long been preparing; though when we compare her autobiography with her writings it seems that she was not free from a tendency to antedate it. Unitarianism of course is far from a satisfactory representative of the Christian tradition; it misrepresents its earliest stage as a preliminary to ignoring its historical development, but it is quite as like primitive Christianity as the version of Calvinism, which is the traditional religion of the English middle class. However, as Miss Martineau emancipated herself more and more from provincialism, she came to think that of the two forms of the Christian tradition she knew, the one which she had never believed had the best claim to be considered legitimate. She drifted into mere theism, with the same leaning towards pantheism that her liberalism had towards socialism. Her long illness was a severe trial of her faith in this creed, and her confidential intercourse with visitors who were willing to unveil the

secrets of their experience, and the questionings to which it had led them, was a severer trial still. Her own native capacity for awe was unexhausted, but it was not strong enough to light up and eliminate the whole of her experience; in other words, it was not strong enough to carry a creed, and it was strong enough to stand alone without a creed to lean upon. The life of feeling and the life of thought were not exactly at variance within her, but as a rule each balanced rather than intensified the other; hence, when she was in pain a cool intellectual perception of the case was a relief to her, it was a great comfort to be told the worst though it was still (when she wrote Life in a Sick-room) a greater comfort to be bidden to do her duty and live up to her vocation. Then, too, the craving for inward liberty was strong within her; she was weary of setting herself tasks in the name of an external authority; she longed to be naturally spontaneously good, like the prophet who promised his people that the law should be written in their hearts, like the apostle who exulted that he and all the faithful had received the spirit of adoption instead of the spirit of bondage, like the father who cried *Ama et fac quodvis*. It will hardly be maintained that her expression of the longing was an advance upon theirs. Opinions may differ as to whether it is worth while for an individual or a generation to hold on at the cost of growing effort to the tradition of the race, or whether it is safer and more fruitful to fall back on personal contemporary experience. The drawback of the latter course is, that as Miss Martineau often observed, advocates of a cause always tend to overrate its importance. She believed much more eagerly and strenuously in mesmerism than most devout Catholics believe in the curative agencies by which they are thankful, as they think, to profit. She was on her guard against rash theorising, but she could not refrain from insisting that an abnormal set of phenomena, the result of passing states of exceptional organisms, should be solemnly studied, as if they were normal and important. It is likely enough that the cup whose dregs mesmerists offer us, once held the wine with which the wonder-workers of high creeds and low cheered the heart of them who were ready to perish in their day; but even if this conjecture be confirmed, it would not explain the claims of the creeds which no longer challenge allegiance or refute the claims of the creeds which do. Every great historical creed has offered a more or less complete subjective synthesis, and none has rested its claims upon its command of what Miss Martineau rightly discerned to be but one force among many, which the sanguine may hope to prove as useful as electricity, though it is more probable that it gave its measure long ago at Delphi.

On her recovery she went for a holiday to the Lakes, and as it no longer seemed necessary for her to make a home for her mother, who

was settled at Liverpool, she decided not to return to London, but to make her home (housekeeping was always an essential ingredient in her happiness) in the real country, in the most beautiful scenery she knew. She built a cottage on the Knoll at Ambleside, which Wordsworth pronounced to be the wisest act of her life, for the characteristic reason that the value of the property was sure to double itself in ten years. It was the wisest act of her life in another sense: she had always derived exquisite pleasure from the senses of sight and touch, which alone were perfect in her, and she had never been at home with nature before, and she had never been her own mistress. Her character softened and expanded in the sunshine; she held herself a little aloof indeed from the local gentry, but her intercourse with her poor neighbours was thoroughly genial and happy, and the large circle of intimates who shared her hospitality found her thoroughly motherly and full of fun and merriment.

The transition from restraint to freedom, and the introduction of a new element into her life, must be taken into account in all explanations of the complete change of her opinions in the first five years of her renewed health. Another influence was her journey to the East in 1846. She was under the impression that she had mastered the question of the origin of Egyptian, and Jewish, and Christian, and Mahomedan religion. What she had done was to master a few text-books, some of them admirable, some of them inadequate, and some of them obsolete, and to realise on the spot some of the broad permanent conditions which determine life and belief; and to have done this was enough to place her at a stand-point which few biblical critics of the most radical school have reached. She regarded theology as a department of anthropology, which apologists may perhaps some day recognise as the only scientific point of view. But the strongest influence of all was personal; ever since her first experience of mesmerism she had been coming into closer and closer relation with Mr. Atkinson—who at last became her oracle—as Father Gracian became the director of Saint Theresa. His admirers would find it hard to maintain that he was her equal; but the very fact that his nature had never been tasked or trained as hers had been, made it easier to leap to large conclusions in an impressive way. A hierophant ought to have a rich and unexhausted nature, and it is not an unmixed misfortune that, in an age when thorough training is almost always exhausting and very frequently perplexing, a mind of the calibre of Mr. Atkinson's should retain enough fresh self-confidence to undertake the guidance of a mind of the calibre of Miss Martineau's. Of course Miss Martineau's appeal to Mr. Atkinson for guidance was seized upon as a palmary instance of the credulity of unbelievers. The truth is that the credulity of unbelievers tells in favour of belief in a way which believers hardly recognise. A

professed unbeliever is commonly a disinherited mystic, whose faith is not quite strong enough to live through a time when tradition and science are drifting apart. Such an one is too preoccupied with spiritual questions to take refuge in a confused and silent compromise which commends itself to worldlings; people with a natural susceptibility for mysticism, like Paulus, Strauss, and Renan, or a natural capacity for asceticism like Baur, or natural gifts in both directions like Miss Martineau, cannot resist the temptation to explicit denial of what they can no longer affirm, and then they expose themselves to the pity or contempt of believers by showing how ready they are to affirm when their knowledge does not stand in the way.

The especial mysteries of which Mr. Atkinson was the hierophant have only an historical interest for the readers of Mr. Herbert Spencer's First Principles and Professor Tyndall's Belfast Address, but in 1850 it required a certain originality to seize the antitheological side of Bacon's philosophy, and pass at once to a purely objective conception of the universe, in which mankind appeared merely as a product of general laws, and a term in a series of phenomena which did not exist for their sake, while full weight was given to the half-conscious life which underlies and sometimes dominates consciousnesses.

The effect of the doctrine upon Miss Martineau and upon her public deserves more attention than the doctrine itself. To her it was a great deliverance to accept a teaching which enabled her to lose her own life in the life of the world: as the teaching of Hartley had nerved her for self-conquest, the teaching of Mr. Atkinson nerved her to a completer self-renunciation, which brought its reward in the gaiety with which she went about her duties and in the rapture of her midnight worship of the silent splendour and mystery that had once a voice for patriarchs and psalmists. The press was unanimous in condemnation, but the press hardly represented the public; when a ground-swell is rising, light craft drift from their moorings before vessels that are better found, or at all events, more heavily laden.

Miss Martineau's own account of the storm which followed the publication of "Letters on Nature and the Constitution of Man," was that it dissolved all false relationships and strengthened all true: she was a little too much surprised that the orthodox who were sure of their own ground, were not more perplexed by her peace and happiness, and were content that she should inherit the promises made to a life like hers in the name of the Providence which she denied; perhaps she had forgotten the boldness of one of old who said, "I was found of them that sought me not." Her outer prosperity was on a level with her inward peace: she was by no means so conspicuous a figure in the literary world as she had been, but

this did not trouble her; she was satisfied to find herself in full employment upon useful and remunerative work, and it was at this period that she produced the most permanently valuable of her writings, her masterly condensation of Comte's Positive Philosophy, which, condensed as it is, preserves the sober unction as well as the substance of the original. Her bulky History of the Peace will be consulted for the account of the commercial crisis of 1825—1826, and for Mr. Buller's contributions to the secret history of Lord Durham's Canadian Government; but the plan of a work which described Sir Robert Peel's fall without mentioning Mr. Disraeli is obviously incomplete. Besides these great undertakings she wrote a series of Game Law Tales, which failed perhaps because of the Irish Famine, perhaps because the public had grown fastidious; and an admirable work on Household Education, which after all demands too much of the educators, most of whom are and will be rather dull and rather lazy, with more or fewer inveterate faults which those who grow up with them must learn to bear. She wrote largely for *Household Words*, till the anti-catholic partisanship of the conductors offended her sensitive conscience; and till 1866 she contributed largely to the *Daily News*.

The successful republication in 1869 of her biographical sketches in that journal was the last event of her literary life. Many of them repeat, with here and there an added stroke of severity, what she had written already in the autobiography which was completed in 1856, and the survey of literary life in London, in which most of the coincidences occur, is often severer than the diary which she kept at the time. The severity is rather indiscriminate; it often falls on those who, like Whately and Blomfield, were useful and did their best, because too much had been expected of them, and an irritable reader might complain that her generous delight in the goodness of others, always dearer to her than her own, was sometimes capricious in the selection of objects for admiration. It was almost as provoking as a caprice when Miss Martineau, who had, like Mill, given her name and influence to an agitation with which few of her admirers sympathised, declined to act on the committee of the Mill Memorial, professedly on the ground of her health, really because she disapproved of Mill because he was as impressionable as a woman! From the first she had as steady an interest as Mill's in "Woman's rights;" though her convictions were tame to his, she thought women ought to be allowed to do, without hindrance, whatever they may be found capable of doing, but she had a horror of women who make their domestic misfortunes an argument for reconsidering the position of the sex; and the doctrine which she preached by example and precept, that the happiness and dignity of every true woman depends upon making a home for others, tells strongly in favour of the traditional training which is intended to fit average women to

accept their conventional career in advance, instead of magnifying idiosyncrasies which may or may not warrant the abandonment of domestic life for social, or industrial, or literary enterprise. Her own attitude in the matter was something less than consistent: she resented the conventional "chivalry" with which women are treated as a bar to frank and serious intercourse, but she was not disposed to waive a woman's claim to special forbearance and courtesy.

In 1855, in the height of her prosperity, she went up to London on business: it was in some ways a melancholy journey: before her return her friend Mr. Hunt, the editor of the *Daily News*, died; some alarming symptoms led her to consult Dr. Latham, who gave her to understand that her heart was too weak for its work and very much enlarged. Her constitutional despondency led her to accept the sentence of death, which was not executed for more than twenty years, as irreversible. She went home light-heartedly to die, with an unabated relish for whatever might be left of life, if anything keener, because its cares proved lighter when she looked to leave them soon. For good or evil she had left behind the temper for which she reproached herself in the essays in Life in a Sick-room, the mystical temper which can hardly be patient under weakness, and is exultant under pain; death for her had neither terror nor mystery; it was nothing but an end, passing away to leave room for others. The same temper which made her pronounce the first cause unknowable made her pronounce a personal immortality impossible. This clear tranquil negation dispensed her from all sympathy with Feuerbach's intense preoccupation with the thought of the end which overshadows life only to hallow and to heighten it, and with Comte's idealization of all that the dead are to the living.

She had lived *for* others and had been happy; she neither desired nor expected to live *in* others. She set her house in order; she printed her autobiography and got the illustrations ready; she wrote a candid, not to say harsh, obituary of herself for the *Daily News*; she worked while she could with needle and pen for the causes that interested her; she was careful for others to the last, and her growing "ineffectiveness" was the chief thing that distressed her when death really was at hand. She was tired out before she bade the world good-night, and she passed away in the joyful contemplation of eternity, the eternity of the world and the race.

G. A. Simcox.

## ON STIMULANTS.

My object in this paper is not to confine myself to the consideration of the effects of alcoholic drinks alone, but to regard the question of the uses and properties of the various beverages commonly consumed in this country from a general point of view, and to inquire what has been learnt from trustworthy physiological experiment and from medical and general observation as to their influence on the human organism for good or for evil. A beverage of some sort is a physiological necessity. No one can exist without consuming a certain quantity of water, which is the essential basis of all drinks. It has been calculated that the body of a man weighing eleven stones contains sixty-six pounds of solid matters and eighty-eight pounds of water, and that he loses in various ways about six pounds of water in twenty-four hours, and this loss of water must be supplied in his food and drink. In the ordinary physiological processes nothing passes into the blood, and nothing passes out of it, without the intervention, in some way or other, of water as a solvent.[1] It will thus be seen that water plays a most important part in relation to animal life and nutrition. It is also the agent by which the body is cleansed inwardly as well as outwardly, and it is as necessary, though not quite so obvious, that the interior of our bodies should be washed and made clean as the exterior.

In the processes of nutrition—in the physical and chemical changes—upon which life depends, effete waste products are constantly being discharged into the blood from the tissues of the body, and these have to be got rid of; for if they are permitted to accumulate in the blood, the body becomes poisoned by them, and life is destroyed as certainly as if a large dose of prussic acid or opium were introduced from without. Men do indeed frequently die, poisoned by toxic agents which they manufacture within their own organisms.

One of the uses of water, taken into the body as a beverage, is to dissolve these effete products of the work of the organism, and so to convey them out of the body through the action of the secreting organs. Water is readily absorbed into the blood and is rapidly discharged from it. In its rapid course through the body it washes, so to speak, the circulating fluid, and carries away, through the channels of excretion, substances, the retention of which in the blood would prove in the highest degree harmful. It may readily be imagined that pure unadulterated water performs this function

(1) It is possible that some gaseous bodies may be an exception to this rule.

better than any modification of it which we may drink as a beverage. It is, however, quite true that some slightly mineralised waters pass through the organism with even greater rapidity than pure water, on account of the stimulating action they most of them exercise on certain of the excretory organs. Mild alkaline waters may also, under certain circumstances, prove more cleansing than pure water on account of their greater solvent action on some substances.

The quantity of water we need in the form of beverage depends greatly on the nature of the other substances we consume as food. With a dietary composed largely of succulent vegetables and fruit, very little of any kind of beverage is required. Much also depends on the manner in which our solid food is cooked—whether, in the case of animal food, the natural juices of the flesh are retained in it or not; much, too, will depend on those atmospheric and other conditions which determine the amount of fluid lost by evaporation from the surface of the body. The sensation of thirst is the natural warning that the blood wants water. I may here remark, incidentally, that it is not a wise custom to take excessive quantities of any fluid, even simple water, with our food, for by so doing we dilute too much the digestive juices, and so retard their solvent action on the solid food we have consumed. A draught of fluid, however, towards the end of digestion is often useful in promoting the solution and absorption of the residuum of this process, or in aiding its propulsion along the digestive tube. Hence the custom of taking tea a few hours after dinner, or seltzer or soda-water a little before bed-time.

It was a necessary preliminary to my present inquiry that I should call attention to this fundamental physiological requirement. Moreover, I am willing to admit at the outset that water is the only beverage physiologically essential to healthy life. But is this admission of any real consequence? I think not; for our mode of life is rarely constructed in strict accordance with rigorous physiological or chemical analysis.

It is scarcely necessary that I should insist upon the fact that in practical life the strictly essential does not go for much. We need not only that which makes us live, but that also which makes us care to live. And, in my estimation, a delicate appreciation of the qualities of foods and beverages may fairly take its place amongst our cultivated and reasonable pleasures. I know some persons of intellectual habits who look upon eating and drinking as simply a necessary nuisance; and it has been said of the celebrated John, Lord Hervey, that he "breakfasted on an emetic, dined on a biscuit, and regaled himself once a week with an apple." But his meagre dietary did not make him an amiable or a virtuous person.

It has often been objected to the general use of stimulating bever-

ages that they are luxuries, but I shall not discuss the question whether certain beverages are luxuries or necessaries. No reasonable person that I am acquainted with regulates his own life on any such narrow principle, and we have no right to apply such an unpractical test to the lives of others. The terms wholesome and unwholesome are more suited to my purpose. It concerns every one to know whether any acquired habit of life is immediately or remotely injurious to his physical organism.

In examining the influence for good or evil which the various beverages commonly consumed in this country exert on human life, it is necessary to consider them in two distinct classes: 1st, those which contain alcohol, *i.e.* the various wines, spirits, and beers; and, 2nd, those which are non-alcoholic, as tea, coffee, and chocolate. Before I examine the effects of the more common beverages of the first class, it is necessary that I should review briefly certain points in connection with what has been called the Alcohol Controversy. That controversy has turned chiefly on the question whether alcohol is or is not to be regarded as a food. Everybody admits that it is a poisonous agent when administered in large doses, and everybody also admits, except certain irreconcilable enthusiasts, that it is useful as a medicine, under certain conditions, in both large and small doses. On looking over the records of this dispute, one cannot help being struck with the fact that those who desired to decide the question against alcohol were never, in any of their experiments, content with giving it in moderate quantities, but invariably used large intoxicating doses, and in the majority of instances doses which were actually poisonous; and from its effects in such quantities all their conclusions are deduced. This is certainly not satisfactory, for such a mode of procedure could only have the effect of proving what, I take it, every one is ready and anxious to admit—that the use of alcohol in poisonous or intoxicating doses cannot on any grounds be justified. But it leaves, as I shall hope to show, the moderate and occasional use of alcoholic beverages unaffected.

Years ago Liebig classed alcohol among heat-forming foods. Like starch and sugar it contains carbon and hydrogen, which can undergo a process of combustion within the organism by the aid of oxygen admitted from without, and thus contribute to maintain the heat of the body—a most important function of food. Of course, in order to prove that alcohol does act thus as a food it is necessary to show that it undergoes decomposition within the animal body. Some fifteen or twenty years ago three French chemists (Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy) originated a series of experiments, from which they concluded that this view of Liebig, that alcohol acts as food, was altogether erroneous. They appealed to their experiments as proving that all the alcohol taken into the system left it unchanged, passing

out of the body in the secretions. To use a French expression, alcohol simply "made a promenade around the organism." It was not decomposed. It was not burnt within the body. It was not a food. This view was gratefully accepted and made the most of by the total abstainers in this country. It was put forward so authoritatively, and with such an appearance of conclusiveness, that those who had long held a contrary opinion were for the moment staggered. Yet these French chemists were wrong. They had given to dogs enormous doses of alcohol—nine ounces in one instance, that is, an equivalent to three quarts of sherry. Three quarts of sherry to one dog! Was it to be wondered at that much unchanged alcohol appeared in the secretions? We are indebted to the late Dr. Anstie for an exposure of the fallacies of these experimenters. He, in conjunction with Dr. Dupré, proved that alcohol, when given in small and moderate doses, was almost wholly consumed within the organism, and that only a trifling portion passed out of the body in the secretions; and Anstie's conclusions were confirmed by the experiments of Schulinus.

So that Liebig's theory that there was a rapid and complete combustion of alcohol within the system turns out to be very near the truth. We may conclude, then, that when alcohol is taken in non-poisonous doses, a small portion is rapidly eliminated by the secreting organs, and the remainder is burnt within the body as hydrocarbonaceous food. The oxygen necessary for this combustion, if not thus utilised, would have been expended in the oxidation of the proteine or albumenized tissues of the body, so that in proportion to the amount of alcohol oxidized or burnt there is a corresponding diminution in the combustion of the nitrogenized tissues. Hence the usefulness of alcohol in some acute febrile diseases, and hence the French expression, applied to alcohol as well as to tea and coffee, that they are *boissons d'épargne*. It was because of this property of sparing the tissues that Liebig spoke of the use of alcoholic beverages as economical. If a labouring man drank a pint or two of beer he needed much less bread and meat. It also accounts for Dr. Hammond's personal experience related in his Physiological Researches (p. 55). He states, that having placed himself on a very insufficient allowance of food, he took daily with each meal half an ounce of alcohol, and under this regimen he found he gained rather than lost weight, and preserved, at the same time, the highest mental and bodily vigour. A case mentioned by Dr. Anstie is to the same effect. "A male, eighty-three years of age, intemperate for many years, took one bottle of gin per diem for twenty years; eats only one small fragment of toasted bread in the day." Being acquainted with many other facts of like import, it was with a feeling of great disappointment that I discovered in what purports to be a popular

scientific account of alcohol, eighteen thousand copies of which are said to be in the hands of the public, the following statement: "Alcohol cannot by any ingenuity of excuse for it be classified amongst the foods of man. It neither supplies matter for construction nor heat. On the contrary, it injures construction and it reduces temperature."[1] I wish, in the first place, to put alongside of this statement another contemporary utterance on the same subject. "It (*i.e.* alcohol) undergoes combustion in the body, maintains or increases the body weight, and prolongs life on an insufficient diet. It is therefore entitled to be reckoned as a food."[2] Now both these statements, of which I believe the latter to be unquestionably true, are founded on experiments, but Dr. Richardson's experiments appear to have been undertaken with that fatal desire to establish a pre-accepted theory which is the bane of experimental science. In all his experiments he appears to have administered alcohol in poisonous or intoxicating doses, and then, when the system was struggling with the influence of a potent poison, he found some reduction of bodily temperature. "In man," he says, "it is confined to three-fourths of a degree," that is in what he calls the second stage of alcoholism. In plain English, when a man has taken enough alcohol to make him drunk, and when he is drunk, you may find the temperature of his body reduced three-fourths of a degree. But Dr. Richardson is compelled to admit that in the first stage of alcoholism "the external temperature of the body is raised." Now no decent person, who may wish to know whether alcohol acts as a food or not, contemplates ever passing into that second stage, until he reaches which he may feel assured, even on Dr. Richardson's authority, that his body temperature will be raised and not lowered.

A great deal has been said recently about alcohol lowering the temperature of the body, and the late Dr. Parkes investigated this subject with his usual carefulness and accuracy. The following are some of his conclusions. "In healthy men who have been accustomed to take alcohol in moderate quantities the results are rather contradictory. In a man accustomed to alcohol, Ringer found no change; in two men, temperate, but accustomed to take beer and sometimes spirit, I could not detect any raising or lowering of the thermometer. Dr. Mainzer found no fall of temperature in trials on himself, but a slight fall in another healthy person. Some experiments by Obernier and by Follker are also quite negative." "We may conclude that the effect on temperature in healthy men is extremely slight; there is no increase, and in many persons no decrease. In those in whom there is a slight decrease the amount

(1) Richardson on "Alcohol," Cantor Lectures, p. 73.

(2) Brunton: "The Physiological Action of Alcohol," the *Practitioner*, vol. xvi. p. 135.

is trifling." It appears, therefore, that we have no sound scientific basis for the general assertion that alcohol in moderate quantity lowers the bodily temperature. It certainly does so, however, in very large doses. The following is the explanation usually given of the manner in which alcohol produces a reduction of the temperature of the body. It has two very marked effects on the organs of circulation. In the first place it quickens the action of the heart—the heart under its influence beats with increased frequency and with additional force; in the second place it relaxes the blood-vessels on the surface of the body, by paralysing what are called the *vaso-motor* nerves *i.e.* the nerves which control the condition of the walls of the blood-vessels as regards their state of contraction or relaxation. Alcohol thus leads to dilatation of the peripheral vessels, and the blood, therefore, under its influence flows freely to the surface of the body. Hence the comfortable warmth and the diffused glow which is felt soon after taking a dose of spirits, and hence the common practice of taking spirits to keep out the cold. But it is asserted that instead of "keeping out the cold," this practice, under certain circumstances, may have the contrary effect of letting in the cold. For, as the blood is brought to the surface in greater quantity on account both of the dilatation of the vessels and the increased rapidity of the heart's action, it parts with its heat, by radiation from the surface, with greater readiness, and as the blood, cooled at the surface, is rapidly carried away into the interior of the body, the blood in the internal organs, and indeed the whole mass of blood in the body, becomes quickly reduced in temperature. This is the theory, but I am not aware of any experiment on record in which any noteworthy fall of temperature has been observed during this period of cardiac excitement; reduction of temperature is the characteristic of the stage of depression from alcoholic poisoning when the cardiac action is weakened. Nor need we conclude that the general experience of mankind as to the effect of a moderate dose of alcohol in conferring, for a time, upon the human organism a resisting power against the injurious influence of cold, is without foundation. The subjective feeling of warmth, which, under such circumstances, is universally admitted to occur, is not an unimportant fact; whereas, a slight lowering of the body temperature, even should it be proved to occur, is not inconsistent with perfect health, provided no sense of chill accompanies it. It is a well-known fact that subjective feelings of warmth and chilliness are by no means wholly dependent upon, or proportional to, the actual temperature of the body as registered by the thermometer. In the shivering stage of ague, when the teeth are chattering and the subjective feeling of cold is intense, the thermometer often registers a body temperature six to eight degrees above the normal.

Now before we accept the theory of the alcoholo-phobists that alcohol, in any dose, small or large, lessens rather than increases the power of resisting the injurious influence of cold, let us examine the question more carefully, for it has a most important practical bearing. When, on a bitterly cold night, we send out to our coachman a glass of hot brandy and water, are we running a great risk of having him laid up with inflammation of the lungs the next day? When the country doctor is summoned, on a cold night, out of his warm bed to take a drive of four or five miles in the teeth of a cold east wind, is he running increased risk of taking cold by drinking a tumblerful of mulled claret before he starts?

In order to answer these questions satisfactorily we must ask another question. In what way does exposure to cold affect us injuriously? And it must always be remembered that I am not referring to continuous exposure to the cold of the Arctic regions, but to such temporary and occasional exposure as is common in a changeable temperate climate like our own. In order to answer the question I have asked I will quote two short passages from Huxley's well-known Elementary Lessons in Physiology:—

"The feeling of warmth or cold is the result of an excitation of sensory nerves distributed to the skin" (p. 192). "When exposure to cold gives a man catarrh, or inflammation of the lungs, or diarrhœa, or some still more serious affection of the abdominal viscera, the disease is brought about through the nervous system. The impression made by the cold on the skin is conveyed to the nervous centres, and so influences the vaso-motor nerves (as the nerves which govern the walls of the vessels are called) of the organ affected as to cause their partial paralysis, and produce that state of congestion (or undue distension of the vessels) which so commonly ends in inflammation" (p. 53).

It is clear, then, that if mischief arises from exposure to cold, it is due to an impression made on the peripheral nerves, and that the injury to deep-seated organs is usually caused by a reflex influence acting along the nerves of those organs. Now when such injurious impression is made on the peripheral nerves it is almost invariably remembered as a disagreeable feeling of chilliness. But, I contend, a moderate dose of any warm beverage containing alcohol, judiciously taken before temporary exposure to cold, does commonly tend to prevent this injurious impression, and it does so, in the first place, by quickening the circulation and so conveying the warm blood more freely and frequently through the cutaneous vessels, and secondly, by its tendency to relax the vessels of the skin, it counteracts the opposite tendency of cold which is to constrict them, and so, by maintaining a free circulation of warm blood over the surface of the body, the sensitive extremities of the peripheral nerves remain bathed, as it were, in warm fluid, instead of being starved and chilled, through constriction of the blood-vessels, by the external cold.

It is argued, and to a certain extent, no doubt, truly, that the

contraction of the vessels of the surface by cold is a natural conservative effort by which the blood is kept from coming to the surface of the body and there parting with its heat by evaporation, &c. But, apart from the fact that in a very cold atmosphere little heat can be lost by evaporation, it is pretty well known that the so-called conservative processes of nature prove often very indiscriminating processes, and, in this particular instance, it is precisely when this process reaches an extreme degree that the baneful effects of chill are produced; and it would seem that in the careful and moderate use of alcoholic beverages we have an agent that will help us to resist this extreme degree of nature's conservatism![1]

Another question of the greatest practical importance in connection with the alcohol controversy is this: Does the use of alcohol increase the bodily strength? does it increase our capacity for exertion, muscular or mental? does it, if taken when the body is fatigued, fit us for renewed effort? This is a question of great interest to a great diversity of persons; to the sportsman as well as to the student, to the military commander and to the employer of labour, to the sedentary man of business as well as to the trained athlete.

An interesting contribution to the solution of this problem is the report by Dr. Parkes, "On the Issue of a Spirit Ration during the Ashanti Campaign:"—

"When," he asks, "as so frequently happens in campaigns, soldiers are marching nearly the whole of the day, and can obtain their regular food only late in the evening, what can be given to lessen the sense of great fatigue, and to enable them, not only to continue the march, but to be ready for any emergency which may arise? The usual resort is to a spirit ration, and there is no doubt that for a time this exerts a reviving effect. But is it the best thing which can be given, and are its advantages without alloy? The first effect of alcohol, when given in a moderate dose, is reviving; but this effect is transient. The reviving effect goes off after, at the utmost, two and a half

(1) Dr. Brunton, with whose observations on the "Physiological Action of Alcohol" I, in the main, agree, makes the following judicious remarks on the point discussed above:—

"While alcohol is thus injurious during *prolonged* exposure to cold, the case is very different after the exposure is over, and its administration may thus be very beneficial. Supposing a man after being out all day comes home much chilled to a warm fireside. He stands before the grate and turns himself round and round, but he cannot get himself warmed through. The cutaneous vessels so long contracted by the cold will not relax all at once, and the deeper tissues gain heat very slowly, just as they very slowly lose it by mere conduction through the skin. If a little spirit be now taken, and especially if it be taken hot, the cutaneous vessels dilate, allow the blood to circulate through them, and become warmed by the fire; it returns warm to the internal organs, and soon the whole body is in a pleasing glow. At the same time the dilatation of the cutaneous vessels opens new channels to the blood which has been pent up in the interior of the body, and thus lessens any tendency to congestion or inflammation of internal organs, so that a glass of hot brandy and water at the proper time may possibly prevent a bronchitis or pleurisy." He also goes on to admit that there are circumstances under which alcohol may be beneficial "even while the exposure continues."—*The Practitioner*, vol. xvi. p. 132.

miles of additional march, and sometimes much before this. . . . It is clear, then, that alcohol is not a very trustworthy aid; for supposing that a commanding officer, having marched twelve or fourteen miles, finds his men weary, and, not being able to halt and feed them, orders an issue of spirits of an amount sufficient to revive but not to depress. The first effect will be good, but in less than an hour his men will be as weary as before, or probably more so. If he then reissues the spirit within so short a period of time, it is certain that in the case of many men, perhaps the majority, the marching power will be lessened. . . . It appears to me, therefore, that spirits, as an issue, should be kept for emergencies, as when after great fatigue a sudden but short exertion is required, or when, a march being ended, there is great depression and failure of the heart's action."

Sir Anthony Home, who was principal medical officer on the Gold Coast, speaks as follows:—

"Men cannot keep in health on poor, insipid, badly cooked rations. Under these circumstances I believe that, after their day's work, rum is desirable (beer and wine are impossible of attainment). There is a moment in which we may so keep up the system of a man tired to death by over-exertion as to bridge over the period in which lassitude ends in the beginning of disease. Good food will probably do this best, but it is rarely at hand when wanted; and even if it were, the digestive functions participate in the general lassitude, so that neither digestion nor assimilation goes on sufficiently. At this time a glass of beer or rum sends the machine on again,"

Dr. Parkes gives also some results of experiments on the effect of rum on men making long marches in this country. His object was to compare its reviving and sustaining effects with those of meat extract and coffee. As I shall explain hereafter, my own view is, that the best effects would be produced by combining these latter with a small quantity of spirit. A few brief extracts from the evidence of the men themselves will best serve my immediate purpose. One says, "After the rum[1] he felt a decided reviving effect; it gave him a spurt; this was not lasting." Another says, "On the first day, after the first dose, felt at first much revived; felt easy and marched better; after two miles felt thirst and then got weak; the good effect of the rum had passed off." A third says, "The first dose of rum seemed to quicken his appetite and increase his thirst; for about two miles or so felt lighter and revived, and as if he could have jumped over a five-barred gate with all his accoutrements on; then this effect entirely went off, and he felt as tired as before." All three men preferred the meat extract.

Mr. R. E. Carrington, of Guy's Hospital, who has published an excellent paper on Alcohol, in the *Guy's Hospital Gazette*, calls attention to the habits of the Cambridge crew when training, as he says, for

"Perhaps one of the severest tests of muscular power that can possibly occur. I find the system pursued to consist of good hours, a moderate amount of good,

(1) They had already marched 13¼ miles.

wholesome food, a moderate amount of stimulants, with plenty of exercise. The stimulants may consist of a pint of beer for dinner, and a similar quantity for supper. A glass or two of good port or sound claret are generally taken during the day. Even champagne is given. Spirits are against all regulations, and are never given, for it is found they do not tend to strengthen in any way. It is found, then, that a regimen like this . . . . is the one most calculated to call forth the best strength of the men."

It would seem, therefore, to be capable of demonstration, that the daily consumption of a moderate amount of alcoholic beverage is consistent with the most perfect development of muscular energy. It is also clear that a moderate dose of alcohol enables a man to put forth a sudden spurt of muscular effort. But it is also clear that if it be taken by itself it does not long sustain muscular strength. It rather enables a man to draw upon his reserves of strength than to produce new energy. But if it can be combined with something which will also sustain—as meat extract, or meat soup, or coffee, tea, or milk—it may prove most valuable in tiding over that shorter or longer period before these sustaining foods can take effect. It is especially useful when a short and sharp effort has to be made before a prolonged rest, since its stimulant effect is followed by a sedative one. Unlike some other stimulants, such as tea and coffee, it brings in its wake that greatest of all restorers, sleep. With regard to the effect of moderate doses of alcohol on mental work much difference of opinion exists. Many students find that instead of helping them in their work it hinders them. It dulls their receptive faculties. Others, on the contrary, find real help in moderate quantities of wine. These differences of effect would seem to depend greatly on differences in constitutional temperament. It is certainly capable, for a time, of calling some of the mental faculties into increased activity. Some of the best things that have ever been said have been said under the influence of wine. The circulation through the brain is quickened, the nervous tissue receives more nourishment, the imagination is stimulated, and ideas flow more rapidly, but it is doubtful if the power of close reasoning be not always diminished. It is useful for reviving mental power when from accidental circumstances, such as want of food, &c., it has been exhausted, but it should never be relied upon as an aid to continuous effort or close application.

The third and last point which I shall have space to consider under the general properties of alcohol is whether it does or does not promote digestion. Under certain conditions it certainly does. It is a physiological fact that when a small or moderate dose of alcohol comes in contact with the mucous membrane of the stomach it promotes the secretion of the gastric juice. And when the system is fatigued and overworked, and particularly when the mind has been especially engaged, and the other organs have been inactive, some

stimulant is often needed to excite the gastric circulation, and to promote the secretion of the digestive juices. A jaded, overworked man of business comes appetiteless to his dinner; a dessert-spoonful of brandy will often induce appetite, and enable him to enjoy and digest his dinner, and no harm will come of it, unless it becomes a frequent habit. A distinguished medical teacher and physician of this town tells me, that after an exhausting day of teaching work, he frequently finds he has no appetite for food until he has taken a glass of sherry. I have less hesitation in thus calling attention to the aid which alcohol occasionally gives to the stomach when taken judiciously, since I shall have occasion by-and-bye to show how, when habitually taken in excess, it utterly destroys the digestive power.

I now proceed to pass in review the various beverages which we commonly drink in this country, into which alcohol enters as a constituent. The distilled spirits chiefly used in England are—brandy, containing fifty to sixty per cent. of alcohol; gin, forty-nine to sixty per cent.; whisky, fifty to sixty per cent.; and rum, sixty to seventy-seven per cent. Of all these, whisky at the present moment enjoys the greatest share of popularity; the only reason for this that I know of is that good whisky costs less than good brandy, and that it is generally believed to be less subject to falsification than other spirits. Its flavour is also more agreeable to many persons than that of brandy. One of our highest authorities on this subject thinks, however, that whisky "is inferior in delicacy to good brandy,"[1] and he calls attention to the fact that all brandy in the ordinary market is coloured with burnt sugar, and adds very pertinently, "considering that our reason for using brandy (instead of wine) is to get rid of the saccharine and other substances requiring digestion, it seems highly inconsistent to add sugar to the spirit just to please the eye." He points out also the importance of using an unsweetened and uncoloured spirit in a particular disease where sugar is inadmissible. "The Englishman likes his veal white

(1) Dr. Druitt: "More Notes on Wines and Spirits," *Medical Times and Gazette*, 1875 and 1876.

This writer goes on to say: "As for the poor old decrepit creatures who are past work and past hope, but who want to make their hearts beat a little more lively, they take their little glass of gin—perhaps "three-ha'porth"—and who is to blame them? Certainly it is not for the well-fed philanthropist nor the rich and luxurious invalid, who can command every comfort, to throw derision and scorn at the poor old gin-drinker. Really it would seem as if common sense and chemistry lost their hold upon the mind of every one who writes against gin. Any one who knows practically the use and abuse of spirits, knows that the best way of making the drinker satisfied with a small quantity is to flavour it strongly with aromatics, so that the stomach may be gratified quickly without any quantity of spirit in excess. We are told that gin contains oil of juniper, oil of bitter almonds, potassa, alum, nitric acid, oil of vitriol or sulphuric acid, and butyric acid. Chemistry stands aghast at such a description; still more so does the cause of true temperance—for what good cause was ever carried by exaggeration?"

and his brandy dark; but both are better without any tampering with their colour. I have had some myself (*i.e.* pure, colourless brandy) from the house of Boulestin of Cognac." Rum is very little drunk amongst the upper classes in this country. It has, however, a fair share of popularity amongst the poor. It is the spirit which is used in the army and navy. Its peculiar flavour is due to the presence of butyric ether, of which it contains a considerable quantity. Gin is also more popular among the poor than among the rich. It was originally a medicine, and under the designation of spirit of juniper has appeared in every pharmacopœia for the last two hundred years. It is the spirit of all others which, in this town, is especially subject to falsification. But there is a spirit called Plymouth gin, distilled in the town of Plymouth, which is very pure and wholesome, quite as much so as whisky, and it is, I believe, a little cheaper.

The use of wine as a beverage has greatly increased during the last sixteen or seventeen years in this country. Since 1859 the imports from Portugal have doubled, those from Spain trebled, and those from France increased tenfold. Now seeing that the production of the best wines is strictly limited, we may safely infer that there is more bad wine in this country at present that at any previous time. The best qualities of wine are without doubt the most wholesome of all alcoholic beverages. The alcohol that exists in them is modified by its combination with the delicate ethers and other constituents found in all well-fermented high-quality wines that have been long in bottle. A great physiological authority has said that the effects of all alcoholic drinks depend entirely upon the quantity of alcohol they contain, and that equivalent quantities of pure alcohol would produce identically the same effect. Now it is simply impossible that this reasoning can be sound. To make it sound it would be necessary to compare the effects of every kind of alcoholic beverage (including ginger-beer, which is an alcoholic drink, though a very weak one) in a number of distinct cases, and under varying circumstances, with the effects of exactly an equivalent quantity of pure alcohol. This alone could justify a sweeping general conclusion such as I have quoted. But the results of such observations and experiments as have been made are to the contrary effect. It would really seem as though the alcoholo-phobists thought any argument good enough to throw at the head of alcohol. Take the following: "Dr. Smith found that the amount of carbonic acid (eliminated under the influence of alcohol) was reduced in men, as I have found it in the lower animals, so that the fact of the general reduction may be considered as established beyond disputation."[1] If this be so, then I say many alcoholic

(1) Richardson: Cantor Lectures, p. 72.

beverages act differently from an equivalent quantity of alcohol, and Dr. Smith shall himself bear testimony to the fact. He found,[1] with regard to ardent spirits, that "some increase and others decrease the amount of carbonic acid expired." In one case (with alcohol) there was an average increase of expired carbonic acid per minute 0·18 and 0·8 grains, on two occasions. In another case, average increase of carbonic acid expired 0·74 grains per minute. In a third case with rum, there was an average increase 0·26 grains per minute. In a fourth case, with very fine old rum, maximum increase 0·1 and 1·5 in two persons. In other cases, with three ounces of sherry, he observed an average increase of 0·19 and 0·3; with half-a-pint of Dublin stout increase ·85 and ·81 grains; with half a pint of fine old ale, increase 0·6 and 0·27 grains per minute. One is inclined to ask what is evidence worth when a man has it all his own way? What is evidence worth without cross-examination?

I need hardly say that those who know anything practically about wines (and the only way of knowing wines is by drinking them; a physiologist or a chemist who drinks water only can know very little about the different effects of different wines) are quite agreed that the effect of a natural wine may be very different from that of an equivalent quantity of alcohol. I have myself observed recently two remarkable instances which support this statement. Two gentlemen, suffering at different periods from the same kind of local inflammatory affection, which every kind of alcoholic beverage aggravated, accidentally drank some very fine Chateau Margaux that had been many years in bottle; in both instances not only was there no local irritation produced by two or three large glasses of the wine, but the general refreshing influence it exercised on their condition of depressed health was most marked. In neither of these cases could half a glass of sherry be borne with comfort.

The original quality of a wine, its freedom from admixture with added alcohol or other substances, and its maturity, are the conditions which determine its action on the human organism. It is exceedingly likely that the purely exhilarating effect of certain fine old wines, when taken in moderate quantity, may be due to the circumstance that some of the natural constituents of the wine combined with the alcohol determine the complete decomposition of the latter into simple elements or its rapid elimination after its stimulating effects have passed away; so that no undecomposed alcohol and no secondary products of its decomposition, such as acetic acid or aldehyde, remain in the organism. Analogous instances certainly occur in the use of other narcotic substances. Opium taken by itself has a very different and far more disagreeable effect than when combined with salts of ammonia or other substances which excite the

(1) Proceedings of Royal Society, 1859.

action of the secreting organs. It is the same with the hydrate of chloral. Taken by itself it often produces much headache and drowsiness after its soporific effects have passed away; but when combined with an equal quantity of bromide of potassium, a medicine which acts as a stimulant to certain organs of secretion, the unpleasant consequences are generally wholly obviated.

It must not be expected that cheap wines can be good wines. There are a great number of persons always ready to give good prices for good wines. Cheap wines are either fabricated wines, and therefore unwholesome, or they are poor, acid, flavourless, natural wines that will not keep. The latter may not always be unwholesome, especially if their excess of acidity be corrected by admixture with effervescing alkaline waters; but they possess none of the generous, exhilarating, nourishing properties of good sound wines. So recently as last year the respectable wine merchants of Paris, Bordeaux, and other towns petitioned the French Legislature to interfere and put a stop to the wholesale fabrication of red wines. They stated that it was becoming so common a branch of industry to take a barrel of sour white wine, and by means of artificial colouring matters to convert it into a brilliant red saleable article, that the credit and reputation of the French wines were likely to be seriously affected by it.

The best and most wholesome wines for general use as beverages are the good, sound, matured wines of Bordeaux and Burgundy. The finer and older the wine, the more perfect will be its tonic properties. As very light refreshing beverages, containing but a very small percentage of alcohol, there are some kinds of hock and still moselle to be obtained at very moderate prices. The sparkling wines of Champagne are pre-eminent for their rapid stimulating effects. No beverage proves of greater value, under certain circumstances, than a draught of champagne. It is especially useful in convalescence from some acute diseases, and I have known it prove most helpful under certain conditions of prolonged mental strain. Indeed the genuine light sound wine of Champagne can be easily distinguished by its effects from the spurious imitations. These often produce depression, and never the peculiar buoyancy of true champagne. In the case of very delicate stomachs, it answers best when mixed with an equal quantity of soda water.

Of all the wines that are consumed in this country, port and sherry stand responsible for producing the greatest amount of mischief. An incalculable amount of evil is wrought by sherry, and especially by the so-called dry sherries. Ever since it has been the fashion to prefer dry sherries, dried sherries have been provided in abundance. Most sherries (and ports also) are made-up wines, and contain, roughly speaking, about twice as much alcohol as other wines; but of all made-up wines, the made-up dry sherry is the most pernicious.

Nor have they even the merit of being cheap, for many of them are sold for high prices. The dryness is given them by nitrous ether—a horrible and bad imitation of the amontillado flavour—sulphate of lime, tannin, alum, and other atrocities. Now this falsification would not be practicable if men who ask for dry sherries (and the same remark applies to many of the so-called dry champagnes) understood what is the real meaning of the word "dry" applied to wines. It simply means a wine free from added spirit or sugar, and in which the natural saccharine matter of the grape has undergone a more or less complete fermentative destruction. It is a negative not a positive quality. It means the absence of sweetness, and not the addition of something which shall give the wine a positive quality of dryness. In every case a good sherry is soft to the mouth, and when a sherry leaves in the mouth a sense of dryness, and the tongue or palate rough, it is perfectly certain that you are not drinking a natural dry wine, no matter what price you have paid for it. Now these astringent matters added to sherries are exceedingly unwholesome, for besides the hurtful qualities of the original bad wine to which they are added, they tend to diminish the activity of the secreting organs, and so retain in the blood the pernicious compound of which they form part. The following remarks on dry sherries are taken from one of a series of letters on Spanish Vineyards, &c., published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in October and November, 1875.

"Four different kinds of dry Jerez wines are shipped to England: natural wines, understood to contain no added spirit; vintage wines, the produce of individual vineyards, and occasionally of specific years; solera wines, such as fine amontillado and olorosa; and finally, blended wines. The natural wines of which I speak are not the wines commonly advertised in England at low rates under that designation. Jerez wines perfectly free from spirit cannot possibly be sold cheap in England, because they require to be at least five years old; whereas the wines offered as natural are generally young unripe wines, whose fermentation has not yet terminated, and which come far more frequently from Seville or La Mancha than from the Jerez district. Such wines are necessarily unwholesome, for heat revives the fermentative action, which completes itself in that delicate organism, the human stomach."

The poor man's ideal of wine is port. It is sweet, it is fiery, and it has a good rich colour! But of all the hurtful mixtures that is sold to the poor man, public-house port is, perhaps, the worst. I need not enumerate the various substances with which it is adulterated, but many of these are astringents, and check the action of the secreting organs. Good sound port is useful in some forms of illness, but its palatableness makes the poor much too eager for it. A method of removing the attractiveness of port wine when given to the poor is amusingly described in those clever sketches of parsons' wives, published under the title of the Owlet of Owlstone Edge. The

particular parson's wife in question has strong educational tendencies of rather a stern quality; her husband is speaking to her about a poor invalid in the parish; she replies, "I sent him a pint of port, putting a lump of camphor in it by way of precaution." "Precaution, my lamb?" exclaims the astonished parson. "Yes, nobody will drink port wine for pleasure that has camphor in it. It is just beastly as a beverage, though extremely wholesome!"

Beer contains less alcohol and less acid than wine; but it contains a variety of other substances, such as sugar, cellulose, dextrine, albuminous matters, &c., held in solution or suspension, which render it especially prone to further fermentation and decomposing changes; and though the presence of these starchy, saccharine, and other matters may make it a more sustaining beverage to the hard-working man, it renders it quite unfit for the use of delicate stomachs, especially where there is any tendency to gouty mal-assimilation. Beer is essentially a fermented infusion of malt, and the addition of hops to beer was an afterthought, the credit of which is given to the German monks of the eleventh century. Hops were added for the purpose of giving it aroma and for preserving it from decomposition. For many centuries this German hop-containing beer was imported in large quantities into this country, to the extent of 800,000 barrels a year.[1]

Before the introduction into England of tea and coffee, beer was much more largely consumed by the upper classes, and especially by ladies, than it now is, and the same remark probably applies to the consumption of animal food—two circumstances which may, to a certain extent, account for the gouty inheritance which has been handed down to so many of us. Sound beer, in which the fermentation is thoroughly complete, is a useful beverage in moderate quantity for healthy persons who lead an active or laborious life in the open air. It is useful, too, in small quantities, for delicate, under-nourished children, and should be taken with their meals. It will often help them to grow fat more quickly than cod-liver oil. It is, however, a most frequent cause of troublesome dyspepsia in persons of sedentary habits, and this is especially the case with the commoner kinds, which have probably not ceased to ferment, and which are sold, often in an adulterated form, to the poor. It is important also to remember that

(1) England is now the largest beer-producing and beer-consuming country in the world. Its annual produce exceeds 880,000,000 gallons, and of this scarcely 2 per cent. is exported. Germany produces (1872) about 616,000,000 gallons, and of this it is calculated that Southern Germany consumes four times as much as Northern Germany. Austria produces 264,000,000. North America 242,000,000. France and Belgium about 154,000,000 each. Paris, it is calculated, consumes only from 4,400,000 to 6,600,000 gallons of beer annually, compared with 66,000,000 to 88,000,000 gallons of wine.—*Vide* M. Radau, "La Science et la Fabrication de la Bière," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 15, 1876.

beer in large quantities is certainly a depressant, and that no greater mistake can be made than to give it freely to labouring men while at work with the view of strengthening them. Bearing on this point, Dr. Parkes gives a very interesting account of the use of a drink of thin boiled oatmeal during some extremely heavy work lately performed on the Great Western Railway during the change from the broad to the narrow gauge:—

"It was necessary to take up and relay the rails in the shortest possible time, and the same men were obliged to be kept at work for many hours [sometimes eighteen hours in the day]. The summer days were chosen, so that almost literally the men worked night and day, stopping only for meals and a little sleep. They took their ordinary meals, and beer with their meals if they pleased, but during the long periods of the work they were supplied with nothing but a drink of oatmeal boiled in water, and beer and spirits were prohibited. Each man had an allowance per diem of one pound of oatmeal and half a pound of sugar, and so important was this deemed that a man was told off specially for every twenty men, and was solely employed in boiling and taking the oatmeal drink to the men. This liquid was drunk in large quantities, and was most highly approved of. The character of the work and the temper of the men were much better, in the opinion of the engineers, than would have been the case if beer and spirits had been issued." [1]

In speaking of the use of alcoholic beverages I have frequently had to employ the word "moderate," and the question may well be asked, what does this word mean? It has been calculated that the daily consumption of an ounce and a half of absolute alcohol is the limit of moderation for a strong healthy man, and this will correspond pretty nearly with three ounces of brandy (*i.e.* rather less than the third of half a pint), rather less than half a pint of the stronger wines, such as port and sherry, rather less than a pint of the weaker wines, such as claret and hock, and a pint and a half of beer.

The non-alcoholic class of stimulating beverages must now receive a brief consideration. There exists some doubt as to the precise date when the use of tea, coffee, and chocolate became general in this country. In "Pepys's Diary" there is the following entry under September 25th, 1661: "I sent for a cup of tea (a Chinese drink), of which I had never drunk before." And Isaac Disraeli states that he had heard of Oliver Cromwell's teapot in the possession of a collector. In 1660 the price of tea is stated to have been sixty shillings the pound, and it does not seem to have been introduced into general use until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its adoption as a popular beverage was strenuously opposed by many. "In Germany, Hanneman considered tea-dealers as immoral members of society, lying in wait for men's purses and lives." [2] He was equally opposed to the use of coffee. "Hanemann se désolait de l'abus que ses compatriotes faisaient du café. Il lui

(1) Parkes: "On the Issue of a Spirit Ration during the Ashanti Campaign."
(2) Disraeli's "Curiosities of Literature."

reprochait d'avoir altéré le caractère national, détruit la solidité du jugement, la fermeté de volonté chez le peuple allemand, pour ne lui laisser que de la loquacité, de la vacillation et de la mobilité fugitive!"[1] In an article on Duncan Forbes in the *Edinburgh Review*, of 1816, the writer, alluding to the fact that Duncan Forbes had presented to the Government a scheme for punishing the use of tea, likens the progress of this famous plant to the progress of truth—"suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land, from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless efforts of time and its own virtues."

But it must be admitted that the abuse of tea and coffee may be attended by serious injuries to the human organism. The pernicious effect of the active principle of coffee—caffeine, which is identical with theine, the active principle of tea—on certain animals is well shown in an elaborate paper by Dr. Leven which I have already mentioned. He found that one to ten centigrammes of caffeine acted as a fatal poison when given to frogs, first quickening the action of the heart and the respiratory organs, and then inducing a tetanic state. To guinea-pigs fifteen to twenty centigrammes proved fatal, first increasing the action of the heart, which in one instance was so rapid that the pulsation could not be counted, and then followed by paralysis of that organ. The same results were obtained with rabbits. One gramme given to a dog did not prove poisonous; it increased the activity of the heart and the respiratory and secretory organs, but after three or four hours the symptoms disappeared.

M. Leven, in short, established as the result of his experiments that the active principle of coffee acts first on the heart, and quickens the circulation and respiration, and that in the second place it increases the tension of the blood-vessels—an effect, it will be noticed, precisely the opposite of that of alcohol, which diminishes the tension of the vessels. It irritates the nervous centres, the brain and spinal cord, and also the nerves themselves. "It excites the nerve-cells," says M. Leven "not only by its stimulating effect on the circulation, but also by a special excitant action due to the caffeine itself." The results of M. Leven's physiological experiments correspond precisely with the symptoms which have been observed to occur in consequence of excessive indulgence in tea or coffee. Coffee contains seventeen per cent. of caffeine, and it is reckoned that in the quantity daily consumed by an ordinary Parisian there is enough to poison five guinea-pigs! M. Leven quotes the case of a young medical man who suffered from coffee intoxication. For six months he had taken five

(1) Docteur M. Leven: "Action Physiologique et Médicamenteuse de la Cafeine," *Archives de Physiologie*, 1868.

or six cups of coffee daily. He experienced violent palpitations, tremblings in the arms, cramps in the legs, a convulsive cough, and permanent contraction of the pupils. When he discontinued the use of coffee these symptoms disappeared.

I have, again and again, had occasion to observe the characteristic symptoms which the abuse of tea and coffee produce. The most common are distressing persistent palpitations, an irritable excited state of the nervous system, a sense of dread of impending calamity, throbbings in the head and sometimes an approach to giddiness, inability to sleep, obstinate dyspepsia—only to be relieved by abstaining from its cause. I believe it is the experience of most hospital physicians that a very large proportion of the cases of dyspepsia which crowd the out-patient rooms of the London hospitals are induced by the constant large consumption of tea by the poor. The disturbing effect of abuse of tea on the action of the heart was not likely to escape the notice of so acute an observer as Dr. Stokes of Dublin, and in his work on diseases of the heart he calls attention to the following amongst other cases. A gentleman of great intellectual attainments had been in the habit of passing a great part of the night in literary and scientific labours; during the evening and through the night he was in the habit of drinking largely of tea, without any thought of its doing him harm. At length he became subject to paroxysms of quick and vehement action of the heart, accompanied by intense distress and oppression, with a painful sense of impending death. He became greatly depressed in spirits, and believed he should die in one of these dreadful paroxysms. On examination after the paroxysm had passed off, his heart was found to be perfectly sound. But a very curious affection of the nervous system became permanent. He found the greatest difficulty in walking on level ground, he had an irresistible feeling that he should slip and fall; and on one occasion, wishing to visit a friend who lived near him, after many ineffectual attempts to walk on the level, he actually proceeded to his friend's house on all-fours.

I have already alluded to an antagonism which I believe to exist between the effects of tea and coffee on the one hand and those of alcohol on the other. They both excite the heart to increased action, but the excitement produced by alcohol rapidly passes away and leaves a state of calm or (if the dose has been large) depression, and hence its tendency to promote sleep; tea and coffee also excite the heart, but the excitement produced by these beverages does, in many cases, leave behind it a state of irritability instead of calm, and hence their tendency to prevent sleep. Alcohol relaxes the blood-vessels, and so diminishes vascular tensions; coffee and tea increase vascular tension. Alcohol, in its secondary effect, soothes the nervous system; tea and coffee irritate the nervous system. It is a well-known fact that a

cup of strong tea or coffee dispels the effects of slight excess in wine; it is, perhaps, not so well known that a few teaspoonfuls of brandy or a glass or two of sherry will remove the nervous irritability produced by tea or coffee. I fear much of the "sly drinking" on the part of women is induced by states of nervous irritability originally excited by over-indulgence in tea. The practical issue of all this is, that excessive indulgence in any stimulant, whether alcoholic or non-alcoholic, is most hurtful. Of the grateful, refreshing, and invigorating properties of tea and coffee taken in moderation, and occasionally rather than habitually, no one can be more sensible than I am; but I am convinced that if a stimulant is needed, as it often is by men of business under occasional pressure of work, the best results will be obtained by taking the bane and the antidote together—a small quantity of tea or coffee with a small quantity of an alcoholic beverage. When what I have termed tea-dyspepsia is produced, the only plan is to leave off drinking that beverage for three or four months, after which its use may often be resumed with impunity. Chocolate is a very useful substitute for tea or coffee, but it does not possess the property of immediate stimulation to anything like the same degree.

It will not be expected that I should speak in this place of the use of alcohol in the treatment of disease, but there is another most important branch of the subject, and one of most serious public interest, which I have not yet alluded to, except incidentally; I mean the influence of excessive indulgence in alcoholic drinks as a cause of disease. What are the physical effects on the organism of the abuse of alcohol? In every large hospital in a great city like this many cases of serious and fatal disease are always to be found which owe their existence to intemperance. The general public are little aware of the enormous amount of strong spirits which are consumed by some of the working classes. Cabmen, Covent Garden and dock labourers, the inferior class of lawyers' clerks, and compositors are amongst the worst offenders. I will mention two instructive instances. A cabman applied as an out-patient to King's College Hospital, suffering from a grave form of disease the result of spirit-drinking. "You drink hard?" said the doctor. "Pretty fair," said the cabman. "What do you drink?" "Whisky, mostly." "How much whisky a day?" "Can't say exactly, sometimes more, sometimes less." "But give us a rough average." "Well, I s'pose, one day with another, about a couple o' quarts a day." "But," exclaimed the doctor, "that would cost you eight shillings a day; how can you afford that?" "Oh!" answered cabby; "it ain't a matter of affordin' if a man gives his mind to it!" Now this quantity seemed so enormous that I mentioned the case to one of the inspectors of police at Great Marlborough Street, and he assured me that from his experience of

cabmen he did not think the estimate excessive. The second case was that of a dock labourer, also suffering from serious, irremediable disease caused by alcohol. The dialogue that ensued was to much the same effect. "What do you drink?" "Mostly whisky." "How much a day?" "Well, I'm never the worse for liquor." "But how much a day?" "Well, perhaps about a pint a day, more or less." Now here was a dock labourer spending at least two shillings a day, that is fourteen shillings a week, on Whisky! and at middle age he becomes a charge on the charity of the public. Yet this man appeared when in the hospital to be an intelligent, well-disposed man. "He had taken the whisky in his heavy work thinking it would strengthen him."

It is this ignorance that we should strive to remove. We shall never cure the labouring man of his intemperate habits by trying to force tea and coffee down his throat. Education, as Mr. Lowe has said, may be expected to do much to check intemperance; but it should be education in which a knowledge of the plain simple laws of physiology and health have a place.

It must not be forgotten, in considering what is the true remedy for intemperance amongst the poor, that drunkenness is frequently the offspring as well as the parent of misery. Want of education, improvident marriages, dirty and unwholesome dwellings, are all of them directly and indirectly causes of intemperance; and if we would diminish habits of drunkenness amongst the lower classes, we should trust rather to the removal of influences such as these, than to the promulgation of exaggerated statements as to the baneful effects of the moderate use of alcoholic beverages.

J. Burney Yeo, M.D.

# MAZZINI ON THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE following pages are a translation of two series of articles by Mazzini, which appeared in the *Italia del Popolo* in 1857, and in the *Roma del Popolo* in 1871. The first, entitled "Slav Letters," are an historical, literary, and political appreciation of the Slavonian movement; the second, entitled "International Policy," had for their subject the Eastern question, from the point of view of the policy befitting, in his mind, a regenerated Italy, the natural ally and leader of the new and coming nationalities of Europe.

It is possible that to many English readers Mazzini may still be no more than the great Italian who foresaw and laboured for his country's regeneration. But those familiar with his writings and his life know him further, amongst other things, as the fountain-head of a European movement and idea; as a man above all other men imbued with the conception of nationality as something representing not only a right to be claimed and enjoyed, but a providential function to be assumed, and a mission in the world's organization and progress to be fulfilled. He looked to the new nations as the natural allies of his country; and to both as opening out a future to Europe, in which a permanent peace and a real balance of power would be built up on the solid basis of peoples grouped in large and approximately equal masses of population, united together not by the accidents of conquest, but by virtue of the natural and permanent affinities of past history, of geographical position, of language, of race, and, beyond all, of a part, a task to be fulfilled.

His interest in the Slavonian movement was intense; his familiarity with it in all its phases, literary and political, was intimate and profound. I cannot but think that the brief sketch which immediately follows, written *currente calamo* for one of the daily organs of Mazzinian propagandism in Italy, will be felt to be of public value and interest in this country at the present time. The main purpose of the Letters, fugitive in form, but full of learning and of that philosophy of nationalities of which he was the one great master, was to indicate the reality of the Slavonian movement, its character and its tendencies, and to point out how that which to him was providential and inevitable might best be forwarded by Europe and turned to good account.

The reader unfamiliar with Mazzini's writings cannot fail to be strongly impressed by the positive, the absolute character of his prophecies and views concerning the future of the Slavonian race, with the four groups into which they will divide.

The most noteworthy and characteristic example of this remarkable definiteness in his largest views and most daring prophecies

will be found at the close of the first series of articles in the following reconstruction of the map of Europe on the basis of true nationalities:—

"The Europe of the future—no matter what men say to-day—will have an Iberian peninsula, in which Spain and Portugal will make one; a Scandinavian nation, embracing Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; a German nation; a confederation of the Alps, which will include Savoy and the German Tyrol; the Slavonians divided into the four groups of which I have spoken; a Greece extending to the Balkan and presiding in Byzantium, which will be the free centre of the races now forming the Turkish Empire; and an Italy extending from the extreme point of Sicily to the Alpine circle and Trieste."

Dwelling in essentials and believing in law, the whole habit of Mazzini's mind was to eliminate the elements of opportunism and of the passing time, teaching only the future, which seemed to him worthy to be learned and helped. Great factors only found their place in his calculations of that future; but it should be remembered that the European revolution of 1848, and the unity of Italy, as indeed that of Germany also, have justified his most daring vaticinations; and that at the base of his practical political philosophy lay the idea, now generally accepted, but which he was the first to put forth, that the European problem of our day is the problem of nationalities—a problem since first he wrote and acted partly, but only partly, solved.

It may well be that Austria sees more nearly eye to eye with him as to the dangers to herself, in common with Turkey, of the Slavonian movement, than we have yet been fully conscious of, and that her timid and vacillating policy in the East may have largely originated in the fear of what he hoped.

The second series of articles throws even more light than the first on the philosophy and the mental characteristics of Mazzini. It will be found of the greatest interest to all who have any care to know the character, the dimensions, and the altitude of the man. It is the predication of what he held to be the only true foreign policy for his country; a statement of the guiding rules which ought to determine her judgment of European events, and her part in them. Mazzini was a patriot; but patriotism in any ordinary sense was but a small part of him. He was a philosopher and a priest. All his ideas had a religious origin. He believed in a providential scheme, and in the duty of men and nations to work towards its fulfilment. It was the duty of the Italian people to become a nation; it was the duty of the Italian nation, once constituted, to live at all risks for an aim, the fulfilment of its share and part in the working out of the providential scheme. "When the consciousness of that aim and duty does not exist," says Mazzini, "there is no nation, but simply a certain fraction of population destined sooner or later to be agglomerated with some other fraction or fractions. . . . Like the members of one family, the peoples are jointly bound, in proportion

to their power, to combat evil wheresoever encamped, and to promote good wheresoever it may be accomplished. The nations who stand by, inert spectators of unjust wars, will, when in their turn attacked, find in the surrounding nations mere spectators." Of the English theory of non-intervention he speaks to Italy as "a theory which is founded upon no principle, but which is the negation of every principle . . . . and this theory, which is Atheism introduced into international life, or, if you will, the deification of Egotism, reaches the extreme limits of the immoral and absurd, and would, if universally accepted, deprive us of one of the most potent levers of progress, which, as history proves, has almost always been achieved through intervention."

But although Mazzini was no mere patriot, but above all a man of ideas, he had an immense ambition for his country, a pride in her as he would have her, an affection for her at all times and even as she was, which knew no bounds. He believed that the initiative of the movement of nationalities belonged to Italy if she would seize it, and that the initiative of a new religious movement might similarly be hers. And every attempted insurrectionary movement on Italian soil for which he was responsible, was invariably undertaken by him with this twofold gigantic and exalted conception, as a present, a dominant, and an urgent motive of his mind.

One of the most splendid of his conceptions will be found towards the end of the second series. It is the mission of Europe towards Asia. Referring to this passage, which it would serve no purpose to abbreviate, I will close these introductory lines, in which I think it most fitting that no thoughts of my own should claim a place; content if in any degree I may have succeeded in arresting the attention of any reader of the pages of this Review to the following fragments of the written thought of one of the loftiest intellects and the noblest individualities which the world has known. J. STANSFELD.

## *Slavonian Letters* (1857).

### I.

From the time when the visible progress of the national agitation among the Southern Slavonians was interrupted, ten years ago, by the arts of Austria, the imbecile credulity of Jellachich, and the errors committed by the Hungarian insurrection, the Italian press has been silent with regard to this movement, more important to Europe than any, save that of Italy.

If this silence arises from the belief that the agitation of the Slavonian mind is at an end, the error is as grave as that committed by the many who have forgotten the miracles performed by the Italian people in 1848, and failed to recognise in them *a programme* certain sooner or later to be realised.

The importance of the movement towards national concentration among the various groups of the Slavonian race cannot be doubted by any one who examines their geographical position and material strength. I do not speak of Russia and Poland only; I speak of about seventy-nine millions occupying a zone of territory extending from Archangel to Thessaly, and from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Volga: such is, in fact, the cipher of the inhabitants of Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Illyria, Servia, Bohemia, Moravia, the territory of the Slovacks, &c. Readers should study the general map of Slavonia, published in 1841 by Shafarich, in which the countries inhabited by Slavonians are marked in various colours, indicating their languages, dialects, and political frontiers. All of these populations—some of them sharing in European civilisation, others oscillating between it and their primitive barbarism—are brave, robust of limb, energetic, and tenacious of will. The name they bear (Slawa) is synonymous with glory. The songs of their race's infancy, their poetic *piesmas*, are inspired by a fiery energy unknown to our populations. One hears in them the echo of I know not what deep sorrow; but often, before the close, a cry of defiance is uttered against it—a protest like that of Prometheus, an aspiration towards a grand and mysterious destiny, a sense of indomitable force which will one day rise superior over the tyranny of nature and of man. Polish valour is well known to Europe; but if we pass to the far extremity of the long zone marked out by these peoples in Europe, among the Slavonians of the south-west—to us almost unknown—and study their history during the last seventy years, we discover on every side proofs of equal valour, displayed in heroic struggles to which only an historian is wanting, and the characteristic features of a race whose nature is as rugged, stern, and invincible as the mountains among which it is developed. We discover institutions, language, and customs of an energy almost terrific; tribes amongst whom the deadliest insult that can be offered to a man is to say to him, "Thy race is known to me; all of thy ancestors died in their beds." We find popular songs and choruses like the following: "*None but God could bend our free spirit, and who knows whether God himself would not be wearied out and renounce the attempt?*" We should learn the history of deeds only to be matched in the Greek insurrection, such as those enacted by the Montenegrins against France in 1813, and by the Servians against Turkey in 1804, when Tzerni Giorgio took Belgrade, down to the *hatti-sherif* of 1829. Such is the race of whose movements we are beginning to know somewhat, and whose agitation in the name of a common country is growing year by year.

If, from the consideration of the numbers and energy of these tribes, we turn to contemplate their position in Europe, the importance of their awakening will strike us still more forcibly. The race

appears to be divided into *four groups;* the cradles, probably, of four great future nations. The first is the Polish group, apparently destined again to gather round it all the elements constituting Poland before its dismemberment; extending into Prussia as far as Posen and Lemberg, and into Austria as far as Cracow. The second is the Russian group, the growing life of which would be directed, by a more rational policy than that of the actual cabinets of Europe, upon Asia; in which direction only can it fulfil a mission of civilisation. The third group, the vanguard, as it were, of the Slavonic race, comprehends Bohemia and Moravia, to which will probably be united the Slovack tribes of Hungary. The fourth group appears destined to form into a political unity, under a federative administration, the Servians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Dalmatians, Slavons, and Croats. The first of the two last-named groups will, by its formation, destroy the Austrian Empire. The second, by arousing the Hellenic tribes still subject to the Turks, will drive Mahometanism back into Asia, and completely change the aspect of the Eastern question.

It may be that the third group will be subdivided into two, and that Hungary, re-constituted as a Slavonic power, will open for itself an outlet to the Black Sea, uniting with the Moldo-Wallachian provinces, Latin like ourselves, but connected with the Slavonian families of Dacian origin. But whatsoever the future, the importance of the Slavonic element is indisputable. It is destined to change the map of Europe.

II.

"The Austrian Empire," said Mickiewitz, in his lectures on Slavonian literature at the College of France (1843), "includes, according to the official registers, over thirty-four millions of population, and, nevertheless, only six millions of these belong to the German element. Six millions of Germans to govern an empire of twenty-eight millions of foreigners! But from these six millions we may deduct about three millions of agriculturists, merchants, and travellers, who have no sort of connection with the government. Two or three millions of Austrians, then, to govern this immense multitude! These two or three millions, or rather their interests, are represented by, perhaps, a hundred German, Bohemian, Hungarian, and Slavonian families, nearly all of whom speak French, many of whom do not even understand German, and have their property in foreign lands or foreign capitals. These hundred families, served by somewhat more than two millions of Austrian administrators and officials, govern thirty-four millions of men."

Of these populations, sixteen or seventeen millions, distributed in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Hungary, Styria, Dalmatia, and Transylvania are of Slavonian blood. Poles, almost without admixture,

in Galicia, they assume in Bohemia and Moravia the national name of Tcheks. Their predominance was first manifested in Bohemia, when, on the fall of the Roman Empire, they drove out the German tribes of the Marcomans; and in Moravia, when, in the twelfth century, they triumphed over the Quadi. The population of these provinces is about six or seven millions at the present day, and of these only about one million eight hundred thousand are of foreign race. In Hungary the element of the Finnish conquerors of the ninth century is spread over the plains. The indigenous (Slovack) element, which occupies the mountainous parts of the country, equals the other in numbers at the present day, but will rapidly and surely gain the ascendancy, owing to its industrial development and far greater numerical increase. As the progress of events destroys the feudalism by which their authority has been maintained, the Magyars will ultimately mingle and become confounded with the former masters of the soil. By that group, then, without taking events abroad into account, or the extraordinary impulse to its fall which would be given by the rising of Italy, Austria is irrevocably doomed.

As far back as the extinction of the last fief, the Emperor Joseph II. foresaw that the Slavonian element was destined to transform the empire, and discussed with his council the question whether it would not be better for the empire spontaneously to abolish the supremacy of the Germans and proclaim itself Slavonic. The German party prevailed, and at the present day, especially since the delusions which followed upon 1848, any attempt at the reconciliation of the two elements would prove impossible.

Not less important to the future policy of Europe is the action of the fourth Slavonian group. Their action, as I said before, contains the germ of an entirely new solution of the Eastern question, unsuspected by diplomatists, or, it may be, blindly rejected, from an instinctive abhorrence of the spontaneous self-constitution of free peoples. As the Slavonians of the third group belong, all of them, to the Austrian Empire, so those of the fourth group form a portion or frontier of the Turkish Empire. Along with the Hellenic tribes, who readily unite with them, and but await the call of independent Greece, they form the European portion of the Eastern Empire. The anomaly to which I alluded in speaking of the Austrian Empire is still more odiously manifest in the Turkish Empire. Among a population of fifteen millions, the Turks amount to a million and a half. An army of one hundred thousand men governs the whole of that multitude, hostile through religious faith, through political tendency and the traditions of race, and imbued with a spirit of rebellion which, in the mountainous parts, is perennial. In Turkey, as in Austria, the art that has hitherto impeded the development of these germs of revolt, and rendered them fruitless, is, the art *divide ut*

*imperes*. The separation between these tribes, many of them still semi-barbarous, and each more or less ignorant of the temper and tendencies of the others, is carefully maintained by the Sultan. But the success of this art cannot long endure. Throughout the last sixty years the decay of the Turkish Empire, though gradual, has been continuous, and it is now beyond the power of foreign governments to arrest it.

Even before the commencement of the present century the Montenegrins freed themselves from the Turkish yoke, and the history of the struggle maintained by those indomitable tribes may be learned from a study of their popular historical songs, a collection of which was published in 1847. Then followed Greece, and after her Servia, who, through a struggle of twenty-five years—from 1804 to the *hatti-sherif* of 1829—won an independence almost complete: the payment of an annual tribute and the right of holding three forts, easily taken in the event of insurrection, being the only remains of Turkish rule in that energetic province.

In 1834 the Moldo-Wallachian provinces ceased to be subject to the empire, and became simply tributary; and at present an agitation is going on, the aim of which is to put the seal of political union upon their emancipation. The Slavonians of Bosnia, although intermixed with believers in the Mahometan faith, and possessed *de facto* of local freedom, have, nevertheless, during the last ten years betrayed a growing desire for political independence. Along the right shore of the Danube, starting from Orsowa, four and a half millions of Bulgarian Slovacks—the natural masters of the Balkan—inhale the scent of freedom borne to them by the Servian breeze, and feel the influence of the literary movement of nationality among the Slavonian subjects of Austria. Though tranquil in appearance, they are preparing for the future by a revived worship of the past. The Turks know this, and prohibit the establishment of local journals; but every household has its collection of national songs and a copy of Vendelin's history of old Bulgaria, which is explained and commented on in every village. This state of things is unknown to most, but it is none the less true.

The Slavonian spirit, which in conjunction with that of Italy is already digging the grave of the Austrian Empire, will, in conjunction with the Hellenic element, overthrow the empire of Turkey in Europe.

A Polish insurrection would suffice to rouse the Slavonians of the south, and their rising would inevitably raise those Hellenic tribes not comprised in free Greece. The men of the different governments who strain every nerve to make of a corpse a barrier against Russia, forgetful of the life palpitating around that corpse on every side, are fools or knaves. The Papacy of the East, like the Papacy of the West, is dead. The first blast from the peoples will

overthrow it. The first lines of Italian policy—when Italy shall be—ought to be Slavo-Hellenic in tendency. The very first steps taken by our insurrection might, if we would, revive the Eastern question.

III.

The obstacles that stand in the way of the free development of this sentiment of nationality are sufficiently grave even among the Slavonians themselves, and Austria is careful to take every possible advantage of them. The first is the religious difficulty between the Austrian Slavonians and those tributary to the Turk; the majority of the first being Catholics, while the majority of the second are followers of the Greek rite. Then the Croatian aristocracy is looked upon with distrust by the Bulgarians and Servians, who are organized upon a basis of far greater social equality. To these difficulties may be added the political distinction between free Montenegro and the semi-independent Servians and the provinces still enslaved by Austria. The very name of Illyria, given by Gai and his followers to the whole of Southern Slavonia, is not equally acceptable to the Servians. The Croats maintain that that name represents the aboriginal Slavonians; the Servians, proud of their records of the Middle Ages, and prone to believe themselves descended from a separate tribe who came down from the Carpathians to occupy Illyria, reject it as being of Roman origin.

These differences, however, are only such as time, intellectual progress, a greater intimacy between the populations, and, above all, the oppression that weighs upon nearly all of them, embittered as it has been by the constant deceptions practised by Austria upon all her subjects since 1848, will rapidly put an end to. And were Italy now to rise to arms in the name of all the peoples eager to constitute themselves nations; were she, after every victory, to offer free, equal, and peaceful alliance to those who, though her enemies on this side of the Alps, might become friends on the other side; were she to set the example of a large, just, and tolerant policy to the Magyars, whose insurrection would infallibly follow her own; were she, in short, to rise to the cry of *War to Austria; liberty for those oppressed by Austria!*—it might be that every such difficulty would vanish at once, and the ruin of the empire be the prize of the first campaign.

However this may be, the progress of the Slavonian movement towards the formation of four new nations, destined one day to arise out of the ruins of Turkish, Russian, and Austrian despotism, is an inevitable element of the future, and one which ought to be deeply and seriously studied by Italy. There are already seven chairs of Slavonic literature in Europe: three in Russia, at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kwarkoe; two in Prussia, at Berlin and Breslau; one in Saxony, at Leipzig; and one in Paris. And if the importance of

such chairs were understood as it ought to be, one would have been established in Turin or Genoa nine years back. Whether they are to be friends or enemies, we ought to become thoroughly acquainted with the Slavonians.

Europe is tending towards reconstitution in large, equalised parts, divided according to language, geographical position, and historic tradition. The Europe of the future—no matter what men say to-day—will have an Iberian peninsula, in which Spain and Portugal will make one; a Scandinavian nation, embracing Sweden, Denmark, and Norway; a German nation; a confederation of the Alps, which will include Savoy and the German Tyrol; the Slavonians divided into the four groups of which I have spoken; a Greece extending to the Balkan and presiding in Byzantium, which will be the free centre of the races now forming the Turkish Empire; and an Italy extending from the extreme point of Sicily to the Alpine circle and Trieste.

Is this a Utopia? The movement of the Slavonic races was Utopian thirty years back; now the Slavonian question governs the political action of Russia and Austria, and dominates the destiny of Eastern Europe. The descendants of the Roman colonies, the Roumans, destined to form a conspicuous State in the future federation of the races now constituting the Turkish Empire, were almost unknown in Europe thirty years ago; now their concentrative movement has become a European question. The name of *Young Scandinavia* was uttered for the first time twenty years ago by an Italian and a Scandinavian poet;[1] at the present day that name forms the subject of alarmed diplomatic notes.

The initiative of the question of the nationalities belongs to Italy, but on the condition that she make of it her programme, and proclaim it such.

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## *International Policy* (1871).

### I.

The moral law is the sole criterion by which the worth of the social and political acts which constitute the life of nations, and of the various doctrines which assume to guide them, should be judged; and the spectacle now presented to us of a great nation fallen so low through her disobedience to that law is a striking confirmation of this principle. This is true for all nations; it is doubly true for rising nations. Morality, in their social organization and in the rules that govern their political action, is for them not only the fulfilment of a duty; it is the security for their future. For having denied the idea of nationality—soul of the new epoch—and substituted his personal potency for that of a principle, the genius, energy,

(1) Mazzini himself and Harro Haring.—*Translator.*

and prestige of the first Napoleon vanished at the sudden, unlooked-for thrill of hostility that ran through Europe on the first interruption of his victorious career. And under the last Napoleon, France, who but a few years earlier had gloried in the abject submission of all the European Governments, found herself in the first hour of the crisis without a single ally.

A similar fate awaits England should she persist in cancelling from her external policy that principle of liberty which was the source of her power, and still inspires her internal life. In our belief —and it is the doctrine of all our great men from Dante downwards —every being, individual or collective, has an aim; and that aim, which is part of the divine design, is supreme. Its existence creates the duty of accomplishing it, or at least of striving towards its accomplishment. Life is a mission: the fulfilment, more or less constant, more or less earnest, of that mission, constitutes the merit, and thence the progress of life.

Humanity has an aim—the progressive discovery of the moral law, and the incarnation of that law in action. The method by which the aim is to be realised is, association; the progressive association of all the human faculties and forces; the communion, for ever growing wider and more intense, of each life with all other lives—*love* tranfused into reality.

Nations are the individuals of humanity; all are bound to labour towards the realisation of the common aim, according to the special geographical position and special aptitudes given by nature to each. The *ensemble* of these conditions constitutes the special aim which each has to reach in its advance towards the common aim.

The *consciousness* of a special aim and of special aptitudes for its achievements, and for furthering through it the general progress towards the common aim, which is the ideal of humanity, constitutes a people into a nation. Where no such consciousness exists there is no nation, but simply a certain fraction of population, destined, sooner or later, to be agglomerated with some other fraction or fractions.

The declaration of the special aim constitutes the bond of free association by which the millions belonging to a determinate group recognise themselves as forming a distinct nation, and organize their internal task. The most intimate relations between people and people are based upon an analogy between their special aims; the declaration of the common aim determines their alliances. War is sacred when commanded by the necessity of some vital progress towards the common aim, which it is absolutely impossible to realise by any other means; or when waged against those who withhold from a people the liberty required for the fulfilment of their special mission. Every other war is guilty fratricide, and those nations who are allied in the acceptance of the common aim are bound to unite

their forces against it. Like the members of one family, the peoples are jointly bound, in proportion to their power, to combat evil wheresoever encamped, and to promote good wheresoever it may be accomplished. The nations who stand by, inert spectators of unjust wars inspired by dynastic or national egotism, will, when attacked in their turn, find in the surrounding nations mere spectators.

Such are the guiding rules which will determine our judgment of European events. They are clear and simple, as are all rules founded upon a moral conception: but they are verified by history, which, rightly understood, proves that every violation of them has given birth to consequences fatal to the violator and to those peoples who might have prevented the wrong, but who failed to do so. The science of the government of human things is far less difficult, far more simple than is generally believed, if directed by a few principles derived from a conception of religion and duty; it only becomes complex, obscure, and confused by the clash of historic semi-rights, resulting in endless war and contention, when—every common belief obliterated, and every collective religious idea decayed—the political life of nations is given over to the arbitrary rule of a materialism to which the *Ego* is the principle, and Force—the transitory fact—the method of demonstration. Of that materialism was born diplomacy, the intricate and uncertain science of compromise between multiple facts; of concessions (designed to be temporary) to the falsehood or corruption ruling for the time—of formulæ invented to conceal the true intent; a science fatal to the education of the peoples, and eternally impotent to further their advance towards their true aim; a science which the Republican institution would abolish at once, by decreeing the publicity of the relations between people and people.

No such common principle exists at the present day, nor has existed for more than three centuries. There is, therefore, no determinate rule to govern the international relations of the peoples.

So long as the Christian conception remained living and fruitful, a directing moral influence did manifest itself from time to time, and, as far as was possible in those days, modify the results of human passion and circumstance in a uniform sense. The religious teachings which gradually transformed the tremendous northern invasion in Italy and elsewhere into a work of territorial colonisation, and which, while promoting the emancipation of the serfs, had flung the gauntlet of Europe's defiance to the fatalism of the East through the crusades—proffered from time to time, through the Councils and Pontifical epistles, words of peace, of moral unity, and of a common faith. The times were semi-barbarous; feudalism, which held apart the peoples inclined by nature to agglomeration and union; the duality set up by Christianity itself between the world of the spirit and the world of the flesh;—all these were perennial sources of

discord and strife; yet, nevertheless, one general tendency—the issue of certain moral principles before which every head bowed down, did at times rule the tempest, shorten wars, or render them instrumental to the fall of feudalism, and to the greater intimacy of the peoples.

But when, in the sixteenth century, the slow dissolution of Christianity began, a void was created in Europe which has never yet been filled—the absence of any common moral belief, of any solemnly or tacitly accepted Pact, by appealing to which the peoples might still understand and trust one another. Around that void various systems arose, now dictated by individual aspiration, now by dynastic greed; but all equally barren and inefficacious.

Some of the writers who have been regarded as masters of international law fell back upon antiquity, as if systems devised by polytheistic nations could ever regulate the relations of peoples over whom the breath of Christianity had passed. Then followed—started by England—the doctrine of a European *Balance of Power*, founding in Westphalia an alliance between two utterly irreconcilable creeds, and decreeing, by other treaties, a suspension of hostilities between France, Austria, and Spain, which was to last for ever, and which ended at the time of Louis XIV. Then followed new attempts at Utrecht and elsewhere, vanishing before the flash of Frederick II.'s sword, and resulting in the rise of Prussian militarism and the iniquitous dismemberment of Poland.

The *Balance of Power* produced about seventy years of war in Europe, the maintenance of the *equilibrium* being translated into the maintenance of a system of ever increasing armaments in order to prevent war, and the acceptance at Campo Formio of the *principle* in the name of which the sale of Venice was decreed as a compensation for French aggrandisement upon the Rhine—*the conquests achieved by one power ought to be counterbalanced by the conquests of the others.* All of these systems—the issue of the materialistic idea—were foredoomed to perish in impotence, anarchy, and crime. The sanction of God was wanting.

At the present day the nations, as if in despair of finding any remedy for the ever-recurring conflict, are inclining, under the guidance of England, to the theory of *non-intervention*, a theory which is founded upon no principle, but is the negation of every principle hitherto accepted (intellectually at least) by humanity—the unity of God and of the moral law, the unity of the human family and of the aim set before us all, the fraternity and association of the peoples, and the duty of combating evil and promoting the triumph of good. This theory, which is Atheism introduced into international life, or, if you will, the deification of *Egotism*, and the supreme formula of which was uttered by a French statesman—*chacun pour soi, chacun chez soi*—reaches the extreme limits of the

immoral and absurd, and would, if universally accepted, deprive us of one of the most potent levers of progress, which, as history proves, has almost always been achieved through intervention.

It is not worth while to waste many words upon the international life of Italy at the present day; she has, in fact, none. The men who serve the monarchy have no consciousness of any Italian mission in the world, no political conception or design save one—to drag along from day to day, and, by following in the wake of those who appear strongest at the moment, to prolong their feeble and uncertain existence. The few phrases—borrowed from some British or Russian dispatch—uttered with all the pompous gravity of one proclaiming a doctrine by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, would make one smile but that they make one blush. War and peace have always been decreed for us by others. No considerations of morality nor of the future of Italy influence our alliances. Our rising nation was made to invoke (and professedly in the name of liberty) the aid of a reigning tyrant, who had iniquitously deprived us of it by seizing and holding Rome, and by demanding from us the cession of an Italian province, which was instantly yielded up to him. We joined Prussia against Austria, and, a few years later, joined the French Empire against Prussian and German unity; and but for the sudden defeat of France and the threatened action of the Republican party (in which others have discovered an agitation among the parliamentary Left), we should join Austria again to-morrow. Our monarchical journalists, terrified at finding themselves without a master, are already endeavouring to pave the way for this.

Our diplomacy joined with the defenders of the Turk in declaring to Greece, *You shall not win back your own provinces*, and, having been ordered by England to take no step in the war without consulting her, has persistently courted the executioner of Poland. History will record the first twelve years of the international life of newly-risen Italy with the sign *minus*.

II.

History, the condition of Europe, and the character of our uprising, all prove that Italy has a double mission set before her. To fulfil it would make her the leader of an epoch.

The first part—the abolition of the Papacy, the conquest for the world of the inviolability of the human conscience, and the substitution of the doctrine of Progress for that of the Fall and Redemption through grace—is a religious mission, of which it is not my purpose now to speak; it would, under any circumstances, require to be matured through the medium of a peaceful apostolate before it could be completed by the decrees of a people of believers. But the second part, the development of Nationality as the supreme ruler of international relations, and pledge and security for future peace,

is a political mission, though intimately connected with the other, because leading to a new partition of Europe, which, in all great historic epochs, has ever been the prelude to a religious transformation; and it is to be achieved through moral influence, supported, if need be, by an appeal to arms.

The reconstruction of the map of Europe is a part of the destiny of the epoch, and will be achieved through a series of inevitable wars. But that nation which shall show sufficient wisdom and power to make itself the centre of the movement may abbreviate the inevitable series, and become the initiatrix of human progress for many centuries.

Italy, if she intend to be truly great, prosperous, and powerful, must incarnate in herself the idea of the redivision of Europe according to the natural tendencies and mission of the peoples. She ought boldly to erect upon her frontiers a banner displaying to the peoples the words Liberty and Nationality, and let every act of her international life be governed by that idea.

This is our third mission in the world.

The Rome of the Cæsars took from the Republic the conception of political unity, and through her armed legions realised it, as far as was then possible, in the sphere of fact. The Rome of the popes attempted the realisation of the conception of moral unity, and succeeded, to a great extent, through the word of her priests and believers; but neither the first nor the second Rome recognised—none could at that time recognise—the providential collective movement of the nations.

Seeing nought in the world before them but their own power and the human individuals bound to submit to it, they accepted no intermediate co-operators between themselves and the aim in view, and consequently had no other instrument by which to achieve it than authority—absolute and despotic authority over body and soul. The Rome of the people, of the Italian nation, believing in progress, in the collective life of humanity, and in the division of labour among the peoples, is bound to unite them all as fellow-workers in the enterprise, and be their help and guide.

The double mission assigned to Italy was indicated by the very first necessities of our revival, which could not be initiated without declaring war on the Papacy—guardian of the old dogma of unlimited authority—and on the Austrian Empire, the most potent negation of nationality in Europe; nor can it be fulfilled without persisting in that course to its ultimate consequences. That which for others may be simply a moral duty is the law of life for us.

Our natural allies are to be sought among the peoples justly endeavouring to consolidate their national unity, or striving to create it with probability of success. Long-constituted and traditionally powerful nations will long regard with instinctive jealousy and suspicion any rising and progressive nation likely to become a rival in

political influence or economic competition. It is only among new peoples that we may look for sincere friendship, based upon the importance of our friendship to themselves, or upon gratitude for help given by us when refused by others, for the development of our actual commerce, for the opening of new markets, growing with the growing life of those rising countries, for every description of profit and advantage without risk or danger.

In order to acquire strength for ulterior development, then, it should be the aim of our international policy to constitute Italy the centre and soul of a league composed of the minor European states, bound together by a common compact of defence against the possible usurpations of any of the greater Powers. Spain and Portugal, Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and the Roumano-Danubian Principalities, united thus with Italy, would constitute a material force of sixty-four millions of men, bound together by a common pact of independence and liberty; to which it would not be difficult to obtain the adhesion of England, and which would be able effectually to resist any attempt at usurpation planned—as such attempts generally are—by a single Power, and watched with suspicion by the rest.

The moral influence of Italy—increased by the formation of this league—would meanwhile be exerted in the direction of the future reorganization of Europe in *national unities, possibly intermixed with free Confederations*, protected in their independence, and forming a barrier against collisions.

The definitive constitution of the Iberian Peninsula, through the union of Spain and Portugal; the transformation of the Helvetian Federation into a Confederation of the Alps, through the union with it of Savoy and the German Tyrol; the Scandinavian union; and the Republican Confederation of Holland and Belgium—such should be the constant aim, the constant lesson taught by the agents of Italy.

But the true objective point of Italian national life, the direct path to her future greatness, lies beyond;—where the most vital problem of European life at the present day will be solved;—it lies in our fraternal union with the vast and potent element destined either to infuse new life into the communion of the nations, or to disturb it by long wars and grave dangers, if suffered, through improvident distrust, to be led astray:—the true objective point of the international life of Italy lies in our alliance with the Slavonian family.

The eastern boundaries of Italy have been defined since the day when Dante wrote:—

> ". . . . A Pola,[1] presso del Carnaro,
> Ch' Italia chiude e i suoi termini bagna."—*Inferno*, ix. 113.

(1) ". . . . At Pola, near Quarnaro's gulf,
That closes Italy and laves her bounds."—CARY.

Istria is ours. But from Fiume, along the eastern shore of the Adriatic as far as the river Boiano, lies a zone of territory throughout the whole of which, amid the relics of our colonies, the Slavonian element predominates. This zone, which beyond Catturo, on the Adriatic shore, embraces Dalmatia and the region of Montenegro, extends on each side from the chain of the Balkan, eastward to the Black Sea, and upwards in a northern direction, across the Danube and Drāve to Hungary, where the Slavonian element yearly gains ground through a numerical increase far more rapid than that of the Magyars.

Between this zone, inhabited by about twelve millions of Slavonians, and the superior and continuous zone (also Slavonian) which extends from Galicia to Moravia and Bohemia on the one side, and to Poland, reaching across the duchy of Posen and Lithuania to the Baltic, on the other, are interposed Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, the providential barrier to the dream of a Panslavonic unity. These provinces are Dacio-Roman, bound to us since the days of Trajan by historic tradition, affinity of language, and ties of affection, which only require cultivation by us to become important, and which, while diminishing the threatening danger of Tzarism, might be made extremely useful to us as a connecting link between the two last-mentioned zones in our relations with the Slavonian family.

This second zone, inhabited by from ten to twenty millions of Slavonians, also appears providentially designed as a future barrier between North Germany and Russia. There, we repeat it, among the populations of these two zones, lies our mission—our initiative in Europe, and our future political and economic power. Meanwhile we affirm that for all who have earnestly and attentively studied the Slavonian movement, its success is certain, and not remote. The question is no longer one of preventing it, but of rightly directing it, so as to avert its dangers and draw from it the consequences most favourable to Europe. If hailed and accepted as a providential fact, the movement will invigorate European life, by infusing into it fresh impulses and new elements of activity, and it will both prepare the way for and extend the area of that religious and social transformation which has become inevitable; but if opposed, neglected, or misdirected, it will cost Europe twenty or more years of tremendous bloodshed and strife.

The dangers of the question may all be summed up in one: that in their ascending movement the Southern and Northern Slavonians should seek the aid of Russia, and yield up the direction of their forces to the Tzar. In that case the result would be a gigantic attempt to *make Europe Cossack*; a long and fierce battle waged by despotism against all the liberties we have already won; a new era of militarism; the principle of nationality endangered by the idea of a European monarchy; Constantinople—the key of the Medi-

terranean—and all the paths to the vast regions of Asia in the hands of the Tzar, instead of a confederation of the three Southern Slavonic groups—Bohemian, Moravian, and Polish—friendly to us and liberty; the creation of a hostile Panslavonic unity, composed of a hundred millions of Slavonians governed by one despotic will, instead of a barrier erected against tyranny by the organization of forty-five millions of free men from the Baltic to the Adriatic. This danger, no matter what others may say, did not exist at the beginning of the Slavonian movement; it was created by the false and immoral policy adopted by the monarchies. The Slavonian movement, like our own, was the issue of the true instincts and just pride of the peoples; of the germs of the future which lay concealed in their historic traditions and popular songs; of the example set by other nations; of the impulse of ideas seeking a vent and finding none; of the awakened consciousness of a mission to be fulfilled, and forming part of the divine design that leads Europe onwards towards a common progress and a common destiny. Germs like these are kindled by the first breath of liberty, and the aspiration towards freedom was naturally enough intensified by the many obstacles placed in its path, all arising from repression and persecution on the part of the monarchies by whom the Slavonian agitators were oppressed. So true is this, that the idea of a Slavonian federation, for which Pestel, Mouravieff, Bestougeff, and other officers suffered martyrdom in Russia in 1825, raised a republican banner.

But the denial of every aid, the distrust manifested by both governments and peoples, and the obstinacy of the French and English Cabinets, who persisted in seeing nothing in this sacred aspiration of the peoples but a secret Russian manœuvre, and in endeavouring to prevent its development by bolstering up the Turkish and Austrian Empires, did to a certain extent drive the Slavonians—opposed, neglected, and misunderstood on every side, and despairing of other aid—to listen to the promises industriously whispered to them by Russian agents of regular armies and wars of emancipation. But did not the Italians, who but a few days earlier were cursing the usurper of Rome and honouring the memory of Orsini, listen to the offers and promises of Louis Napoleon?

The adoption of the policy we have indicated to Italy would put an end to all these dangers. At the root of every national movement lies an idea of liberty, and that idea, which in Poland is the soul of a poetry far superior to any since Byron and Goethe, would, by its immediate and potent development, cancel every trace of the weakness that leads them towards the Tzar, on the day when a strong republican people should extend the hand of fellowship to the Slavonians. The writer of these lines well remembers how fondly the leaders of the Slavonian movement cherished the hope of that

day, and how eagerly they assured us of this when, between 1860 and 1861, the Italian movement assumed a popular aspect, and Garibaldi, trusting for a moment in the vital forces of his own people, led our volunteers in the South to inscribe one of the brightest pages of our history.

That hope has long since died away in the Slavonian mind. The barren Macchiavellism and the ignorant fears of monarchical ministers extinguished the enthusiasm of those peoples who had believed in Italy as the initiating nation, but behold her so inferior to her destiny. But a word of brotherhood, telling of manly action, and inaugurating a new policy founded upon the principle of nationality, would instantly rekindle their slumbering hopes, and recall the Slavonians from their enforced acceptance of a help they do not love and do fear, to larger and more popular ideas.

Every policy which upholds the Austrian and Turkish Empires is practically, through its results, a Russian policy, and an abettor of Panslavism.

The Turkish and Austrian Empires are irrevocably doomed to perish. The tendency and aim of Italian international life ought to be the hastening of their death. And the hilt of the sword destined to slay them is grasped by the hand of the Slavonian.

III.

We have seen that the first and the most important consequences of the Slavonian movement will be the ruin of the Turkish and Austrian Empires. The man who fails to perceive the inevitability of these two facts, and the necessity of promoting and developing them in the interests of civilisation and of our own Italian future, should not pretend to have any international policy. Let him continue to exist, as the ministers of our monarchy do, upon expedients, obtaining some apparent advantage one day, and paying for it on the next by the dishonour and subjection of his country; let him pass from alliance to alliance, to find all of them fail him precisely at the moment when it is most important that he should not stand alone—now trembling before France, now before the victories of Prussia, and now before the silly threats of the Pope; let him, so long as his country will endure him, condemn a nation of twenty-six millions of men to absolute nullity in Europe; let him misgovern and hold his peace. Where there is no moral rule, no intellectual grasp of the future, no consciousness of a determinate aim, and of a bold and continuous method of reaching it, no international life is possible.

With the exception of the two points where the line is broken by the narrow zone extending from Vienna to Innspruck on the west, and on the east by Moldavia—non-German and hostile, owing to the dismemberment of her populations—the whole circumference of

the Austrian Empire is Slavonian; and from that large circumference rays depart which penetrate into the interior in every direction. The number of its foreign populations, compared with that of the race which governs, yet gives way, as well as the increasing progress of the national agitations, dooms the empire to dissolution. The process of disintegration can no longer be arrested. The Slavonian races predominate in the south of Turkey. The Turkish Empire is also doomed to dissolution, and perhaps even earlier than the Austrian; but the fall of one will be the signal for the fall of the other. The populations of the Turkish Empire who are destined to rise to demand their nationality are nearly all of them divided between the two empires, and their union is impossible until they are emancipated from both. The empire of Austria is an administration, not a state; but Turkey in Europe is a foreign encampment standing alone amid populations with whom it has no community of faith, tradition, tendencies, or action. The Turks have no national agriculture, and no capacity for administration, which was formerly entirely absorbed by the Greeks, as it now is by the Armenians scattered along the shores of the Bosphorus, and hostile to the government they serve. Immobilised by Mahometan fatalism, surrounded and suffocated by the Christian populations, stirred by the breath of Western liberty, the conquering race has not for a century past given birth to a single idea, a single individual discovery, or a single song! It numbers less than two millions, and these are surrounded by thirteen or fourteen millions of European races—Slavonic, Hellenic, and Dacian-Rouman—all of them thirsting for life, panting for insurrection. The one thing wanting to insure this, and to render it speedily victorious, is union between these three elements, who still regard each other with jealousy in memory of former wars and reciprocal oppression.

To lay the foundations of and to promote this union is the mission of Italy. "We who have ourselves arisen in the name of our national right, believe in your right, and offer to help you to win it. But the purpose of our mission is the permanent and peaceful organization of Europe. We cannot allow Russian Tzarism—a perennial menace to Europe—to step into the place now occupied by your masters, and no partial movement executed by a single element amongst you can be victorious; nor, even were victory possible, could it constitute a strong barrier against the avidity of the Tzar: it would simply further his plans of aggrandisement. Unite, therefore; forget past rancour, and unite in one confederation; let Constantinople be your Amphictyonic city, the centre of your federative power, free to all and servant to none."

Such is the language Italy should address to those populations. Republican Italy would speak thus, monarchical Italy never will.

And while such counsel and assistance would smooth the way to a solution of the Eastern question favourable to the principle of nationality, and adverse to Russian ambition, similar proposals made to the populations of Dalmatia, Montenegro, and the Dacio-Rouman provinces would lead to the dismemberment of Austria and the complete realisation of our political conception. The hour once sounded by the peoples, the western coast of the Adriatic would be made our basis of operations, from which we might afford valuable help to our new allies. Our men-of-war would redeem the honour of our flag, outraged at Lissa, by conquering for the Slavonians of Montenegro the outlet they require—the mouths of the Cattaro—and for those of Dalmatia the chief cities of the western coast. Lissa, well named the Malta of the Adriatic, and the scene of the unmerited disgrace we are bound for the honour of our navy to wipe out, would remain an Italian station. The movement of the Southern Slavonians will naturally spread along the Carpathians, across Galicia and the Bohemio-Moravian group to Poland, the sacred, martyred nation to whom, from the days of Dombrowski's legions, we are bound by a special bond of fraternity and future alliance.

By assisting the rising of the Illyrian Slavonians and of those who constitute the greater part of European Turkey, the Italian nation would acquire the first right of intellectual leadership, the first claim on the affections, and the first place in the economic relations of the Slavonian family.

The advantages to Italy and to Europe of the political conception thus hastily sketched, and of which our nation might, if she would, become the initiatrix, are undeniable and of vital importance. On the north the Slavonian Confederation, interposed between Russia and Germany, and of which Hungary, when once detached from Austria, might form a part, would not merely protect Germany against Russia, but protect France at the same time from the dangerous predominance of the Teutons. And Italy, allied with the Slavonians, who are unfriendly to Germany, would, if necessary, threaten the invader in the rear.

In the south and east, Constantinople being won for ever by Western freedom, and a confederation of youthful nations, united in defence of their own independence, raised up as a barrier against Tzarism, Russia would be confined to her true limits; an immense and extremely fertile territory would be acquired to European civilisation, two of the three great pathways to the Eastern world would be thrown open and normally secured to European commerce, and especially—owing to our Slavo-Hellenic, Dacio-Rouman initiative—to the commerce of Italy.

We have spoken of the Asiatic world. And, if we look beyond our own confines, we shall perceive that towards it all the great lines

of the European movement converge. Populated at one time by those Asiatic migrations which brought to us the first germs of civilisation and the earliest ideas of nationality, Europe is providentially tending to carry back to Asia the civilisation developed from those germs in her own privileged lands.

Europe is pressing upon Asia, and invading her various regions on every side: through the English conquests in India, through the slow advance of Russia on the north, through the concessions periodically wrung from China, through the advance of America across the Rocky Mountains, through colonisation, and through contraband. Shall Italy, the earliest and most potent colonising power in the world, remain the last in this splendid movement?

To lay open to Italy every pathway leading to the Asiatic world, and to fulfil at the same time the mission of civilisation pointed out by the times—such is the idea which our international policy should set before itself, and follow out with the same tenacity with which Russia, from the days of Peter the Great down to our own, has followed out the idea of the conquest of Constantinople. The means of realising this idea are to be sought in an alliance with the Southern Slavonians, and with the Hellenic element wheresoever it extends, in the systematic augmentation of Italian influence at Suez and Alexandria, and in seizing the earliest opportunity of sending a colonising expedition to the provinces of Tunis. In the inevitable movement of European civilisation upon Africa, as Morocco belongs to Spain and Algeria to France, so does Tunis, key of the central Mediterranean, connected as it is with the Sardo-Sicilian system, and only twenty-five leagues distant from Sicily, belong to Italy. Tunis, Tripoli, and the Cyrenaica form a part—extremely important from its contiguity with Egypt, and, through Egypt and Syria, with Asia—of that zone of Africa which truly belongs to the European system, as far as the Atlas range. And the Roman standard did float upon those heights in the days when, after the fall of Carthage, the Mediterranean was named our sea. We were masters of the whole of that region up to the fifth century. France has her eye upon it at the present day, and will have it if we do not.

Great ideas make great peoples, but where the life of nations is concerned, only those ideas are great which overpass the limits of their own frontiers. Even as the worth of an individual must be measured by that which he achieves for the society in which he lives, so must the greatness of a people be measured by their fulfilment of a high and sacred mission in the world.

[E. A. V.—*Translator.*]

## BELLIGERENT CLAIMS AND NEUTRAL RIGHTS.

THE policy of the Declaration of Paris, or rather of that article which provides that the neutral flag shall cover the enemy's goods in time of war, except in the case of contraband, has again become the subject of animated discussion in this country. Mr. Butler Johnstone, in a pamphlet distinguished by most commendable industry and by very considerable ability, has brought together a large mass of facts and arguments which bear upon the question; and the subject has lately given rise to an interesting debate in the House of Commons. It is not surprising that a matter which so deeply affects the interests of England should continue to be the occasion of warm controversy; nor can it in fairness be denied, either that very plausible arguments can be brought forward against the policy of the Declaration, or that its opponents can appeal to very high authority in support of their views. We must admit that the most eminent writers on international law have been practically unanimous in affirming the principle that a belligerent has the right to seize the goods of an enemy if he finds them on board a neutral ship. The principle in question has not only the sanction of Grotius and other distinguished jurists of earlier times, but it is asserted in very explicit terms by such men as Chancellor Kent and Professor Wheaton. Chancellor Kent says—

"During the whole course of the war growing out of the French Revolution, the Government of the United States admitted the English rule to be valid as the true and settled doctrine of international law, and that enemies' property was liable to seizure on board neutral ships, and to be confiscated as prize of war. The two distinct propositions, that enemies' goods found on board a neutral vessel may lawfully be seized as prize of war, and that the goods of a neutral on board an enemy's vessel were to be restored, have been incorporated into the jurisprudence of the United States, and declared by the Supreme Court to be founded on the law of nations. I should apprehend the belligerent's right to be no longer an open question, and that the authority and usage on which that right rests in Europe, and the long, explicit, and authoritative admission of it by this country, have precluded us from making it a subject of controversy, and that we are bound in truth and justice to submit to its regular exercise in every case and with every belligerent who does not freely renounce it."

Professor Wheaton says—

"Whatever may be the original abstract principle of natural law on this subject, it is undeniable that the constant usage and practice of belligerent nations from the earliest times have subjected enemies' goods in neutral vessels to condemnation as prize of war. This constant and universal usage has only been interrupted by treaty stipulations, forming a temporary conventional law between the parties to such stipulations."

No language can be more explicit. Our own writers on international law have uniformly laid down the same doctrine. And if we

turn from the writings of publicists to those of English statesmen of former times, we shall see that down to a very recent period they have strenuously upheld the right of a belligerent to seize enemies' goods on board neutral vessels; and that they have denounced the opposite doctrine in the strongest terms, as being in their opinion fatal to the maritime power, and to the very safety of England. In 1753 a controversy arose between England and Prussia which turned on the right of a belligerent to seize enemies' goods on board neutral ships. The history of the affair is set forth in some detail by Mr. Butler Johnstone (pp. 63—72). I shall only refer briefly to the most salient points of the discussion. Frederick the Great had seized Silesia from Maria Theresa, and, by the treaties of Breslau and Dresden, had taken over with this province certain debts secured upon it and owing to Englishmen. But on the ground that England had seized Prussian vessels engaged in contraband trade, and taken enemies' cargoes out of them, the King of Prussia refused to pay the Silesian indemnity until the counter-claims of the Prussian subjects who had sustained these losses had been satisfied. Upon this the Duke of Newcastle wrote a letter, founded on the report of a commission of the most distinguished English lawyers of the day, in which he quotes the opinion of the most eminent writers on international law. The letter was considered at the time so conclusive that Montesquieu called it a "réponse sans réplique," and the result was that the Silesian indemnity was paid by Prussia.

In 1801, Mr. Pitt, speaking of the claims of the Neutral League, said—

"Shall we allow entire freedom to the trade of France? Shall we suffer that country to send out her £12,000,000 of exports, and receive her imports in return, to enlarge private capital and increase public stock? Shall we voluntarily give up our maritime consequence, and expose ourselves to scorn, to derision, and to contempt? No man can deplore more than I do the loss of human blood, the calamities and the distresses of war; but will you silently stand by, and, acknowledging these monstrous and unheard-of principles of neutrality, insure your enemy against the weight of your hostility? Four nations have leagued to produce a new code of maritime law, in defiance of the established law of nations, and in defiance of the most solemn treaties and engagements, which they endeavour arbitrarily to force upon Europe: what is this but the same Jacobin principle which proclaimed the rights of man, which produced the French Revolution, which generated the wildest anarchy, and spread horror and devastation on that unfortunate country?"

No language could well be stronger. Lord Nelson, speaking on the same subject, said it was "a principle so monstrous in itself, so contrary to the law of nations, and so injurious to the maritime interests of the country, that, if it had been persisted in, we ought not to have concluded the war with those powers whilst a single man, a single shilling, or a single drop of blood remained in the country." At the treaty of Amiens in the following year it was sought to make this matter a subject of arrangement, but Lord

Hawkesbury, writing to the English plenipotentiary, said, "His Majesty will never consent in a treaty of peace to place out of his hands those means which may be necessary to the security of his dominions in time of war." On various subsequent occasions in the intervals of peace which occurred during the war with France, propositions were made to the English Government for granting immunity to enemies' goods when covered by the neutral flag; but they were invariably resisted, and at the Congress of Chatillon in 1814 Lord Castlereagh had orders from his Government not even to discuss the question of maritime rights. In 1827, Mr. Canning, speaking in reference to a proposed treaty with Brazil, which he refused to assent to because it contained an article by which the abandonment of the right to seize the goods of an enemy on board a neutral ship was inferred, said, "The rule of maritime law which Great Britain has always held on the subject, is the ancient law and usage of nations, but it differs from that put forth by France and the northern powers of Europe, and that which the United States are constantly endeavouring to establish. England had braved confederacies and sustained war rather than give up this principle."

There does not appear to have been any further discussion of the subject down to the time of the Crimean war. It then became necessary to issue instructions to the English and French admirals commanding the joint squadrons in the Baltic and Black Seas, and it was obviously most desirable that, if possible, those instructions should be identical. But that end could not be attained unless each Government were prepared to waive some part of its belligerent rights, because, while we held the doctrine that enemies' goods might be taken out of a neutral ship, the French Government maintained the opposite principle, that while enemies' goods on board a neutral ship were free, the goods of neutrals found on board an enemy's vessel were liable to capture. The two Governments therefore agreed that each should waive a part of what they had hitherto considered their belligerent rights, and that neither enemies' goods under a neutral flag nor neutral merchandise under an enemy's flag should be liable to capture. At the Conference of Paris in 1856 the rights which had been waived by the English and French Governments at the commencement of the war were surrendered, and a Declaration which embodied the new rules, as well as other principles of maritime law, was signed by the representatives of the powers which took part in the Conference. The proceedings of the British representatives were challenged in the House of Lords, and, in the debate which took place on Lord Colchester's motion, the late Lord Derby did not hesitate to say that, by acceding to the Declaration of Paris, the Government of the day had sacrificed the maritime greatness of England on the shrine of Russia. In a debate which took place subsequently in the House of Commons, Mr. J. S. Mill gave it as his opinion that the

concession made to neutrals would materially weaken this country in times of war, and would be disastrous to the cause of peace, because it would deprive us of the means of putting a pressure on the great military powers; and he was supported by Lord John Russell. It must, I think, be admitted that those who demur to the Declaration of Paris can point to a formidable array of great names on their side of the question. Let me now briefly examine the arguments by which their case is supported. It is alleged, (1.) That the doctrine that enemies' goods on board a neutral ship are liable to capture is in accordance with the law of nations; (2.) That the adoption of the opposite rule will deprive this country of a powerful offensive and defensive weapon; (3.) That the effect of the new rule in time of war will be to drive the trade of this country into neutral bottoms, and thereby ruin our commercial marine.

Now let us try, in the first place, to understand what is meant when we say that a given rule or practice is in accordance with the law of nations. I am not going to attempt to give a definition of this law, which is so often referred to. If any one who is curious on the subject will consult Vattel, he will no doubt see in the index the words, "The Law of Nations defined;" but if he turns to the text I think he will fail to find anything in the nature of a definition, as such a term is generally understood. But this much at any rate he will learn—that the so-called law is not a homogeneous code, every part of which rests upon the same sanctions, and carries with it the same weight of authority. It may be founded either (1) on the moral sense and reason of mankind; or (2) on a general agreement among the nations of the world as to the rules which they will observe in their relations with one another, such rules being either considered binding and irrevocable under all conditions, or open to re-consideration if a change of opinion or of circumstances should make it expedient to abrogate or modify them; or lastly, it may, as regards some rights and obligations, have been forced upon weaker nations by stronger for their own convenience.

Among the first class, and as examples of the special application to a state of war of the general principles of honesty and good faith, we may perhaps include such rules as that the persons of ambassadors are to be held sacred, that flags of truce are to be respected, and that a safe conduct given by the leader of an army to an enemy shall protect the bearer so long as he complies with its conditions. It is obvious that without some such guiding principles society could not exist, but would lapse into a chronic state, not of war only, but of anarchy, and, therefore, that rules of the kind to which I have referred can never be superseded or become obsolete. Neither can we conceive it possible that civilised nations should ever revert to such practices as the slaughter of prisoners taken in war, or their reduction to a condition of slavery, although both practices were

common among races that had attained a high degree of civilisation. But it is clear that the rule that enemies' goods on board neutral ships are liable to capture does not come within the same category as the obligations of good faith, or the humane treatment of prisoners taken in war. Nobody can contend that there is any principle of morality or natural justice involved, or that the rule carries with it any higher sanction than that of convenience and expediency. Even if it had been adopted by common consent, it would still be open to revision, if it could be shown that circumstances had so changed as to render it no longer applicable. But can it be said that the rule is founded on the common consent of nations? No student of history will affirm that any such common consent can be pleaded. France has invariably contended for the principle that free ships make free goods. The Dutch Republic in the days of its greatness succeeded in negotiating treaties with the principal European States, which conceded to them the right, while they remained neutral, to protect by their flag the goods of a belligerent from capture by his enemy. The armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800 endeavoured, though in vain, to obtain protection for the goods of belligerents when conveyed in neutral bottoms. In truth, when we come to examine the matter, we shall find that the rule that the neutral flag shall not protect the goods of an enemy, like many other rules of what we call the law of nations, is one which has been forced upon the weaker nations by the stronger powers, simply because it happened to suit their convenience. Nor has this country been invariably consistent in its practice. From time to time we have concluded treaties with Spain, with Portugal, and with other powers, by which we conceded to them the right to carry enemies' goods during war.

It has been said that the United States have upheld the principle that enemies' goods on board a neutral ship are liable to capture. But, whatever may have been the doctrine held on this point down to the date of the Crimean war, the dispatch of Mr. Marcy, the American Secretary of State, in which he expresses his satisfaction with the declarations of England and France on this subject, proves conclusively that now, at least, they are determined to uphold the right of neutrals to carry the goods of belligerents. Mr. Marcy says—

"The same consideration which has induced her Britannic Majesty, in concurrence with the Emperor of the French, to present it as a concession in the present war, the desire to preserve the commerce of neutrals from all unnecessary obstructions, will, it is presumed, have equal weight with the belligerents in any future war, and satisfy them that the claims of the principal maritime powers, while neutral, to have it recognised as a rule of international law, are well founded, and should no longer be contested."

He then states that the President is desirous to unite with other powers in a declaration that the principle that free ships make free goods shall be recognised by each hereafter as a rule of international law.

It is plain, from the language of this dispatch, that the United States will from this time forward insist on the right of their merchant ships to carry the goods of belligerents during any war in which they are neutral; and though the United States did not give in their adhesion to the Declaration of Paris, it is well known that they declined to do so, not because it went too far for them, but because it did not go far enough. They desired, as an equivalent for their abandonment of the right of privateering, that all merchant vessels should be free from capture, whether the property of an enemy or not. Nor can we fairly blame them for inconsistency because they may once have held language of a different kind. A nation is not necessarily to be held bound to maintain for all time and in all circumstances every principle which it may have once asserted. Let me give an instance, by way of illustration, drawn from our own history. It is well known that we became involved in the war of 1812 with the United States because we claimed the right to search American vessels on the high seas for sailors who had deserted from English men-of-war. We have never formally abandoned that claim. The matter is not referred to in the Treaty of Ghent, in which the terms of peace were embodied. But nobody can doubt that if a war were to break out now in which we were neutral, and either of the belligerents were to claim the right to search English ships for the purpose of taking deserters out of them, we should resent and resist such a proceeding, though little more than half a century ago we had ourselves not only claimed the right to seize deserters, but had even contended for it in arms.

The question of the binding character of treaties has of late frequently come under the consideration of Parliament and of the country. It has been declared, not once, but over and over again, by responsible statesmen of the greatest weight; it has been asserted by so high an authority as Lord Palmerston, and the doctrine has often been re-affirmed by his successors without contradiction or challenge, that a treaty is not to be held as in every case absolutely and irrevocably binding the parties to it under all conditions, but that the obligation to observe a treaty may depend in some degree on the circumstances of the time. And if this holds good with respect to engagements voluntarily entered into between nations, how can we hold a nation bound by a rule with respect to which it has never entered into any contract, and which may even have been forced upon it against its will, and in defiance of its protests and remonstrances? And if nations are not to be held for ever bound by every international rule which they may have asserted, or which may have been forced on them at some period of their history, it is idle to quote the dicta of writers on international law for the purpose of upholding practices which may have become obsolete or inexpedient.

I come now to the argument that by the concession of the prin-

ciple that the neutral flag covers the cargo, we deprive ourselves of a most powerful offensive and defensive weapon in time of war. The argument would have great weight if the circumstances of the present time resembled in any degree those which obtained during the great war with France. But I cannot help thinking that many of those who contend most strenuously for the maintenance of the old rules of maritime war shut their eyes to the effects of the great changes which have taken place of late years in international communication, and in the means by which the trade of the world is now carried on. As regards this point, we have only to glance at the map of Europe to satisfy ourselves as to the altered conditions under which a great maritime war would now be conducted. In the days of Nelson, if we once succeeded in effectually blockading the French ports, we might rest assured that we had ruined for the time being the sea-borne trade of France. But now, if unfortunately we were to become involved in war with France, we could not reckon on destroying her trade, even though we were able hermetically to seal up every French port. French goods would find their way by railroad to the ports of Italy, of Belgium, and of Holland. They would then be purchased, if necessary, by neutral traders, and might afterwards be carried safely in Italian or Dutch ships through the midst of our blockading squadrons. A large proportion of the goods which had thus become the property of neutrals would be consigned to English purchasers. The only pressure we could bring to bear on the French producer would be the slightly enhanced cost occasioned by the necessity of transporting his goods by rail to neutral territory. And to enable the French trader to secure immunity for his goods, there would be no occasion for anything like colourable transfer or fraud of any kind. Everything might be conducted in a manner the *bonâ fides* of which would bear the strictest investigation. Will it be seriously contended that for the sake of inflicting on some possible enemy of the future a penalty so slight as that which I have described—in order, that is, simply to saddle him with some addition of the cost of production in the shape of extra railway rates—it is worth while not only to sacrifice the profits which we derive as neutral carriers while other countries are at war with one another, but also to enlist against ourselves the enmity of the other maritime powers? If any one should think that I am drawing a fancy picture, let me cite a witness who certainly is not biassed in favour of the new rule. Mr. Butler Johnstone (Handbook of Maritime Rights, pp. 87—89) says—

"The experience of the Crimean war was not favourable to the maritime policy which had thus been adopted. It was found that in spite of a pretty strict blockade of the Russian ports in the Baltic, the Russians found little difficulty in bringing their produce—tallow, hemp, and flax—to Memel and Königsberg, Prussian ports near the Russian frontier (by means of the rivers Vistula and Niemen), and there embarking it on board Swedish and Prussian

vessels, where, under the Order in Council, it was perfectly safe from capture. In this way the Russian producer was scarcely inconvenienced at all: he sold £10,000,000 a year to England, instead of £11,000,000, and he was recouped by the additional price which the English consumer paid him for his slightly enhanced cost of transport; and the Russian rouble, the index of the rate of exchange between the two countries, remained during the whole period of the war at par, 38*d*. . . . The exports from the Prussian ports quadrupled and quintupled the amount at which they stood previously to the war, and this gainful trade to the Prussian merchants put all idea of a political and military alliance with the Western Powers out of the heads of the Prussian people. The business of neutrality was far too lucrative."

It seems to me that if Mr. Butler Johnstone's object had been to show the futility of attempting to put a stress upon Russia by a strict adherence to the old code of maritime war, he could not have used a more forcible argument. Is it not plain that, so long as Prussia remained on friendly terms with Russia, all that was required to secure the immunity of Russian goods from capture was to make Memel and Königsberg the entrepôts of Russian produce, instead of Riga and Revel, by transferring the produce either when it had reached those ports, or before it had arrived there, from the Russian producer to the neutral merchant? Mr. Johnstone makes some reference to certificates of origin. But you could not ear-mark corn grown in Russia so as to distinguish it from Prussian corn. As a matter of fact, it appears to me that the only countries against which the old rule of maritime war is now available are those which have not the means of transporting their merchandise by land into neutral territory, and against those countries it is not necessary to enforce such a right, because the object in view—the destruction of their commerce—can be obtained more easily and expeditiously by means of a direct blockade.

Then it is said that the effect of the new rule in time of war will be to drive the trade of this country into neutral bottoms, and thereby to ruin our own commercial marine. Here, again, I cannot help thinking that those who would adhere to the old rule have been misled in some degree by arguing from what took place during the war with France, and that they have ignored not only the immense expansion of our mercantile marine, and consequently the greatly enhanced difficulty of protecting it by convoys, but the changes that have taken place since that time not only in the condition of the world generally, but in our own legislation as regards commercial matters, which appears to me to have a most important bearing on the question at issue. During the French war, and for a considerable time afterwards, our merchant shipping was protected by most stringent Navigation Laws. No foreign ship might ply between this country and a British colony. And the trade with India was even a closer monopoly. It is clear, then, that as regards our colonial trade, the question lay between trade carried on in British ships and no trade at all. And so long as we were superior at sea we could

protect our shipping by means of convoys. But now we have, very wisely as I think, repealed the Navigation Laws, and thrown open our carrying trade to the whole world. The matter resolves itself now into a question of insurance and war risks. I may illustrate this part of the argument by referring to what took place during the civil war in the United States. It is well known that while the trade between America and foreign ports is absolutely free to ships of all nations, the coasting trade is a close monopoly in the hands of Americans. The effect of the depredations of the Confederate cruisers was to transfer the carrying trade between America and foreign ports into the hands of neutrals. But in the case of the coasting trade no such result was possible, because foreigners were prohibited by the American law from engaging in that business. I am not now concerned with the wisdom of the law as to the coasting trade; what I wish to indicate is the similarity of its present conditions to those under which British trade was conducted in former times. I would point out further that, in the existing state of things, the question whether, if we are engaged in war with a maritime power, our carrying trade shall pass into the hands of neutrals, is one which does not rest with us to determine. It is in the hands of our opponents. We may declare, if we please, that we shall seize our enemy's goods on board neutral vessels, but if our antagonist chooses, for whatever reason, to adhere to the Declaration of Paris, our trade will find its way into neutral vessels as surely as water will flow downhill. The days of convoys for commercial purposes are past, never to return. I was much impressed some years ago by an anecdote which was told me of the adventures of a cargo of wheat shipped for Europe from San Francisco. The vessel was chartered, in the first instance, for Liverpool. Before she arrived there the captain received a telegram that prices were higher at Marseilles, and was directed to proceed thither. On arrival at Marseilles he was again instructed by telegraph to go to New York and discharge there, as prices had become relatively higher on that side of the Atlantic. So with cotton and other merchandise. How is it possible for ships escorted by men-of-war, and by the necessity of the case bound for a particular destination, to compete successfully with vessels which are free to go anywhere? Those who wish to revert to the former state of things must do something more than renounce the Declaration of Paris—they must re-enact the Navigation Laws.

It remains to be considered whether there is any prospect of our being able to induce other nations to join us in receding from the Declaration of Paris, and, if so, whether it would be for our advantage to do so. As regards the first point, it seems to me that the question is one which it is not difficult to answer. We are told by those who would have us go back to the old rule that we, as the first maritime power in the world, should derive great advantage from it in time of

war. But, granting that this were so, our gain would be the measure of the loss that might be incurred by nations less powerful at sea if they were to join with us in adopting a retrograde policy. And certainly, if we were now to reverse our steps, we should find ourselves in rather a false position. France, the United States, Italy, Germany, and other powers might fairly say, "You have during the last twenty years derived great advantages from the adoption of the principle that the flag covers the cargo; it is a little too late for you now to turn round and to ask us to do the same, because you think it possible that at some time or other you may be involved in war." But it may be said, "We have so much at stake that we ought to pluck up courage and determine to maintain our ancient maritime rights, whether we succeed in carrying other countries along with us or not." That is the conclusion at which Mr. Butler Johnstone arrives. He says, "They"—the arguments against the old rule—"are a sorry lot after all, and the first maritime nation that has the courage to say, 'We will resume our maritime rights,' will see those phantom idols like gibbering ghosts disappear in the midst of the ocean."

Suppose, then, that we had summoned up courage to assert the rights which we formerly exercised, and that we were able to put them in force without coming into collision with a league of the other maritime powers, what would be the amount of our gain, and would there be nothing in the shape of risk or loss to set down on the other side? Suppose we succeeded in inducing other maritime powers to join with us in going back to the old rule. I think we should not be long in discovering that we had voluntarily placed ourselves in a position of great peril without any adequate motive. Our situation differs from that of the other great powers in this essential particular, that we depend far more than they upon our sea-borne trade. Now, suppose we were engaged in a long and obstinate war with a combination of maritime powers. It might happen that we found ourselves hard pressed to hold our own at sea. So long as we were able to prevent our ports from being blockaded, we could obtain such supplies of raw materials as we required in neutral vessels, and we might export the manufactured articles in the same manner. But suppose the old law of maritime war were re-established, and that every neutral vessel were liable to be searched for goods belonging to a belligerent, our position might soon become a very precarious one. In many of the trades carried on here, the competition with foreign countries is so severe that very little would turn the scale. Suppose that our cotton trade were handicapped by heavy war risks on the raw material, and by high charges of the same kind against all the manufactured cotton exported; it is quite conceivable that the cotton manufacture might be driven from this country and establish itself elsewhere. Nor must it be forgotten that we now depend largely, and that our dependence increases from year to year, upon our imports and exports

for the means of obtaining and paying for the food of our population. With the right to search neutral ships, stringently enforced by a combination of maritime powers, we might soon see every article of food here at famine prices. In this matter, above all, the stakes are not equal as between ourselves and foreign countries. Not only does their home production of articles of the first necessity approximate much more nearly than ours to the amount which they require for their own use, but most of those countries are either, like the nations of continental Europe, conterminous with others, or, like the United States, they have the means of producing everything they require within their own borders. No doubt our merchant shipping is a most important interest, but the merchandise which that shipping conveys to and from our shores is more important still. In fact, the principle that the neutral flag covers the cargo is the natural and necessary complement of our free-trade legislation.

It has often been said that we cannot remain at the point which we have now reached, that if we cannot go back we must go forward, and that we ought to endeavour to persuade the maritime powers to sanction the principle which was, I believe, first advocated by the United States, that merchant ships should be allowed to go free, whether belonging to a neutral or an enemy. I confess I think that a rule of this kind, so long as the right of blockade was maintained, would be for the advantage of this country. But there is a practical difficulty which it might not be easy to get over. How is a rule of this kind to be enforced? If a rule of war which is advantageous to neutrals is infringed, it may be expected that the neutral powers will do what they can to insure its being observed, and unless there is a very great preponderance of force on the side of the belligerent who breaks the rule, they will very probably succeed. But neutrals have no interest in enforcing a rule which deals favourably with the property of belligerents; their interest lies rather the other way, and therefore they can hardly be expected to interfere if the rule is broken. And if we were to agree to a rule of this kind, it might very well happen that after we had observed it for some time, and perhaps foregone considerable advantages by having done so, our enemy might eventually find his account in breaking it. If that were so, I am afraid he would very easily find plausible excuses for escaping from the engagement he had entered into.

But however that may be, the Declaration of Paris rests on firmer grounds. The principle it involves has received the sanction of the great maritime powers; it is certain that in future wars the neutral states will resent and resist its violation; and it appears to be not only in harmony with the feeling of the civilised world, but also in accordance with the permanent interest of this country.

AIRLIE.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

ALTHOUGH the fundamental conditions of the Eastern Question point as strongly as ever towards war as certain and inevitable, yet there has been a strong superficial feeling during the past month that we should have peace. The close of the Conference was followed by a circular from Russia, asking the Powers what they proposed to do next. Before an answer was given, the circular was followed by an invitation to the Powers to sign a document, which should put on record the opinion of the Powers as to the reforms that the Porte ought to introduce into its government, and should also be a means of informing the Porte that collective Europe expected to see these reforms carried out. Such is the common version of the famous Protocol to which—along with General Ignatief's journey to Berlin, Paris, London, and Vienna—all men's thoughts have been turned during the last fortnight. So far as the common version is correct, the Protocol brings the whole Eastern Question virtually back to the moment of the Andrassy Note. The passionate popular agitation of the autumn, the mobilisation of the Russian army, the Conference, are as if they had never been. Men have perplexed themselves for many days to discover the motive of Russia in being willing to find in such a document a satisfactory way out of her present embarrassing situation of being ready to strike, yet shrinking from the blow. What impression can the Protocol make upon the Turkish Government? The Andrassy Note went for nothing. The collective pressure of the representatives of the Powers at the Conference went for nothing. It is impossible to see any reason why the new Protocol should go for more; and there is a reason why it should go for less, because the Porte is quite acute enough to feel that its defiance at the Conference was the most perilous experiment that it is ever likely to make as to the limits of European patience, and that a refusal to pay any attention to the Protocol cannot make Turkish isolation more definite than it is already.

So far therefore as the substance of the Eastern Question is concerned, —namely, the improvement of the government in the provinces—it is unaccountable that Russia should look upon the Protocol as helping a solution, or therefore as helping her honourably out of a position that is, for various only half-understood reasons, inconvenient to her. So unaccountable is this, that many persons have fallen back on the assumption that Russia means war as soon as the weather will allow it, and only desires the Protocol as a public and formal justification before Europe of her grounds in making war. Such a suspicion might be supposed to lie in the minds of the British Government, for it is understood that the delay and hesitation on their part in assenting to the proposal have been due to a resolution that demobilisation of the Russian army should be a condition precedent of the pressure on Turkey of the old demands in their new shape.

It has been said on the other hand, and we can see no answer to it, that if Russia means war, any further proof of the opinion of Europe that the Porte ought to reform itself, and any further proof of the obstinate refusal, or hopeless inability, of the Porte effectively to defer to the opinion

of Europe, is purely superfluous. That proof abounds and overabounds. The rejection of the "irreducible minimum" at the Conference is as excellent proof as can be imagined. Whatever reasons Russia may have for seeking peace at any price—and a peace which, after the Moscow speech, leaves the condition of the Christian populations unchanged is peace at any price—they must be independent of any unguaranteed promises of the Turk. And so also must her reasons for intending war in the spring be independent of any new evidence that the Turk either declines to make promises, or declines to give any satisfactory assurance that he means to keep them. The most rational conclusion, therefore, seems to be that Russia has not this month been merely asking for a certificate that making war on Turkey when the spring comes would be a just and warrantable measure, but that Prince Gortchakow really desires to put on record the European view of Turkish misgovernment and Turkish persistency in refusing to listen to the counsels of the civilised Powers.

There is another hypothesis, which is less improbable than that Russia has definitely made up her mind for war at a near and given date. This is that she expects, and as we hold expects on uncommonly good grounds, that before any very long interval, Turkey will again be the scene of outrages which the conscience of Europe will not endure. The Protocol which Prince Gortchakow has proposed would give Russia a decent excuse for retreat for the present—or at least Russia might think so—and it would help to justify her, when the new catastrophe comes, in striking in to punish its authors.

All this, however, is wholly in the region of conjecture. There are perhaps not six men in Europe who have any idea of the real intentions of Russia. There is perhaps not one; in other words, the Czar himself has no fixed intentions, but only vacillations. Meanwhile, the attitude of the British Government deserves to be looked at rather precisely. It is commonly reported that the autumn demonstrations procured a reversal of the policy to which Lord Beaconsfield wished to commit his government, and to a certain extent this was true enough. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Derby originally designed to persevere in the Turkish policy of the Crimean War, and Lord Beaconsfield at any rate spoke as if this perseverance went to the extent of again drawing the sword on behalf of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. When the Blue-books, however, came out after the meeting of parliament, it was found that Lord Derby had perceived the impossibility of following the old lines of active sympathy with the Porte, and that he had definitely warned the Porte to expect no aid from Great Britain. The instructions with which Lord Derby dispatched Lord Salisbury to Constantinople, and Lord Salisbury's own attitude during the Conference, were in the same sense. They marked a definite abandonment of the old pro-Turkish partisanship, and the discovery that this was so, invoked a certain partial revival of confidence in the government on the part of the country. But those who have watched Mr. Disraeli's long career know that one of its main secrets has been an indomitable tenacity. Amid a thousand shifts and improvisations as to means, he clings to any end that he may have set himself, with a

patience, a steadfastness, an observant fixity of purpose returning again and again to its object, that would be admirable if only the end happened to be rather less sinister and ignoble. Well, those who had seized this quality of tenacity in Mr. Disraeli's career, knew that it would not desert Lord Beaconsfield, and that it would count for much in the conflict between him and English opinion upon Eastern Questions. If we mark how things stand at this moment, we shall see that Lord Beaconsfield appears to be having his own way after all. Is it not so? Is not the British Government, in its attitude to Russia as to the terms of the Protocol, backing that Power which it was the expressed resolution of last autumn that this country should never back again? To say to Russia, "We insist on your undertaking to disarm, as a condition of our bidding Turkey put her house in order," is merely another way of saying, "We do not object to bidding Turkey to put her house in order, because by forcing you to disarm we are breaking up the only instrument that existed to make our bidding of the smallest effect."* This was virtually the attitude of the British Government at the time of its refusal to join in the Berlin Memorandum. It is the strongest support that we can give, short of a threat of armed intervention, to that very Porte which the English nation are determined not to support either by an armed intervention or in any other way. Nay, it is said that the British Government is not only insisting on Russia disarming, but insists on Russia disarming even while the Turks remain in arms, and while peace remains unsettled between Turkey and Montenegro. If this is not backing Turkey, what better could we do for her?

Apart, however, from negotiations which we can at present only know obscurely, there is no better proof of the reaction that has been at work in the Cabinet during the last few days than the resolution announced by Lord Derby (March 19) to send Sir Henry Elliott back to Constantinople, if only his health permitted. As it happens, Sir Henry Elliott's health does not at present allow him to return, but the animus of the bare proposal of his return as a thing possible is sufficiently plain. It is an illustration of the new tack on which the government is sailing—that is to say, of their return to the old tack from which the country was believed to have finally turned the reactionary part of the Cabinet.

Let us suppose the Protocol to be signed. Let us even suppose the government to have succeeded as the champions of the Porte in forcing Russia to disarm. And what next? Mr. Gladstone has published in the course of the month a pamphlet which points to what we may expect in Turkey. The pamphlet appears to have had a small vogue compared with the famous piece from the same pen last September, though it is in reality far more substantial and conclusive. For one thing, it is less exciting, if not less energetic in its composition. For another, people are already persuaded as firmly as they can be, after reading any number of pamphlets, that the Turkish Government has every vice that a government can have. Above all—and this must not be concealed nor shirked—they ask themselves and one another why the distinguished pamphleteer has not courageously raised the flag in parliament for practical action? Mr. Gladstone, people say, and say with perfect justice, has been in power for more than twenty years: how

much could have been done during that long period by steady pressure to force the Porte into better courses? Yet not only is there no reason to suppose that he ever did anything in this direction, but there is the awkward fact that the replies made from time to time under his own premiership as to the condition of the Turkish Empire all reeked with the conventional optimism and ignorance of the Foreign Office. To this all that we can say is that it is better to enter on the right way late, than to persist in the wrong way to the end, and that Mr. Gladstone has redeemed the unfortunate supineness of past years by the splendid vigour with which he put himself at the head of the movement that has shaken our Eastern policy to its very foundations. That there is a certain weak and inconvenient halt in Mr. Gladstone's action since the meeting of parliament is not to be denied. On him more than on any one else fell the duty of giving public feeling the support and stimulus of parliamentary action. He says with cogent eloquence in his new pamphlet:—

"We palter, we excuse, we set up false lights to draw us off the path; at last, with a huge effort, we appoint a man, yes, a real man, to speak; but he is well warned that his big, brave words at Constantinople shall be well understood to be words only. What, in the meantime, is the state of the subject-races? It is this,—that their government is the incarnate curse of their existence. If the child can laugh, if the maiden can breathe freely, if the mother can tend the house, and the father till the field in peace, it is when, and so long as, the agents of this government are not in view; and it only proves that tyrannous Power has not yet found the alchemy by which it can convert human life into one huge mass of misery, uniform and unredeemed. What civilisation longs for, what policy, no less than humanity, requires, is that united Europe, scouted, as we have seen, in its highest, its united diplomacy, shall pass sentence in its might upon a government which unites the vices of the conqueror and the slave, and which is lost alike to truth, to mercy, and to shame."

But what is the end of all this? It is only a more impassioned version of Lord Derby's assurance, repeated by Lord Salisbury, that "Great Britain is resolved not to sanction misgovernment and oppression." To pass sentence on a criminal is a very otiose performance, unless there is to be some serious attempt to execute the sentence, and this execution is not yet formally proposed by Mr. Gladstone to the country.

Apart, however, from the merely personal question, which is really of very small consequence in view of such a crisis, the evidence collected by Mr. Gladstone from the Blue-books confirms our own shorter propositions of last month, as to the persistency, the natural and incurable persistency, of lawlessness and outrage in the Turkish provinces. The details of proof reek with "the uncleanly savours of a slaughter-house," and something fouler than a slaughter-house. They are so multitudinous and indisputable that their very flagrancy seems to weaken their impression. The public speedily sinks into a readiness to look on massacre as normal, if there is only enough of it, and in time—some people say, even now—they come to be no more deeply stirred by the abominations in Turkey than by human sacrifices and blood-baths in Dahomey.

Yet we have some difficulty in understanding how responsible statesmen

should attempt to cover their own incapacity to devise anything worthy of the name of a policy, by talk about the Porte turning over a new leaf, and becoming a capable and humane government. Even if we were willing to lay no more stress on the hideous events of last May, to put them aside as we put aside the hideous events of the Thirty Years' War, or the bloody suppression of the Irish Rebellion, or the horrors of Badajoz,—the evidence is overwhelming that oppression and violence are still rampant, and in the worst form. For there is no lawlessness so harsh, so irresistible, so penetrating, so desperate, as that which is perpetrated by the agents of a government. The animosity of a Mahometan village against a Christian village may burst out into flames, and may subside. But the cruel rapacity of the tribe of tithe-gatherers, fired by contempt and hatred towards a subject-race, and backed by a reckless government, is one of those scourges which makes itself felt at every turn, and pierces to the inmost nooks and crevices of the life of its unfortunate victims. This rapacity of the official is of the very essence of Turkish government, as it has been of the essence of all governments of Turkish type. The regular taxation is the least part of the oppression. Indeed it is said that the amount of the legal and nominal taxation is not at all intolerably heavy. But this is no measure of what is really exacted. The nominal charge is doubled and trebled by arbitrary extortions. There is no limit to imposts and requisitions, and lawless exactions. Here is an instance taken from a very good authority:—

"Even in ordinary times the Turkish zaptieh, bent on business, or the Turkish official, bent on pleasure, visit the Bulgarian villages, eat and drink, and leave without paying. As a rule they shun Mussulman and even larger Bulgarian villages, where they know there is an inn to be found, and are not allowed to billet themselves in private houses. But where there is no inn they and their horses are sheltered and fed in private dwellings, and the expenses thus incurred are afterwards assessed by the inhabitants on the whole village. The expenses which some of these villages have had to bear this year for such purposes are something incredible. Thus the case is reported of a poor widow of Kourtovo Konare (Youtchoularé), whose total annual contribution for direct taxes amounts to six piastres, while the share of the common village expenses she has had to pay reached the figure of eighty-five piastres! All this is illegal, as according to the law the zaptieh must pay for what he consumes. But the peasant, knowing that if he is mysteriously robbed or ill-treated after he has had an unpleasantness with the zaptieh, he can hope nothing from the law, shrinks from a step which he knows will be fraught with danger to his future safety."

The shallow empirics who lecture us in the morning and evening press as to the folly of sentimentalism and the all-importance of something which they call Policy, should try to recognise that our dislike to the Turkish Empire is not necessarily connected with sentimentalism in any form, but may well spring from a hard-headed, business-like, and genuinely political hatred of a genuinely barbarous, disorderly, and unpolitical system of government. Here is an episode in tax-collecting, which it can hardly be called mere sentimentalism to view with disgust:—

"Alay Bey being gone, the Lieutenant left in charge of Pozar bade his

men arrest all the male population of seven years and upwards, and, beating them most unmercifully, he shut them up in the stables, crowded together like sheep in their pens, by this means compelling the women to satisfy the unjust demands of the tithe-gatherer, Bekir Pehlevan. Remonstrances against the iniquity of these demands and against the unprovoked ill-treatment of their children were attempted by some of the more respectable imprisoned heads of the families, but the Lieutenant, by way of answer, threw them back into prison, ordered his men to get into the houses and have themselves served by the women with the best the larders afforded, and allowed the old women, if they attempted to keep the young ones out of sight, to be exposed to the most infamous and obscene insults and tortures, which cannot be described to English readers. The village was thus militarily occupied for two nights and one day; the men in durance, the women at the ravagers' discretion. Some of the worst Turks of the neighbouring villages came up, seizing Christian labourers where they chanced to be in the field, and compelling them, in their own ribald, grotesque way, to carry them pick-a-back like beasts of burden, using their knives as spurs to urge them on when, through age or illness, they fainted on the way.

"Some of the peasants had in the meanwhile found their way to Vodena, and described to the Kaimakam the condition to which their village and people were reduced in consequence of the iniquity of the tax-gatherer. The Kaimakam, as the custom is, appointed a Commission of Inquiry, consisting of one Christian and two Mussulmans. The Commission, acting under the influence of Dourzi Caratzovali, Alay Bey's friend, made no report. The village meantime had been robbed, every house gutted, and hardly a tile left sound upon the roofs. All the produce of the poor people, the furniture, clothing, &c., or as much of it, at least, as did not tempt the plunderers, became the property of the tithe-gatherer, who picked up a sum of 30,000 piastres in silver, while the sum for which he had farmed the village tithes for three years was only 51,000 piastres. The peasantry have at last been left, sorely beaten, terrified, and destitute of everything, after submitting for three days to every kind of outrage."

This happened scarcely six weeks ago, and everybody knows that there is no more chance of punishment or redress than if all the parties to the outrage had been transferred to the moon. And then when the people rise against such villainies, we are assured that the rising is wholly due to Russian intrigue!

Love of good government is not more humanitarian than it is soundly commercial. How many millions of money that were added to the world's wealth by the industry and the thrift of Englishmen have been squandered, wasted, and destroyed by the profligate fatuity of the Government which these monopolists of political sagacity rebuke us for harassing and obstructing! How many millions of money are every year being subtracted from the possibilities of the world's wealth by the infernal blight which this same bloody idol of the wiseacres of Pall Mall throws over lands that are rich in soil for tillage, in mineral resources, in ports and harbours, and all the other natural springs and conditions of busy production, and a thriving and world-enriching commerce! How many millions of money, not to speak of the vast

sums expended in the war which broke out three-and-twenty years ago, are now being lost in the suspension of European trade, caused by apprehensions lest a war should break out again to-day,—apprehensions that will be inevitably renewed at ever shorter and shorter periodic intervals! The Turkish Question is one of hard cash, as well as of fine feelings. We do not say that all these delinquencies are a sufficient reason why we should hurry in to break up the Ottoman or any other government. But they are among the best possible reasons why we should have our minds steadily fixed on the best way of replacing this bad government, instead of having them steadily fixed, as Lord Derby holds his mind, on the one object of keeping such a government where it is, in spite of its being what it is. They are among the best possible reasons why we should either renounce relations with Turkey and leave her to her fate, or else should raise upon her the strong hand of armed power.

Lord Salisbury himself has emphasised the "hopelessness of finding any restraint that is not external to the Turkish Government." Unless you have guarantees exacted from without, said Lord Salisbury, reform is hopeless. Yet this hopeless thing is precisely what we are now bidden to hope, and Lord Salisbury is himself a party to a negotiation, such as that now in progress, which expressly precludes the exaction of guarantees from without. "Ah," cry our malignants, "but there is now a Turkish constitution and a Turkish parliament: are you, who plume yourselves on being the very Liberals of Liberals, to offer the scandal of disparaging constitutional checks, and is the mother of parliaments to scorn the youngest born of the great family of free governments?" If we want to understand the nature of this ugly and ricketty bastard of the parliamentary family, Lord Salisbury has explained it in a paper of conciseness and force (Blue-book, ii. No. 222), which may well be called "a masterly and lacerating exposure." Well might Lord Salisbury conclude that the Plenipotentiaries appeared to think that "no serious importance" could be attached to such a guarantee as this, against maladministration or the excesses of arbitrary power. Yet this precious constitution, though it will be as powerless as Lord Salisbury expects, or did expect, in securing good government, may help to break up the Empire more effectually than a Russian army or the English fleet. Turkey is in such a state of excitement that any novelty is a peril.

Nothing can be more menacing than the reports from Constantinople. A crash seems imminent. Yet is there a single sign of deliberate preparation and forecast on the part of a single European statesman for meeting this crash when it comes?

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The Presidential Election of 1877 may prove to be an important epoch in the history of the United States. The corruption and general discredit which lowered the reputation of the United States under the administration of General Grant were alarming; but they were certainly not the outcome of any corruption in the nation at large. The fault that can be imputed to the nation is that it did not protest as energetically as might have been wished against the misconduct of its rulers. But even for this there is much excuse. There was no glaring maladministration, perceptible to the

ordinary citizen. In a country where the functions of government are so small, people never think of what is doing for years together, unless something quite exceptional calls their attention to it. The American people too are very busy; the capital is far off. It is a small city, to which no citizen can be called in the ordinary course of his own business. Moreover, the constitution of the United States provides no means for at once checking the errors of a government. Only the President can dismiss the ministers, who are really his confidential servants rather than his colleagues; and the President cannot be got rid of (except by impeachment) till the end of his term. And the shortcomings of the late President, though grave, were not only not criminal, not corrupt, not even (except, perhaps, in the now remote negociations in regard to San Domingo) unconstitutional; they were consistent with a very respectable character, and very good intentions.

But the more permanent evils of General Grant's administration, and those which have caused the gravest anxiety, were the scandalous misrule of those Southern States (excepting Georgia) in which the negroes are a majority of the voters; and the support of the robber-governments by the patronage, the influence, and, in some cases, the unconstitutional use of the military forces of the Federal Government; and, secondly, the general use of all appointments in the civil service for party purposes. The most important posts in the Customs and Inland Revenue Department were thus given to party managers. And an abuse, which dates from the time of President Jackson, attained its greatest height under a President, in whose time the service of the national debt had enormously increased the number of public servants in all departments of the revenue.

The purpose of the Administration in supporting the robber-governments of the States of Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, like their use of the Federal patronage, was to maintain the Republican majority in the two houses of Congress, and ultimately to secure the election of another Republican President. The leaders of the Republican majority in the Senate directed the President in the administration of his patronage. In disputed elections they upheld the Republican claimants to office in the Southern States referred to, by refusing to check or inquire into the use of the Federal troops, and of Federal officers, and even law courts, on their behalf. And gradually the most flagrant faults of the Administration came to be associated with the most influential Republican senators.

There were thus, at the commencement of the Presidential election, three questions of the gravest importance:—(1) Could honest government and confidence be restored in the Southern States? Could an administration be formed that would reconcile the North and the South, doing its best to give the latter honest government, and so to encourage the flow thither of northern capital? (2) Could the system of using the patronage of the United States as a bribery fund of party be brought to an end? And, lastly, was the currency of the United States to be brought back to a gold standard?

Both candidates had the same programme: fair dealing towards the South and its permanent reconciliation, reform of the civil service, and specie payments. Mr. Hayes's language was perhaps the more emphatic as to the

second, Mr. Tilden's as to the first. The senatorial group, with one exception, gave an active support to the candidate of their party, and no doubt this strengthened by many votes the supporters of his opponent; but all the party machinery was exerted for Mr. Hayes. He ultimately defeated Mr. Tilden by a majority of one vote in the electoral college, while the popular vote gave a large majority to Mr. Tilden. Many of the electoral votes given to Mr. Hayes were with too much probability attributed to false returns, which the Republican command of the electoral machinery in the three negro States enabled them to secure. The two parties finally agreed to refer the examination of the returns to a commission. This commission, however, refused to investigate delicate matters, so difficult of proof; and Mr. Hayes became President, not without grave suspicion of fraud in the conduct of managers of his party in certain States, but without a breath of suspicion resting on himself. Mr. Hayes is a man of high character, who served unostentatiously as colonel of an Ohio regiment through three years of the war, although many excuses offered themselves for his honourable retirement. And he had thrice been elected Governor of his State; maintaining in office a high reputation for industry, intelligence, and public spirit, and keeping aloof from what the Americans euphemistically call "politics."

Mr. Hayes has begun well. The appointments to the Cabinet show a desire on the part of the new President to rise above party, and to be equal to the promise of his candidature. A heavy blow was dealt to the Senatorial "Ring" by the exclusion from office of every man connected with any one of its members. The appointment as Postmaster-General of Mr. Key, an ex-Confederate soldier, and a moderate Democrat, not long ago Senator for Tennessee, will be taken in the South as a proof that the Cabinet really desires to know its true condition and the wishes of the white population. The appointment of Mr. Evarts, so well known in this country, to be Secretary of State, gives the Cabinet a staunch advocate of honest administration; a strong Republican in the war, but disposed with President Johnson to distrust the negro voter. If his rhetorical temperament should tempt Mr. Evarts into a strong foreign policy, the one peril we can anticipate, he will be restrained by the sober character attributed to his chief, and certainly by the pacific temper of his countrymen. Not the least significant appointment is that of Mr. Carl Schurz to be Minister of the Interior. Mr. Schurz was the first and almost the only Republican Senator to break with the Presidential clique under the late Administration, when it entered on its career of jobbery and of connivance with Southern misrule; and he has been the foremost and most eloquent advocate of a return to specie payment and of reform in the civil service. A civil service, made permanent by statute, would take away the source of some of the worst evils; and a careful watching of what we should call Private Bill Legislation would remove a large part of those that would remain. Besides the able lawyer who has become Secretary of State, the Attorney General is taken from Massachusetts, the home of constitutional lawyers. We may, therefore, hope for no return of the particular abuses that made General Grant's relations with the Southern Government so uncertain and pernicious.

*March* 23, 1877.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

*Mythology among the Hebrews, and its Historical Development.* By J. Goldziher. Translated by Russell Martineau. Longmans.

An attempt to apply the theory of the solar myth to the national legends of the Hebrews.

*Remains, Literary and Theological, of* Connop Thirlwall, *late Lord Bishop of St. David's.* Edited by J. J. S. Perowne, D.D. 2 vols. Daldy, Isbister & Co.

These volumes contain the Charges only, justly described by the editor as "the review by a master mind of all the great questions which have agitated the Church of England during one of the most eventful periods in her history."

*The Great Dionysiak Myth.* By Robert Brown. Vol. I. Longmans.

Partly an argument to prove the Semitic derivation of Dionysos, and indirectly a contribution to the wider inquiry, "Whether religion and all that it entails sprang from man's unaided cogitations upon himself and the material world around?"

*Battles of the American Revolution. Historical and Military Criticism and Topographical Illustration.* By Colonel A. B. Carrington. New York.

Composed from the point of view of military science.

*A Critical History of the late American War.* By A. Mahan. Hodder and Stoughton.

An indictment of the generals on both sides.

*Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field-Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington.* Vol. VI. Edited by his Son, the Duke of Wellington, K.G. Murray.

The most interesting letters in this volume relate to the Eastern Question and the Irish Question, at one of the most important points in the history of each—with the Treaty of Adrianople and the Emancipation Act.

*The Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.* By George Walter Prothero. Longmans.

A compendious narrative, prepared "with special reference to the parliamentary history of the time."

*Waifs and Strays from the Far East.* By Frederic Henry Balfour. Trübner & Co.

"A series of disconnected essays on matters relating to China."

*The New Republic: or, Culture, Faith, and Philosophy in an English Country House.* 2 vols. Chatto and Windus.

Satirical conversations somewhat in the manner of Peacock, caricaturing modern theories in theology, philosophy, and æsthetics, and speculative subjects in general.

*Religions et mythologies comparées.* Par ANDRÉ LEFÈVRE. Leroux; Barthès and Lowell.

Essays treating religion and mythology from the anthropological point of view.

*Les premiers Habitants de l'Europe d'après les auteurs de l'antiquité et les recherches les plus récentes de la linguistique.* Par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE. Dumoutin; Barthès and Lowell.

The author hardly renders justice to his comprehensive treatise in describing it as "une sorte d'introduction à l'histoire des Celtes."

*Études sur les finances et l'économie des nations.* Par H. PRICE. Guillaumin; Barthès and Lowell.

Protectionist and anti-Malthusian.

*Midhat Pacha.* Par L. LEOUZON LE DUC. Dentu; Barthès and Lowell.

Less a biography of the ex-Vizier than a plea for the aptitude of the Turks for political improvement; the essence of which is conveyed in a quotation from Midhat himself, "Les Ottomans sont démocrates de mœurs et de religion; les institutions libérales sont donc les mieux appropriées à leur éducation sociale." The text of the Turkish constitution is given in an appendix.

*Histoire de la Terreur à Bordeaux.* Par M. AURÉLIEN VIVIÉ. Feret; Barthès and Lowell.

A highly important contribution to the history of the French Revolution in the provinces.

*Manuel et son Temps.* Par M. E. BONNAL. Dentu; Barthès and Lowell.

"Etude sur l'opposition parlementaire sous la restauration."

*Biographie de Alfred de Musset. Sa vie et ses œuvres.* Par PAUL DE MUSSET. Charpentier; Barthès and Lowell.

Clear and simple narrative, full of fraternal feeling, unaccompanied by letters or other documents.

*La Légende des Siècles. Nouvelle Série.* Par VICTOR HUGO. 2 tom. Calmann Lévy; Barthès and Lowell.

The counterpart of the former series in every poetical quality.

*Jarousseau, le Pasteur du Désert.* Par EUGÈNE PELLETAN. Germer Baillière; Barthès and Lowell.

The biography of a humble hero, recounted in the form of a fiction.

*A Travers Champs.* Par HENRY GRÉVILLE. Plon; Barthès and Lowell.

A novel of Russian life.

*Die Demokratie.* Von JULIUS SCHVAREZ. Bd. 1. Hlf. 1. Duncker and Humblot; Williams and Norgate.

The first part of a general history of democratic institutions, preliminary to a theory of politics regarded as a department of anthropological science.

*Adam Smith und Immanuel Kant.* Von Dr. AUG. DUCKER. Abth. 1. Duncker and Humblot; Williams and Norgate.

An endeavour to prove that Adam Smith has been misunderstood by his disciples, and is wrongly represented as the apostle of unlimited individualism and the adversary of State control.

*Reise in Nordost-Afrika.* Von M. T. VON HEUGLIN. Westermann; Asher & Co.

The narrative of a short excursion on the Red Sea coast in the neighbourhood of Suakin, accompanied by copious information respecting the zoology of the district.

*Joachim Heinrich Campe. Ein Lebensbild aus dem Zeitalter der Aufklärung.* Von Dr. J. LAYSER. 2 Bde. Vieweg; Williams and Norgate.

The biography of a practical educationist, with valuable accessions of correspondence and pædagogic details.

*Lessing, Wieland, Heinse. Nach den handschriftlichen Quellen in Gleim's Nachlasse dargestellt.* Von HEINRICH PRÖHLE. Berlin: Vereinsbuchhandlung; Nutt.

Side-lights upon the characters of three remarkable men.

*Beethoven nach den Schilderungen seiner Zeitgenossen.* Von LUDWIG NOHL. Cotta; Williams and Norgate.

Anecdotes and reminiscences collected from a variety of sources.

*La vita di Niccolò Machiavelli; commentari storico-critici corredati di documenti editi ed mediti.* Per GASPARE AMICO. Civelli; Dulau & Co.

*I Segreti del Stato del governo costituzionale.* Per ALFONSO LA MARMORA. Barbèra; Dulau & Co.

Documents and disclosures, chiefly relating to the influence of French and German policy on the part performed by Italy in the war of 1866.

*La Sicilia nel* 1876. Per LEOPOLDO FRANCHETTI E SIDNEY SONNINO. Barbèra; Dulau & Co.

Conveys the results of an investigation into the system of organized terrorism prevalent in Sicily, with suggestions for its suppression through social and economical reforms.

*Bozzetti critici e discorsi letterarii.* Per GIOSNÉ CARDUCCI. Vigo; Dulau & Co.

By the first living Italian poet.



THE

# FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. CXXV. NEW SERIES.—MAY 1, 1877.

## OUR EASTERN POLICY.

MANY persons have persuaded themselves that the political world of England in reference to the Eastern question may be divided with rough accuracy into two parts,—the party of policy and the party of passion. The former comprises men of active judgment, who look before and after ere they decide upon anything. It is their aim to subordinate their impulses to their reason, and to make their action the result of mature and far-seeing deliberation. The virtues and the defects of the party of passion are the converse of those of the party of policy. Quick and generous in their sympathies, they are constantly in danger of being hurried into courses a more sober judgment must condemn. They have not that higher charity which endures the spectacle of present suffering, while waiting in patient faith for the slow operation of the efforts it makes to stanch misery in its spring. Amiable in impulse but unstable in resolution, they are too often deficient in the gift of persistence, and they abandon the objects of their quickly excited pity after having raised in their breasts the liveliest hopes of succour. The division of English politicians into the two classes thus described has not been made in England alone. If it were so, the suggested classification would command little respect. But it must be confessed that the same judgment has been formed and expressed in those countries of Europe where the closest attention is paid to the study of the political movements of the day, and it is found enunciated by men of all schools of opinion. Ultramontanes and Ultra-Republicans are agreed in approving the wisdom of the policy pursued by the English Government, and in condemning the unwisdom of the agitation that has been raised against it. The judgment of the cultivated classes in Germany and in France has in this respect been in unison. The statesmen of free Italy and of free Belgium have marvelled at the extravagant suggestions of action of distinguished Englishmen, and of their apparent forgetfulness of the approved historic policy of England. The opinions thus widely expressed by foreign critics

cannot be disregarded. Their unfavourable judgment is a fact to be borne in mind, and it should make those who are exposed to it re-examine the grounds of their own conclusions. The result need not be feared.

In spite of that great weight of presumption against us arising from the concurrence of foreign opinion, I am bold to believe that it can be established, that the policy which has for its object the conservation of the Ottoman Empire, and discourages and even withstands with the whole influence of England every suggestion tending towards its dissolution, is erroneous in its conception and mischievous in its consequences; and that on the contrary the policy which favours the gradual dismemberment and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, and would approve and support the employment of the allied force of Europe in setting this process in motion, is wise and beneficial. In a word, generosity and statesmanship concur in recommending the piecemeal dissolution of the Ottoman rule. The more deliberate our judgment, the farther-reaching our examination of the conditions of the question, the clearer and more assured will be our conviction of this truth; and if, as seems probable, a wilful and obstinate resistance to every partial effort to break up the Turkish Empire shall make the whole fabric, as it exists in Europe, crumble at once and at no distant day into pieces, we who do not desire and even deprecate the burden of the labour this would involve, may still believe that out of the ruins shall arise reconstructed States, offering more than a recompense for all the suffering necessarily involved in the process of transformation.

In attempting to form a sober judgment of what it behoves us to desire in the East, we must go back far beyond the Bulgarian atrocities of last summer. We should not err if we tried to form some estimate of the character of that tide which flowed into Europe more than three centuries since, and for two centuries has been slowly receding from the lands it once owned. If we could spread before us a map of South-eastern Europe, coloured so as to represent the breadth of lands under the domination of the Turks at the epoch of their greatest power, when their victorious army lay encamped under the walls of Vienna, and upon the map, as we gazed, we could see the colour dying away—now growing fainter, now utterly disappearing—and the limits of its outline continually contracting as the power and the numbers of the race waned, and their conquests were resumed, the question would irresistibly arise on our lips whether the movement represented before us could be arrested. There is at least a presumption that this retrocession of boundaries, this secular withdrawal of the wave that once broke onwards, must be attributed to causes we cannot overrule. Opinions may differ, and will differ according to the temperaments of different men,

as to the time and the occasion of each successive delimitation of the Ottoman rule; but no one who has realised the continuity of historic movement can hesitate to confess that the progressive contraction of the area of Turkish domination is irresistible in its certainty. In truth, the race itself is dying out of Europe, and the explanation of this fact, that is sometimes suggested by apologists, does not extenuate its significance. The Turks are declining in numbers, because upon them alone is thrown the burden of military duty—because, that is to say, the Turks remain now what they were at the beginning, a conquering tribe that won its power in arms, and kept it by arms; and being thus ungifted with the faculty of incorporating with itself the races it holds in subjection, its own numbers have dwindled under the strain of military requirements, and the cause of the continuous contraction of its dominion stands explained and condemned. We have thus presented to our study the spectacle of a movement of disintegration, containing within itself the certainty of further development. If this truth is once seized, if it becomes confessed that province by province the Ottoman Empire must be diminished, so that the practical question before us is simply whether the circumstances of the present moment render it expedient that another step should be taken in the inevitable process, much of the violence and the passion manifested in recent months, in the discussion of a question depending for its solution upon the evaluation of a few well-defined elements of judgment, must appear vulgar and foolish. One man thinks that certain provinces might be at once emancipated from the sway of the Porte. His thought may be rash. Another deprecates the suggestion as involving unseen perils. His thought may be timid. Is it impossible to examine which of these opposing judgments is to be preferred, without descending to the raillery of the gutter?

A comparison of what Turkey in Europe was with what it is, suggests something more than a continuous movement of receding power. It invites us to consider the effect of every step upon the provinces withdrawn from Ottoman rule, and upon the order and well-being of South-eastern Europe. The people of Hungary seem to have almost forgotten that for a century and a half the Turks held their ancestors in subjection; yet the visitor to Pesth who ascends the Blocksberg may see the dome-covered tomb of a Moslem saint in the vineyards below him, and he will be told that its maintenance was accepted by the victors as an obligation, and freedom of pilgrimage to it was reserved for the faithful by treaty, when the Sultan finally relieved the city from his grasp. It may seem idle to suggest a comparison between what Hungary is, and what it might have been, had it remained under the direct government of the Porte; yet there is no reason to believe that the contrast to which attention

is thus invited is greater than that between what Bulgaria is, and what it might become, were its independence of Turkish authority once established. The native quality of peasant-life in Hungary compares unfavourably rather than favourably with that of peasant-life in Bulgaria; and if the initial elements of political organization in the latter are feebler, owing to the absence of anything like the Magyar aristocracy, the peacefulness of its progressive growth is perhaps more assured. This is, however, an anticipation; all I desire to urge at present is the immense gain accomplished in Hungary as a living-place of men, through its deliverance from Turkish power—a gain not counterbalanced, so far as I am aware, by any added instability of the European equilibrium, though this is a consequence that might be plausibly apprehended did the question of Hungarian freedom now arise *de novo*. The enfranchisement of Greece is not yet fifty years old, but it must be admitted that the high, perhaps the overstrained, expectations that were formed of its development have not been realised; yet no one can pass from Constantinople to Athens without feeling that he has passed from a decaying to a growing world. Although Greece has suffered grievously, and still suffers from a vicious administrative organization and a most injurious system of taxation, it has made such progress as a nation, that we ought to be surprised and not disappointed at it. A most vigorous sentiment of national life has been developed, and indeed has spread over the borders of the kingdom, so that not only in Crete and Thessaly do Greeks long for reunion with their country, but the inhabitants of the Isles renounced all the material and the not inconsiderable moral advantages of British protection, that they might share the life and the history of their brothers on the mainland. This great feeling of common life has been greatly developed through the influence of that most remarkable feat, the regeneration of the Greek language by the emancipated Greeks—a feat which is, of itself, a proof of the intensity of the energy of patriotic aspirations that made it possible. Had Greece not been freed, had it remained a Turkish province, Athens, which is now an active centre of intellectual life, exercising an influence that the Greeks of all lands delight to strengthen and increase, would have still been a miserable village sheltered under the Acropolis, where a few poor peasants managed to maintain an uncertain existence. And if we ask what has been the influence of the independence of Greece upon the equilibrium of Europe, we must answer again that a greater and not a less degree of stability has been the consequence. A perfect balance of the European system has not resulted, nor could it while the work of liberation was left so imperfectly accomplished; but there has been a real mitigation of international strain, as will be at once understood by any one who will attempt to restore in his mind what formerly existed.

Greece and Hungary are wholly free from the dominion of the Porte; but I must say a few words on two States—Roumania and Servia—which still remain nominally subject to it. The Danubian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, now united as Roumania, were never subject to Turkish administration, although they have been more than four hundred years under Turkish supremacy, and there is no room for the suggestive contrast between its present and past condition, to which appeal can be made in references to Hungary, Greece, and Servia. An instructive contrast may, however, be studied by those who will compare the condition of the inhabitants on the opposite banks of the Danube, in free Roumania and unfree Bulgaria, and ask why they differ. The physical capabilities of the country are almost the same; the moral qualities of the Bulgarians are superior to those of the Wallachians; but the effect of what is at best an irregular and capricious tyranny has been to keep back those who should have been the more advanced in the progress of civilisation. The gift of freedom seems to have preserved Roumania from the utter degradation of moral corruption. The doom of servitude has not extinguished Bulgarian morality, but it has kept the physical conditions of life in Bulgaria in undeveloped savagery. Something more must be added before passing from Roumania. The Treaty of Paris secured to Wallachia and Moldavia all their ancient privileges and immunities, and the Sultan, moreover, promised to convoke a Divan in each of the provinces, to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definitive organization of the Principalities. These Divans met, and it became evident that the inhabitants of each principality were almost unanimous in favour of a union of the two, and they further declared that, in order to avoid mutual jealousies, they desired to be united under a foreign prince. In May, 1858, a conference of the Powers was about to meet at Paris to consider what should be done in this matter, and a preliminary discussion was raised in the House of Commons to declare English opinion on the question. A motion was made that just weight should be given to the wishes of the people of Wallachia and Moldavia. It was opposed on grounds of high policy, and it was rejected by 292 to 114. Mr. Gladstone was the author of the motion, and among those who supported him by speech and votes were Lord Robert Cecil (Lord Salisbury) and—let it not be forgotten—Mr. Roebuck. His principal opponents were Lord Palmerston and Mr. Disraeli. The former was convinced that the union of the Principalities under a foreign prince meant their union under a member of the House of Romanoff, since Russia would allow nothing else; and Mr. Disraeli was particularly solemn in denouncing "the raw and crude opinions" of Lord Robert Cecil. "On the ground of high policy" and "for every consideration of the highest political character," he deprecated the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's motion—

thus using language almost identical with that he employed in his last speech in the House of Commons, in warning Sir William Harcourt against abandoning the wisdom of tradition. It is difficult, looking back nineteen years, to repress all feeling of contempt for the affectation of profundity of thought which has been proved to be so shallow; and excuses cannot be altogether wanting, if the feeling excited by the retrospect is transferred to to-day's reproduction of this discredited sagacity. The Principalities have been united, and under a foreign prince; but he is of the House of Hohenzollern, and not of Romanoff; and instead of Roumania being an outlying dependency of Russia, its people are keenly jealous of their great neighbour, and bent on making the position of their country secure as a neutralised territory. What Servia once suffered may be read in the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, detailing her experiences as she passed through on her road to Constantinople. What has been the local and the European gain of its emancipation may be gathered from the conduct of the Great Powers on the close of the war between Servia and Turkey in the autumn. This was nominally a rebellion; and it was characterized by Lord Beaconsfield as most wanton and unprovoked. The Servians were completely defeated, and if the Turks had been able to use their advantage they might have marched upon and reoccupied Belgrade. When an armistice was agreed upon and negotiations for a definite peace commenced, the Porte naturally claimed some reward of victory, some humiliation of their defeated vassals, some diminution of their power; but all Europe declared that none of their demands could be entertained for a moment. Had it been a question of the establishment of the autonomy of Servia, there would have been tremors of alarm and an abundance of deprecation; had it been a question of giving validity to Tchernayeff's proclamation of the complete independence of a Servian kingdom, we should have had a similar exhibition of bewildered dread; but it is the peculiar distinction of those to whom the Eastern question is a study of deep policy, that they are profoundly impressed with the wisdom of every step that has been already taken, and with the rashness of every proposal to take another step, although in the same direction.

Those who look upon the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in Europe as a fore-ordained result of unalterable causes, and accept each stage of the process as bringing a blessing to the inhabitants of the released provinces and to their neighbours, must have condemned the Crimean war as a wasted effort to prevent a change that should have been facilitated. Nobody can suppose that what has since happened has shaken their judgment of that episode in the history of South-eastern Europe. We may strive to keep the parts of Turkey together; they fall to pieces despite our efforts. The continued maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire

is a moral impossibility. Roumania has not gravitated towards Russia, but the ligature that bound it to the Porte has become slighter and slighter until it is now almost imperceptible. The last attribute of independence—that of entering into diplomatic relations with other Powers—has been formally conceded as respects commercial conventions, and the voice of Roumania has not failed to be heard at the European Courts during the recent political complications. I need not repeat the evidence of Servian independence. The Crimean war left a Turkish garrison at Belgrade. That was soon withdrawn, under the pressure of the advice of the Great Powers; and the suggestion made by the Porte last autumn that it should be restored was instantly disallowed. While the semi-independent provinces have been thus advancing to complete independence, the disorganization of the provinces still subject to Turkish administration has become worse and worse. It is pitiable to read the debates in Parliament that followed the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace of 1856. Those persons still alive who took part in them must find a difficulty in attempting to restore the mental atmosphere in which they then lived. There was apparently a successful attempt on the part of the Legislature to believe that a regeneration of Ottoman rule had begun, and would be carried on to perfection. Yet look at the history of Bosnia itself from 1856 to 1875. It is a history of repeated revolts. Again and again has insurrection been put down; but as the misgovernment that provoked every rising was never abated, and indeed became aggravated in successive years, no repression could be permanent. The Begs of Bosnia were tyrannical and oppressive in their treatment of the rayahs; but the substitution for the authority of these renegade landowners of that of the corrupt nominees of the Porte, who had paid for their offices with gold, and made it their sole business to extract the utmost possible from the peasants during the brief term of their power, was an exchange of chastisement with scorpions for chastisement with whips. The condition of these wretched cultivators of the soil became yearly more intolerable, until at last rebellion never died out of the land. It was evident that the existing political conditions of the province could not be maintained. Turkish supremacy might be upheld for a brief time longer, if some system of local government, such as was established in the Lebanon in 1862, or even such as was granted in Crete, could be conceded; but failing these palliatives, some stronger remedy would have to be applied. In 1875, if not before, the conviction should have been recognised and embraced that the old policy of maintaining the Ottoman Empire in its integrity must be abandoned, and the policy of facilitating its gradual dismemberment with as little violence as possible adopted in its stead.

Every step in the progress of dismemberment of the Ottoman

Empire in Europe has been a step for the better. Was there any reason why the rising in 1875 in Bosnia and the Herzegovina should not have found us prepared to forward this progress? Some will answer that we were bound by treaty obligations to impede it. It is not necessary to occupy much space in exposing the error of this opinion. It is universally agreed that the policy of maintaining the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire was not adopted for the sake of the Turks. No generous admiration for the virtues of the Osmanlis induced our statesmen to go to war for the maintenance of their power. The Ottoman Empire was upheld for the convenience of the European Powers, and to prevent the convulsions that were expected to follow its dissolution. If the Treaty of Paris of March, 1856, is studied with a remembrance of this truth, its character and objects will be clear. There are no obligations in it on the part of the Sultan towards the European Powers. It is expressly stipulated that the communication to them of his benevolent intentions towards his subjects should create no right or claim of interference on the part of any or of all of the other Powers parties to the treaty. Reciprocally, there are no obligations on the side of the Great Powers towards the Sultan. They undertake among themselves to respect the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and to regard any violation of them as a matter of common interest. The Great Powers, for their own purposes, and in order to avoid what they believed would be a greater trouble to themselves, entered into this agreement, and it was obviously within their right to reconsider its policy at any time, and to alter or dissolve its engagements. If experience had convinced them that it was wiser and better to effect a partition of the Ottoman Empire than to keep it in its entirety, the Sultan could not have protested against this reversal of policy on the ground that it was a violation of any obligations towards him contained in the Treaty of March, 1856. I shall attempt to show hereafter, and I believe with success, that the English Government has stood alone in its dogged desire to resist every limitation of the independence, and every invasion of the integrity, of the Ottoman Empire. All the other co-signatory Powers have been inclined, in a greater or less degree, to recognise the expediency of withdrawing the outlying provinces of European Turkey from Turkish administration, if not from Turkish dominion; and had our Government been willing to promote the same policy, there would have been no difficulty in establishing an agreement upon the mode of action to be adopted. But we have prevented, by our resistance, the changes that might have been peacefully secured under the influence of united Europe. While the other Powers have been willing to concur in modifying or setting aside the reciprocal guarantees of the Treaty of March, 1856, we alone have been bent on keeping them alive. I should not do justice to my own thought, if I did not add that I hold

we should have been justified in repudiating the obligations of the treaty, even if any one or more of the co-signatory Powers had insisted upon maintaining their validity. The construction of treaties is a matter of morality, and the quality of their promises is precisely the same as that of promises between man and man. A man of honour does not shrink from performing his promise because its execution is painful or troublesome to himself; but he does disown its obligation, if it conflicts with a higher obligation to another. It is an elementary principle of ethics that a promise to commit an immoral act is not binding, and all moralists concur in condemning the beheading of the Baptist in satisfaction of a rash oath. Were we to join in any action to keep the subject populations of European Turkey in subjection to the Porte, simply because we had entered upon an obligation to do so twenty years since, we should reproduce the crime of Herod. I do not say that such conduct would be incapable of defence on the ground of "extreme necessity;" but in that case the justification would rest upon the ground of "necessity," not on the obligation of a treaty, and the whole scope of this paper is to prove that instead of "necessity" impelling us to uphold the Ottoman Empire, every argument of policy urges us to assist the process of its dissolution.

If no obligation of treaties prevents our following the path reason recommends, should we suffer ourselves to be hindered from entering upon it by fear of Russia? Now I have no wish to suggest that the record of Russia is pure. There are few nations whose story is pure, and assuredly Russia will not rank among the foremost in the scale of purity; but it may be at least recommended to those who have so uninquiringly repeated the current detraction of Russia, to ask themselves what might not be said with equal plausibility against other nations. The people of Russia are ignorant, superstitious, and drunken; the nobility are licentious; the Church is a scandal; the character of the reigning House is affected with morbid elements begetting courses of conduct which are at best fitful and enigmatic. In Russia itself the Government is harsh and oppressive; in Poland it is a brutal and ferocious tyranny; commercial freedom is everywhere stifled; liberty of the press has no real existence. The intentions of the present Czar may be benevolent, and his reign has not been unmarked by progressive legislation, but continued aggressions in Central Asia, and the occupation of Khiva in spite of declarations that it was not to be annexed, show that the traditional policy of the Empire is still maintained. With all these facts before us, there is some justification for the inquiry whether it is possible that the Power which is so unfriendly to freedom at home, which oppresses Poland, and marches from conquest to conquest in Asia, can be sincerely desirous of ameliorating the condition of the subject races of European Turkey, without any intention to make its

philanthropic pretensions the mask of territorial aggression. The apparent contradiction is hard to understand for those who have not realised the contradictions that dwell side by side in the minds of most men, and are remarked in the history of every nation. We accuse Russia of double-dealing; we have apparently forgotten that our own country was ever denounced as *perfide Albion*. We are shocked to find Russia moving forwards in Central Asia, in spite of protestations on the part of the Czar that he would not advance his borders beyond what they had reached. Are we perfectly ignorant of the history of British India? Fifty years do not occupy a great space in the life of any nation, and no Englishman will brook the suggestion of a doubt that his country fifty years ago was deserving of honour of all men; yet I appeal to the candour of my countrymen who desire to judge the circumstances of to-day, free from the distorting effects of prejudice, to consider what might have been said of England in 1827. There was at that time a strong feeling of sympathy among us for the insurgent Greeks. There were Philhellenic Committees, as there are now Philoslav Committees. Money was subscribed in larger sums than are now reported. Volunteers betook themselves to the Morea. Byron died at Missolonghi. The Prime Minister of England shared the sentiments of so many of his countrymen, and had authorised an English fleet to join in compelling the Porte to consent to the emancipation of Greece. Most of us have read something of Byron in our youth, and it cannot be hard to recall the feelings of his generation. But what would a sagacious Frenchman have said—indeed, what did sagacious Frenchmen say?—of this show of generous emotion? It is in the following fashion that a wary and wise politician addressed his younger friends: "Your belief in English professions does credit to your amiability. You think that this enthusiasm for Greece is disinterested. You have faith that the Government of Albion is animated by no *arrière pensée* of territorial annexation. But let us not forget actualities. What are the facts? Is there anything in the history of England, or in England as we find it to-day, to justify your credulity? The King is a wearied voluptuary, living apart in selfish seclusion, whom his ministers vainly strive to interest in the welfare of his subjects. There is an oligarchy grasping at its privileges, careless of its duties. The House of Commons is a mockery of popular representation, and a majority of its members are the nominees of the dominant families. The organization of the Church is the scandal of Western Europe. That it should remain endowed with tithes in kind, to the hindrance of the production of food, is the least of its offences. The poorer clergy are charged with the duties of two, three, or four parishes, and as a consequence there are not a few churches where the sacred offices are never celebrated. The richer clergy engross the revenues of the parishes thus neglected.

The bishops are chosen from the scions of aristocratic houses or tutors in aristocratic families, and the actual holder of one of the most wealthy and dignified of the bishoprics obtained his preferment through the favour, and at the instance, of the mistress of the King. As for the spirit of the Government of this country which burns with sympathy for the oppressed Greeks, it is so benighted that trade is strangled beneath its fetters, and the merchants of London have vainly petitioned Parliament to set commerce free lest it die. The importation of corn is practically prohibited, that the rents of landlords may be kept up. The liberty of the *prolétariat* is so restricted, that if two or three labourers talk to one another of the wages they receive, and agree to ask their master to increase them, they are imprisoned for having committed a criminal offence. Do you still think that there can be a genuine sympathy with the oppressed among such a people? Look at Ireland. It is not a generation since a rebellion of its wretched inhabitants was suppressed with ferocious cruelty, and yet such is the tyranny under which they suffer, that they are at this moment on the eve of another rebellion, that will certainly burst forth unless some measure of justice is tardily wrung from a Protestant Parliament. Think of the hundreds of thousands of negroes this nation of Philhellenes holds in slavery in the West Indies. And if you talk of their good faith and the reliance to be placed on their pledges, think again of India and the treachery shown to our own compatriots as well as to the natives, where every new viceroy comes proclaiming that the era of conquest and of annexation is closed, and forthwith strives to outdo his predecessors in the magnitude of the acquisitions he makes for the merchants who have commissioned him. No. Perfidious Albion is perfidious Albion still. Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs from thistles. You will see. The end of this Philhellenism will be that Crete will become British, and the flag of St. George will float at Rhodes, as it floats at Malta, where once floated the flag of St. John."

There is not a single item of the indictment thus levelled at England which was not true fifty years since; yet every Englishman will join with me in an indignant protest that the indictment as a whole was false. The man who uttered it could boast he was a student of facts; he could prove each of his statements; but there were facts he did not see, and he laboured under the fatal defect of being unable to appreciate the relative value of the facts he did see. Had he had the singleness of true vision, he would have been able to distinguish between the forms of the life that was passing away, and the signs of the new life that was breathing its spirit throughout English society. He might have foreseen something of that great change that within ten years swept away all the worst facts that excited his denunciation. And shall we in 1877 be so oblivious of our past

as to forget what we were when we judge our contemporaries? I protest that nothing in the last eighteen months has affected me with a greater sense of humiliation than the want of play of intellect exhibited on all sides in the criticism of Russia. The simplest facts have been misconceived, the plainest actions distorted. Just in proportion to the affectation of wisdom has been its absence. It is true that English critics have not been alone in this limitation of intelligence, but I had hoped that England would have led the Continent in the progress of emancipation from the ignorant political jealousies of nations, just as it has led continental opinion to free itself from the correlative jealousies of prohibitory tariffs. For what are the facts about Russia? I will say little about the development of the life of the nation, the estimate of which is necessarily a matter of opinion, and I will content myself with the declaration that I believe I recognise a continuous progress out of barbarism into civilisation, out of ignorance into knowledge, out of thraldom into freedom,—a progress that has possibly been relatively more rapid there than elsewhere, because there was a greater barbarism to overcome. Compare what is said of Russia by those who have visited it in years separated by moderate intervals. Read what Mr. Wallace tells us. In his admirable volumes there is perhaps evidence that he is sometimes too near the object of his study to reduce his observations to an exact scale of judgment, but it seems to me that we who are farther removed from it can scarcely read his book with an open mind, and fail to detect in it signs of a growing and vigorous national life, that should inspire us with the highest hopes of the future. If we quit this general view for the special inquiry into the grounds of our apprehensions of Russian designs on Turkish territory, it is at least pertinent to remark that while Russia has assisted in establishing the freedom of Greece, and in the progressive emancipation of Servia and Roumania, it has in this century acquired nothing for itself of European Turkey. It is true that the Czar Nicholas hinted at a partition of Turkey to Sir Hamilton Seymour, but it is also true that the Czar Alexander repudiates all desire to obtain a foot of Turkish territory, and no man questions his sincerity. Moreover, the movement in Russia during the last year has been a movement of the Russian people—an outburst of democratic sympathy looking for no territorial aggression —which has carried along with it a reluctant Czar already overburdened with the cares of empire. "I do not know," said a traveller on his return, "whether there is to be another Crusade, but I have been among a nation of Crusaders."

Is this incomprehensible? The English people have not always been incapable of devotion to a cause containing no promise of material advantage. Is it incredible that Russians should be filled with generous ardour to procure the freedom of men of their own

race and their own religion, brothers in blood and in creed, subject to a domination like that of the Turk? And what should be the result of this view? Let us remember the conditions of the problem. We are dealing with irreconcilable forces. We are brought face to face with a conflict which cannot be turned. Another stage in the historic progress of delimitation of the Ottoman Empire is imminent, and we desire that it shall not end in an augmentation of Russian territory or of Russian power. Shall we struggle to prevent what we cannot avert? Shall we waste our influence in vain efforts to make history stand still, leaving to Russia the credit and the reward of appearing as the sole champion of freedom? No. The course of wisdom, of honour, of safety, and of English interests, points in another direction. The exaltation of popular feeling in Russia is our opportunity. We should seize it; we should fasten upon it; we should fix it in the national mind, as the high level of national purpose, from which in after years it shall be difficult to fall away; and with this force aiding us in our work, we should take one more step in advance in releasing other portions of Europe from Turkish domination. Instead of pausing for fear of Russia in what should be our steady policy of facilitating the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the revelation of popular forces in Russia shows us that this is the moment for vigorously prosecuting it. And in a realisation of these circumstances lies the answer to the last argument that may be urged against action, that it would precipitate a European war of which no man can see the end.

How can a dissolution of European Turkey lead to a European war? The answer is simple: by exciting a scramble among the European Powers to possess themselves of its fragments, and especially by exciting efforts on the part of Russia to cut a monstrous cantle out for itself. But if this dissolution is inevitable, and must soon happen, and the danger we fear can never cease to be apprehended, can we hope for a better opportunity of avoiding its realisation than that afforded us, or rather which was afforded us, at the beginning of the present crisis? Let us look the matter steadily in the face, and see whether we have not an occasion before us for the exercise of the courage of prudence. Twelve months ago we might have done a stroke of good work in advancing the settlement of the Eastern question a stage without war. At that time the fire had not extended into Bulgaria: neither Servia nor Montenegro had declared war against the Porte. The pacification of Bosnia and the Herzegovina would have been a sufficient and not wholly unsatisfactory day's work. How was that possible? Bosnia differs from the others—from Roumania, from what Servia had become before its self-government was conceded. There exists in Bosnia a large Mussulman population, not of Turkish origin—a population of landowners whose ancestors accepted the faith of Islam

to retain their lands. Could the mixed population of the province be trusted to live friendly together? Is not the experience of Bosnia, before Omar Pasha took the power of the Begs, conclusive against the suggestion? The force of these observations must be at once admitted, but it can be turned by a simple appeal to the precedent of the Lebanon. A mixed population is found there, but the autonomy of the Lebanon has been established, and the problem has been solved, imperfectly but tolerably, by experience. European supervision and control were necessary at the outset, but after a comparatively short time it was found that they could be withdrawn. Could similar experiments have been tried in Bosnia and the Herzegovina? Three prerequisite conditions must have been satisfied. The necessary control must have been available. There must have been an agreement among the Great Powers to establish and support it. The Porte must have consented to submit to it. It was proved at the Conference at Constantinople that the first and second conditions could have been secured. It is true that that Conference was held many months later, and after the events of Bulgaria had altered the attitude of our own Government; but had the English Administration appreciated the situation before, the agreement established at Constantinople would have been established in the spring. It depended upon the accession of our Ministry to the counsels of the three Emperors, when the resolutions adopted at the Conference should be formulated. But does not the fate of the Conference show that the third condition could never have been realised, even if the English Government had been more prompt and courageous in judgment? I answer, no; because, even at the last, the resolutions of our Ministry were imperfect. They agreed to all necessary demands, subject to the understanding, which was carefully intimated at once to the Porte, that no demand was to be supported by force. If it can be shown, as far as anything can be shown belonging to the region of what might have been, that a clear appreciation of the conditions of the problem at an earlier date, and a joint resolution to use the force necessary for its solution, would have solved it, with nothing more than a nominal exercise of that force, if indeed so much had proved necessary, then the conclusion must be admitted that this courage and this resolution would have been the means of averting the European war all apprehend and deprecate.

The situation of Austria must of course be taken into account. The Austrian Government has throughout been no more desirous of promoting a change in the condition of the Ottoman Empire than Lord Derby, but Count Andrassy has always been in advance of Lord Derby in understanding what must be done; and although he has used the unwillingness of the British Government to take any positive action as an excuse for not taking it himself, he has never shown the slightest desire to restrain our judgment. Ready at all

times to go along with us, he has on several critical occasions moved ahead of us; and had our resolutions been more definite and firm, his co-operation in them would not have been wanting. In receiving a deputation in the early part of the autumn, Lord Derby told them that one Power, and it was plain that he meant Austria, would resist the establishment of an autonomous State in Bosnia. Count Beust had no doubt conveyed some such determination to him; but he might have better known the worth of it; and the action of Austria at the Conference clearly showed that it was one of those declarations that men often make, of what they will do under certain contingencies, and their wiser hearers disregard, knowing they will not fulfil them. It rested with us to overcome Austria's hesitation at any moment when we were ready to declare that it must be abandoned. And we had the power of forcing the hand of Count Andrassy. I assume that we are agreed that another step in the settlement of the Eastern question had become necessary and was desirable—that the time had arrived when another member should be separated from the Ottoman Empire. What should have been done? We should have entered into confidential communications with Prince Bismarck, announcing to him our conviction, and asking his co-operation in settling the difficulty. Nothing of this kind has ever been attempted. The German Chancellor has indeed been sounded often enough, or attempts have been made to sound him; but in addressing him we have always appeared as resisting all attempts to carry the history of Ottoman delimitation a page farther, and as the stolid defenders of the integrity of the Ottoman dominion. He was deaf, and not improbably contemptuous, when thus addressed. Every quality of his own mind must have been antipathetic to such an appeal. It was weakness at the feet of strength; timidity babbling before courage; bewilderment face to face with trenchant foresight. But what if we had spoken to Prince Bismarck in another sense? If we had told him, "It is in the interest of all of us that we should join in a real settlement of this business, before its dimensions increase beyond our powers of management. Russia will take it in hand alone, if we do not act with her, and no one can then say what will happen. You are concerned more than we are in maintaining the freedom of the Danube, and as much as we can be in the neutrality of the Dardanelles. If you agree with us, the Russian Government must, willingly or unwillingly, merge its own pretensions in common action, and Austria will not be able to lag behind. We can dictate to the Porte the settlement to which it must consent, under penalty of being at once surrounded by a cordon of power that would throttle and destroy all chance of resistance. We for our part could at once isolate the Porte from all assistance from Asia or from Africa. The admiral of the Turkish fleet is an officer in the service of her Majesty. The

engineers, upon whom the navigation of every ironclad depends, are British subjects. We can summon Hobart Pasha home, and warn the engineers that they must renounce their nationality, or abstain from serving on board the navy of a Power in arms against us. The Khedive waits the least hint of encouragement from us to refuse to furnish any contingent to the Sultan. The Porte, deprived of all support out of Europe, and confronted on all sides by minatory armies, must perforce yield at discretion to the demands we agree to dictate, or if resistance is attempted, it will be immediately proved hopeless. Shall we not come to an understanding and prescribe what we would have done?" The statement made in this hypothetical communication on the temper of the Khedive is not founded on idle gossip, and it is part of the condemnation of the policy that has been pursued, that a not unnatural feeling of race-sympathy has been developed at Cairo, mixed with some admiration for the Porte, for having defeated the feeble diplomacy of Western Europe, though I do not doubt the old desire of independence of Constantinople will revive and be developed into action upon the defeat of the Turkish army; and now I ask if any one believes that the Porte would have ventured to defy the combinations thus sketched out? Lord Derby may have been wise in shrinking from its responsibility; but the confession that he was unequal to it is a confession that he is by nature disqualified from fulfilling the duties of Foreign Minister of England in such circumstances as those of to-day. The British nation and the British Empire were not built up by men who pass sleepless nights before consenting to nominal obligations involving no responsibilities; nor will statesmen with such faltering tempers preserve the greatness of the nation, or of the empire, however much they may dignify themselves with the name of Conservatives. It may, indeed, be asked why we should take any trouble and run any risks in intermeddling in difficulties which are not our own. The Eastern question will be worked out without our interference. Let us leave it alone. In what has been already written these doubts have been answered; but there is something more to be said than that there is here a work of bettering the world to be done, and we can do it. A special responsibility rests upon us as an inheritance of the past. There are countries in which Englishmen cannot travel with perfect equanimity of mind. Ireland is one of them. European Turkey is another. If when we pass from a province rapidly advancing in well-being and civilisation, and enter upon another enjoying the same material advantages, but suffering from some malign influences poisoning the springs of happiness and arresting growth, we ask ourselves the secret of the contrast, and have to answer that the false and foolish fears of English statesmen condemned the second to a domination from which the first has been freed, we cannot escape

from the conviction, that no opportunity should be let slip of repairing the wrong we have unwittingly committed. Our thoughts cannot be comfortable when we are in Turkey; they ought not to be comfortable when the name of Turkey is mentioned in our hearing; and those who feel the unity of national life will not hold themselves absolved from the duty of urging on the work of undoing the mischief of the past because they themselves remonstrated against it and denounced it when it was being done.

What is to be said of the policy that has been in fact pursued by the English Government? Originating in error, it has been feebly conducted and has resulted in failure. The objects the Cabinet set before themselves have not been realised. The evils they desired to prevent have come upon them. Our Ministers have told us that they have made it their aim to protect British interests and to maintain peace in Europe. Lord Derby's last words (spoken in the House of Lords on the 19th April) have been a confession that war is now inevitable, and it is probable that war will have been proclaimed before these pages are published. It is thus admitted that peace has not been maintained. By-and-bye it will be seen that British interests have not been protected. It was the interest, not of Britain only but of all Europe, that the inevitable transformation should have been effected piecemeal, and, as far as possible, without war. In the summer of 1875 the revolt was confined to Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and the claims of the malcontents extended no farther than to a demand to be relieved from the corrupt and oppressive administration of the officials and tithe-farmers who had bought at Constantinople the power to harass them. They took off their hats at the name of the Sultan. They were willing to remain under his power. That autumn came the Consular Commission, which failed because it could offer no guarantees that the fair words they uttered would be respected, Lord Derby being at that time steadily opposed to all suggestions of intervention between the Porte and the rayahs, and indeed making it his business to impress upon the former the necessity of suppressing the growing discontent. I find little fault with this attitude. A Foreign Secretary ought to be better instructed than the average opinion of his fellow-countrymen, but Lord Derby was not behind the common judgment of the nation. Early in December, 1875, was issued a firman of the Sultan, which the insurgents again rejected because it was another example of waste-paper promises. On the 30th December Count Andrassy communicated his Note to the Foreign Powers. Count Andrassy had no greater desire to intermeddle in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire than Lord Derby, but he was better instructed on the necessities of the position, and his judgment was stronger. Had we joined the other Powers in pressing this Note upon the Porte it must have been accepted, but it was not until the Porte expressed a

desire that the English Government should concur in it that Lord Derby overcame his reluctance, and a message so supported carried with it an invitation that it should be rejected. The Andrassy Note may be said to have contained in it the resolutions of the Conference of Constantinople, twelve months before its date; and already we are seen dragging back the other Powers, diminishing from the authority of their requirements, and encouraging the Turks to resistance by our isolation from the rest of Europe. In spring the activity of the insurgents revived, and in the critical period between Easter and Whitsuntide the prospect became most alarming to those who had eyes to see what was before them. The murder of the consuls at Salonica was a warning to all; and it is significant to note how differently it affected different men. It happened on the 6th of May, and within a week Sir Henry Elliot on the one side had telegraphed for the fleet to come to Besika Bay, and Prince Gortschakoff and Count Andrassy had met Prince Bismarck at Berlin and had drawn up the Berlin Memorandum. The preservation of British interests at Constantinople was the motive of a naval demonstration which was interpreted, not in foreign capitals only but in the House of Commons, and allowed to be so interpreted by silent Ministers, as a proclamation that the Porte would be assisted by England in its attitude of resistance to counsels which the rest of Europe concurred in urging upon their acceptance.

This was the second conspicuous example of the destruction of the European concert by the English Minister—of his preference of the wisdom of letting a disease run to its height, rather than incur the responsibility of fumbling for a lancet-case in his pocket. Within the last fortnight two Cabinet Ministers have glorified Lord Derby's rejection of the Berlin Memorandum as a re-establishment of the influence of England; but Lord Derby himself must not be held answerable for any word spoken by his colleagues. Some expressions are however to be found in his dispatch to Lord Odo Russell declining to join in the Memorandum, which betray an undignified resentment at not having been consulted in the preparation of the Memorandum. The circumstances of the origin of the Memorandum sufficiently explain the omission to invite the English Minister to join in deliberation upon it, and it is unpleasant to think that a weak regard for personal or even national importance had any share in the unqualified rejection of proposals that had been drawn up with an honest desire to remove the causes that really threatened the peace of Europe. The month of May of last year was indeed a month of events of the highest importance in the history of the Eastern question. Besides the murder of the consuls at Salonica and the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum, it saw the horrible deeds committed in Bulgaria and the deposition of the Sultan. The memory of political feelings is transient; but it would be useful if

men could recall what they thought and felt last Whitsuntide. There was great exultation over the presence of the fleet at Besika Bay, and great exultation over the supposed triumph of British diplomacy; but in fact Lord Derby had made war inevitable between Servia and Montenegro on the one hand, and the Porte on the other. The Eastern Powers had seen the danger; they were in some measure able to measure the forces that were fast becoming irrepressible—forces with which Lord Derby had no sympathy, and which he could not but fail to appreciate—and they had made their last effort to turn aside the coming conflict. I do not propose to trace the cause of the Servian war, nor to follow the excitement that prevailed in England when the barbarities committed in Bulgaria became known. In the midst of the struggle, Lord Beaconsfield's language at Aylesbury appeared to show that he understood as little of what was going on as his Foreign Secretary; and before it was suspended, Lord Derby himself had another opportunity of demonstrating the insufficiency of his knowledge of its character. The Czar made another proposal which had grown with the growing necessities of the situation; and by some great mischance, the secret of which has never been explained, the character of this proposal was at first most mischievously misrepresented. Early in October it was announced—the news came from Paris—that the Czar had proposed that a Russian army should occupy Bulgaria, and an Austrian army Bosnia, and that Russian and Austrian fleets should enter the Bosphorus. There is no justification for believing that this misrepresentation was intentional, but it produced a chill among those who received it. What the Czar had proposed was, that the English and French fleets should occupy the Bosphorus, and he declared himself willing to abandon all proposals of military occupation if Her Majesty's Government thought this naval demonstration sufficient to stop the war and procure the necessary reforms of Turkish misrule. Lord Derby, in accordance with his previous policy, declined to join in the proposed combination; and it is certainly not impossible, it is far from being improbable, that it will be hereafter found that here again the result of his policy has been to defer for twelve months action that is inevitable. Something might be said in his defence if he had so much as maintained peace, but he has allowed the condition of Turkey to pass from bad to worse, and we have a campaign before us instead of a demonstration of force. Lord Derby did not on this occasion blankly reject the Czar's proposal, for he suggested an armistice of not less than a month; and it was in connection with this that, forgetful of the lesson he had read the Ministers of the three Emperors, and forgetful of the rule that an armistice should not alter the relative position of belligerents, he accepted an offer of six months' armistice from the Porte without consulting the other Powers. It was at this time that the Foreign

Secretary gave another demonstration of his want of appreciation of the forces causing the movement that occupied his official attention. He made an appeal to Prince Bismarck to join in an attempt, not to cure the running sore of Europe, but to cover it over. The Prince was expected to use his influence to make Russia and the Porte keep the peace; but the Prince knows something of the power of national feelings, and he declined to stultify himself by adopting this idle suggestion.

The armistice was concluded, the Conference was agreed upon, but the fatal faults of the policy of the English Ministry were not abandoned. The Prime Minister intensified them. I cannot say that I find in the acts of the Government that double-facedness which some discover. Taken as a whole they appear to be consistent in their development. The great error of the Ministry, and especially of the Foreign Minister, has been that they have been several months behindhand in understanding the facts before them. They persisted in non-intervention, when they ought to have seen that the way of safety lay in prompt intervention; and when they made up their minds to intervene, they refused to entertain the idea of supporting the intervention by a demonstration of force, when they ought to have known that without this their action must be futile. There is no inconsistency, there is perfect consistency, in this progress which ever halts behind the movement of facts. Yet it is no doubt true that there have been divergent tendencies in the minds of individual Ministers, as there must always be among men of any independence of thought. I have referred to the opposition of views of the Prime Minister and Lord Salisbury in 1858 on the subject of the Danubian Principalities. It would seem that the Prime Minister still clings to the policy of the Crimean war, and I am not sure that there does not lurk in his mind a desire to illustrate the last chapter of his biography with the conduct of an European war. His instinct is to protect the Ottoman Empire against pressure from without. Lord Salisbury dreads, not without reason, the convulsions of a dissolution of that Empire, but he would avoid the catastrophe by supporting the pressure from without, so as to bring the Porte to yield before it is too late. Lord Derby disavowed the superstitions of the Crimean war thirteen years ago, but the intellectual courage he then possessed has waned; and the Eastern question, as he now views it, is

> Only infinite jumble, and mess, and dislocation,
> Backed by a solemn appeal,—"For God's sake do not stir there!"

These Ministers have so far agreed on common action or inaction, and it is probable that they will continue to agree; but we may learn from the experience of 1867 whose will must prevail should any contention arise between them. The Prime Minister will remain master of the Ministerial policy; and although I have admitted that that policy has been hitherto consistent, I must except

one act of the Prime Minister in which, as I cannot but hope, he surprised his colleagues. A right appreciation of the character of the Czar is absolutely necessary if it would understand the diplomatic history of the past year. It is no empty phrase, it is a sincere and universal conviction, that he is most earnestly bent on avoiding war. He discountenanced the action of Servia; he tried to check Montenegro; he inspired the Berlin Memorandum; he has held repeated conferences with the Emperor-King. No war if possible; but the good government of the subject-races of European Turkey cannot be sacrificed, though it be procured at the price of war. When the Armistice was accepted, and the Conference was practically resolved upon, the Czar sought an interview with our ambassador at his court, and gave him the most solemn, the most earnest, the most pathetic assurances, that he had no designs of territorial aggrandisement; and he entreated the English Government to lay aside their unjust suspicions. This was on the 2nd of November, and the communication of the Czar was at once telegraphed to England. A week later the new Lord Mayor entertained the Ministry at the Guildhall, and the Prime Minister addressed to the citizens of London a speech in which he gave no hint of the Czar's pacific message, but instead magnified our supposed treaty obligations to defend the Ottoman Empire, ridiculed the sincerity of the public action of Russia, and boasted of the abilities of England to support a second or a third campaign. Upon the treachery of this speech to the Czar and to the English nation—upon its iniquity, unparalleled as far as I know in the history of England as a constitutional monarchy—I lay no stress here. I am glad to remember that, when upon the Czar's request his assurances to Lord Augustus Loftus were published, and the falsity of the speech was exposed and denounced, no Ministerial supporter, no journal favourable to the Ministry, uttered one word in extenuation of it, until some four months later the Prime Minister attempted an apology in the House of Lords and a feeble echo of it found its way into one or two newspapers. My hope and belief is that the speech was resented by the Prime Minister's colleagues; but my sole purpose at this moment is to indicate its international consequences. Its first effect was to excite the hopes of the anti-Russian party in Austria-Hungary, who exulted that the power of England was to be thrown into the scale against Russia. In Russia itself it provoked vehement anger; at Constantinople it raised the highest hopes. As a means of frustrating the success of the coming Conference, nothing could have been better designed or more efficient. Lord Salisbury started on the journey to Constantinople without hopes, and, as if to destroy his last chance, the Turkish Minister in London was carefully informed, at a critical point in the Conference, that the power of England would not be employed to enforce the programme upon which the Powers concurred. Proposals without the sanction of

force were doomed to failure; and the history of the Conference is principally valuable because it demonstrates beyond contradiction that England was throughout the drag upon the resolutions of the allies. Their perception of the necessities of the case was always in advance of the English Government; and we find Lord Salisbury telegraphing again and again to London for authority to accompany the other Plenipotentiaries in arriving at conclusions beyond the original scope of his mission. Laggard in thought and feeble in resolution, we destroyed the force of the European concert, and encouraged the Porte to reject their demands, even when attenuated below the tolerance of the German Chancellor. The later negotiations of the Protocol are too recent to be recapitulated in detail, but something must be said of their meaning. It is currently declared that they have been throughout a planned deception; that Russia was from the first bent upon war, and that the object of the negotiations was nothing but to occupy time and to make the apparent justification of Russian aggression perfect. I am ready to concede to those who hold this language that war has been throughout inevitable, but the deception that has been practised has been practised by ourselves on ourselves. It has been supposed that the Czar wanted an excuse for leaving Montenegrins, Bosnians, and Bulgarians unbefriended; and men are now indignant at the discovery that their opinion was false, since he had never thought of abandoning them without having secured some amelioration of their condition. The personal character of the Czar is the clue of these contradictions. He would most willingly be spared the task before him; if it were possible, he would secure the good will and the co-operation of the English Government in all his acts; he seeks everywhere the means of satisfying his desires without war; and it is not strange if in his eager hope he sometimes persuades himself that there is yet a chance of accomplishing his purposes in peace; but from beginning to end he has said nothing, he has done nothing, to justify the belief that the subject races of Turkey were to be deserted, and those who have thought that he contemplated this action must blame themselves for their error.

The Foreign Secretary now accepts as certain an immediate outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey, and we are bound to ask ourselves what we must anticipate, and for what we should be prepared. The difficulties of the situation have terribly increased, but they are as nothing to what may yet befall us. If we were wise and wary we should even now, before it is too late, execute a quick change of front, and insist under penalties of coercion upon a submission of the Porte to the demands of united Europe. This step will not be taken, and we must proceed on the assumption that war will ensue. It is in the highest degree probable that action on the part of Russia will be promptly followed by an occupation of Bosnia by an Austrian army. Are we to interpret this as some-

thing done in opposition to the Russian movement or in co-operation with it? I should construe it in the latter sense, accepting the occupation as a part fulfilment of the Czar's programme of last October, from which Austria shrank until it became unavoidable. The alternative view may however be correct, and common prudence should teach us to take precautions against what must be expected to follow upon this supposition. If Austria-Hungary occupies Bosnia in opposition to Russia, and has thus taken the grave resolution to withstand Russia, the Emperor-King and his Ministers will neglect no aid they can command, and they cannot fail to appeal to us under the Tripartite Treaty to share the burdens and the dangers of their enterprise. Lord Derby says there is no fear of this contingency happening, and I have intimated my belief that Austria will work with Russia and not against it; but Lord Derby's positive statement respecting the intentions of Austria to a deputation that waited upon him last August has been since discredited, and he may be again in error. It would be at once politic and just to the Austrian Government to inform them that we held the obligations of the Tripartite Treaty to be no longer binding, and that we should refuse to comply with any invitation to take action under that agreement. No time should be lost in conveying to Count Andrassy an intimation of our resolution. In this way, and in this way only, can we guard ourselves against reproaches that may be hereafter levelled against us. We have a perfect justification in renouncing the obligations of the Treaty, as might be shown, if necessary, but we can have no justification in leading Austria to rely upon co-operation that would not be forthcoming if demanded.

Let us go back to consider the possible course of the war. The most recent witness on the state of the Turkish defences in Asia Minor admits that they are worthless, and he is certainly not prejudiced in favour of Russia. A better fight may be maintained on the line of the Danube, but it is no violent supposition that before the summer is far advanced we shall hear of disaster following disaster, leaving Trans-Balkan Turkey in Russian occupation. What would be the effect of such events at Constantinople? We know of buildings that have braved countless storms of wind and rain, and outlived many generations, collapsing suddenly at the last amid a cloud of dust rising to heaven. This is an image of what may be feared on the Bosphorus. Lord Salisbury has described the utter unsubstantiality of the Ottoman polity. There is no organic national life among the Osmanlis. The sacredness of the authority of the Sultanate has been weakened by the successive deposition of two Sultans, and the feebleness of a third summoned to follow them. This situation of the Ottoman Empire is not unparalleled. The like of it has been seen again and again in the history of military despotisms, especially in the East, and the usual outcome of it has been a dissolution of the united empire into satrapies or provinces, and a series of

wars between the lieutenants who have proclaimed their independence, to see which of them can overmaster the rest. Asiatic and African Turkey are ready to undergo this process, and it might be left to fulfil itself. The conditions of European Turkey are wholly different, and the European Powers cannot decline the task of attempting to resettle the government of its provinces. But before this labour is seriously reviewed much will have been done. Looking forward to the possibility that order and authority will crumble to dust in Constantinople, we must expect that a British fleet will be summoned to the Bosphorus to maintain some semblance of government, and the third part of the Czar's programme of last October would then be fulfilled. It would be difficult to resist the summons, nor ought it to be declined, provided it were made known that we came not to re-establish the authority of the Porte, but to supersede it. We should go to work with and not against Russia. If we proclaimed once for all that we had abandoned for ever the vain policy of maintaining the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and were bent on co-operating with the other Powers in raising under European tutelage a confederation of free States out of its ruins, we should at last be doing something to redeem what is past. We could not, indeed, take much credit to ourselves for the resolution, for I believe in the contingency contemplated nothing else would be possible. It is no part of my duty to discuss the working-out of the problem thus suggested—I have probably gone far beyond the limits of prudence in the anticipations already indicated—but there is one part of the final settlement of the Eastern question that cannot be omitted. The right of passage of Russian ships of war from the Euxine to the Mediterranean in times of peace must be conceded. It is impossible to deny the reasonableness of this claim. No nation can rest content if deprived of the right of following and protecting its mercantile marine on the high seas. If the Gut of Gibraltar had been no more than two or three miles wide, and Spain had remained mistress of both pillars of Hercules, we should still have insisted upon the right of entering the Mediterranean. A cry may indeed be raised that India will be in danger, just as one hundred years ago our forefathers were alarmed at the certain ruin of our trade with the Levant in consequence of the French annexation of Corsica; and, indeed, twenty years ago there was a renewal of this scare, when Louis Napoleon was supposed to be in treaty for the purchase of the island of Sardinia. It would be easy to demonstrate the emptiness of these fears, but the limits of my labour are reached. I have sought to show that on grounds of policy we should cease to pursue the labour, foredoomed to failure, of maintaining the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and upon that issue I desire to be judged.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

# BENTHAM AND BENTHAMISM IN POLITICS AND ETHICS.

In the critical narrative, equally brilliant and erudite, which Mr. Leslie Stephen has given us of the course of English thought in the eighteenth century, there is one gap which I cannot but regret, in spite of what Mr. Stephen has said in explanation of it. The work of Bentham is treated with somewhat contemptuous brevity in the chapter on Moral Philosophy; while in the following chapter on Political Theories his name is barely mentioned. The present paper is an attempt in some measure to supply this deficiency. I should not have ventured on it if Bentham's teaching had become to us a matter of merely historical interest; as I cannot flatter myself that I possess Mr. Stephen's rare gift of imparting a sparkle to the dustheaps of extinct controversy. But no such extinction has yet overtaken Bentham: his system is even an important element of our current political thought; hardly a decade—though an eventful one—has elapsed since it might almost have been called a predominant element. Among the other writers to whom Mr. Stephen has devoted many entertaining pages in his tenth chapter, there is not one of whom this can be said. It would be almost ostentation, in polite society at the present day, to claim familiarity with Bolingbroke; it would be even pedantry to draw attention to Hoadly. The literary sources of the French Revolution are studied with eager and ever-increasing interest; but they are studied, even by Englishmen, almost entirely in the writings of France: the most ardent reader of revolutionary literature is reluctant to decline from Rousseau to Tom Paine. Mr. Kegan Paul's entertaining biography has temporarily revived our interest in Godwin, otherwise *Political Justice* would be chiefly known to this generation through the refutation of Malthus; and Malthus's own work is now but seldom taken from the shelf. There are probably many schoolboys feeding a nascent taste for rhetoric on the letters of Junius; but Mr. Stephen has felt that the inclusion of these in an account of Political Theories requires something like an apology. Burke lives, no doubt, not merely through the eloquence which immortalises even the details of party conflicts, but through a kind of wisdom, fused of intellect and emotion, which is as essentially independent of the theorising in which it is embedded as metal is of its mine. But though Burke lives, we meet with no Burkites. The star of Hume's metaphysical fame has risen steadily for a century; but his warmest admirers are rather irritated by his predominant desire for

literary popularity, and are perhaps too much inclined to turn aside from the philosophic material that was wasted in furnishing elegant essays on National Character and The Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth. In short, of all the writers I have mentioned, regarded as political theorists, it is only the eccentric hermit of Queen's Square Place whose name still carries with it an audible demand that we should reckon with his system, and explain to ourselves why and how far we agree or disagree with his opinions.

Mr. Stephen, it should be said, is so far from denying this exceptional vitality of Benthamism, that he even puts it forward as an explanation of his cursory treatment of this system. "The history of utilitarianism as an active force belongs," he tells us, to the new post-revolutionary era, on the threshold of which his plan compels him to stop. This argument would have been sound if Bentham had really been a man of the nineteenth century, born before his time in the eighteenth, and thus naturally not appreciated till later, when the stream of current thought had at length caught him up. Such freaks of nature do sometimes occur, to the very considerable perplexity of the philosophical historian, in his efforts to exhibit a precise and regular development of opinion. But this is so far from being the case with Bentham, that when J. S. Mill, in his most eclectic phase, undertook to balance his claims as a thinker against those of Coleridge, he described the conflict between these two modes of thought as the "revolt of the nineteenth century against the eighteenth." The appropriateness of the phrase is surely undeniable. No doubt it is also true, as Mr. Stephen says, that Benthamism as an active force—and Benthamism is nothing if it is *not* an active force—belongs rather to the nineteenth century. It is just because both these views are equally true that Bentham deserves the special attention of the historian of opinion. In England, at least in the department of ethics and politics, Benthamism is the one outcome of the Seculum Rationalisticum against which the philosophy of Restoration and Reaction has had to struggle continually with varying success. It is, we may say, the legacy left to the nineteenth century by the eighteenth; or rather, perhaps, by that innovating and reforming period of the eighteenth century in which Enlightenment became ardent, and strove to consume and re-create. In his most characteristic merits, as well as his most salient defects, Bentham is eminently a representative of this stirring and vehement age: in his unreserved devotion to the grandest and most comprehensive aims, his high and sustained confidence in their attainability, and the buoyant, indefatigable industry with which he sought the means for their attainment; no less than in his exaggerated reliance on his own method, his ignorant contempt for the past, and his intolerant misinterpretation of all that opposed him in the present.

It must be admitted that, though distinctly a child of its age, Benthamism was not exactly a favourite child. The Fragment on Government (1776), and the Principles of Morals and Legislation (published 1789), had found comparatively few sympathising readers at the time when Political Justice and the Rights of Man were being greedily bought. At the age of forty-two (1790) Bentham speaks, in a letter to his brother, of "the slow increase of my school." Yet we observe very clearly that from the first Bentham appears as a teacher and master of political science—one who has, or ought to have, a "school"—and is accepted as such by competent judges. In 1778, only two years after the publication of the Fragment, D'Alembert writes to him, in the style of the time, as a philosopher and professional benefactor of the human race. Two years later he was taken up by Lord Lansdowne, who seems to have had the eager receptivity for abstract theory which is often found in powerful but imperfectly trained intellects, even after the fullest acquisition of all that experience can teach. The retired statesman bore with really admirable patience the humours of the sensitive and self-conscious philosopher: and in the circle at Bowood Bentham found—besides the one romance of his life—invaluable opportunities for extending his influence as a thinker. It was there that he first met Romilly, the earliest of the band of reformers who, in the next century, attempted the practical realisation of his principles; and there, too, he laid the foundation of his remarkable ascendency over Dumont. The self-devotion with which a man of Dumont's talents and independence of thought allowed himself to be absorbed in the humble function of translating and popularising Bentham was a testimony of admiration outweighing a bushel of complimentary phrases: of which, however, Bentham had no lack, though they came from a somewhat narrow circle. "The suffrages of the few," writes Dumont in one of his earlier letters, "will repay you for the indifference of the many . . . . Write and bridle my wandering opinions." Through Dumont he became known to Mirabeau: and a good deal of Benthamite doctrine found its way into that hero's addresses to his constituents, which Dumont assisted in composing. Brissot again, who saw a good deal of Bentham in London, some years before 1789, always spoke and wrote of him with the utmost enthusiasm: to which it may be partly attributed that, in August 1792, a special law of the National Assembly made him (as he tells Wilberforce afterwards) "an adopted French citizen, third man in the universe after a natural one;" Priestley and Paine being the first two. As soon as Dumont published the Principes de la Code Civile et Penale (1802), expressions of even hyperbolical admiration were sent to the philosopher from different parts of Europe. A Swiss pastor subscribes himself, rather to Bentham's

amusement, "un homme heureux, regeneré par la lecture de vos ouvrages." A Russian general writes that his book "fills the soul with peace, the heart with virtue, and dissipates the mists of the mind;" and conjures him to dictate a code to Russia. Another Russian admirer ranks him with Bacon and Newton as the "creator of a new science," and writes that he is "laying up a sum for the purpose of spreading the light which emanates" from his writings. Nor is he without similar honour even in his own country. Lord Lansdowne, answering good humouredly a reproachful epistle of sixty pages, says that it is a letter which "Bacon might have sent to Buckingham." In 1793 a gentleman whom he has asked to dinner writes expressing "a woman's eagerness to meet a gentleman of so enlightened a mind." A few years later we find that the great Dr. Parr is never tired of praising his "mighty talents, profound researches, important discoveries, and irresistible arguments." On the whole we may say that as even in his revered old age he never attained the kind of popularity that adapts a man's name for utterance on platforms: so even in the earlier part of his career he often met with respect that almost amounted to homage from men more or less influential and representative.

The degree and kind of influence which Bentham exercised in the revolutionary period corresponds tolerably well to the degree of affinity between his teaching and the principles on which the revolutionary movement proceeded. In the combat against prejudices and privileges any ally was welcome; and Bentham was as anxious as any revolutionist to break with the past, and reform all the institutions of society in accordance with pure reason. It is true that, from our point of view, the reason of Bentham appears the perfect antithesis of the reason of Rousseau; but it is very doubtful whether this would have been evident to Rousseau himself. The mainspring of Bentham's life and work, as his French friends saw, was an equal regard for all mankind: whether the precise objects of this regard were conceived as men's "rights" or their "interests," was a question which they would not feel to be of primary concern. He himself, indeed, was always conscious of the gulf that separated him from his fellow-citizens by adoption. "Were they," he writes in 1796, "to see an analysis I have by me of their favourite Declaration of Rights, there is not perhaps a being upon earth that would be less welcome to them than I could ever hope to be." But the "Anarchical Fallacies," like some other fruits of Bentham's labours, remained on the philosopher's shelves till the end of his life; only a meagre fragment of them found its way into Dumont's "Principes;" and by the time that this came out, anarchical theories were somewhat obscured behind military facts. And unless the "principle of utility" explicitly announced itself as hostile to the fundamental

principles of the common revolutionary creed, it certainly would not be generally perceived to be so. I should almost conjecture from what Mr. Stephen says of Bentham, compared with the references to utilitarianism in his discussion of earlier writers, that he has hardly enough recognised that Bentham's originality and importance lay not in his verbal adoption of utility as an end and standard of right political action, but in his real exclusion of any other standard; in the definiteness with which he conceived the "general good;" the clearness and precision with which he analysed it into its empirically ascertainable constituents; the exhaustive and methodical consistency with which he applied this one standard to all departments of practice; and the rigour with which he kept its application free from all alien elements. Merely to state "utility" as an ultimate end was nothing; no one would have distinguished this from the "public good" at which all politicians had always professed to aim, and all revolutionary politicians with especial amplitude of phrase. The very Declaration of the National Assembly, that solemnly set forth the maintenance of the "national, imprescriptible, and inalienable" rights of man, as the sole end of government, announced in its very first clause, that "civil distinctions, *therefore*, can be founded only on public utility." It was not then surprising that Morellet, Brissot, and others, recognising the comprehensiveness of view and clearness of grasp that were so remarkably combined in Bentham's intellect, the equal distribution of his sympathies, and the elevated ardour of his philanthropy, should have hailed him as worthy to "serve in the cause of liberty."

And yet the almost comical contrast that we find between Bentham's temper and method in treating political questions, and the habitual sentiments and ideas of his revolutionary friends, could hardly fail to make itself felt by the latter. Let us take, for example, the Treatise on Parliamentary Tactics which he offered for the guidance of the new Assembly in 1789; and let us imagine a French deputy—a member of the "Tiers" that has so recently been "Rien" and is now conscious of itself as "Tout"—attempting its perusal. He finds in it no word of response to the sentiments that are filling his breast; nothing said of privileged classes whose machinations have to be defeated, in order that the people may realise its will; instead of this, he is met at the outset with an exhaustive statement of the various ways in which he and other servants of the people are liable to shirk or scamp their work, or otherwise to miss attainment of the general good. The object of the treatise, as the author explains, is—

"To obviate the inconveniences to which a political assembly is exposed in the exercise of its functions. Each rule of this tactics can therefore have no justifying reason, except in the *prevention of an evil*. It is therefore with a

distinct knowledge of these evils that we should proceed in search of remedies. These inconveniences may be arranged under the ten following heads:—

1. Inaction.
2. Useless decision.
3. Indecision.
4. Delays.
5. Surprise or precipitation.
6. Fluctuations in measures.
7. Quarrels.
8. Falsehoods.
9. Decisions, vicious on account of form.
10. Decisions, vicious in respect of their foundation.

We shall dovelope these different heads in a few words."

Under the head of delays, we find—

"May be ranked all vague and useless procedures, preliminaries which do not tend to a decision, questions badly propounded, or presented in a bad order, personal quarrels, witty speeches, and amusements suited to the amphitheatre or the playhouse."

The last and most important head is thus further analysed:

"When an assembly form an improper or hurtful decision, it may be supposed that this decision incorrectly represents its wishes. If the assembly be composed as it ought to be, its wish will be conformed to the decision of public utility; and when it wanders from this it will be from one or other of the following causes:—

"1. *Absence.*—The general wish of the assembly is the wish of the majority of the total number of its members. But the greater the number of the members who have not been present at its formation, the more doubtful is it whether the wish which is announced as general be really so.

"2. *Want of Freedom.*—If any restraint have been exercised over the votes, they may not be conformable to the internal wishes of those who have given them.

"3. *Seduction.*—If attractive means have been employed to act upon the wills of the members, it may be that the wish announced may not be conformable to their conscientious wish.

"4. *Error.*—If they have not possessed the means of informing themselves, if false statements have been presented to them, their understandings may be deceived, and the wish which has been expressed may not be that which they would have formed had they been better informed."

And so on for page after page of dull and beggarly elements, methodized no doubt in a masterly manner, and calculated to have a highly salutary and sobering effect on the mind of any legislator who can be persuaded to read them. One defect which Bentham is most seriously concerned to cure is the imperfect acquaintance that legislators are liable to have with the motions on which they vote.

"Nothing is more common," he says, "than to see orators, and even practised orators, falling into involuntary errors with respect to the precise terms of a motion." This evil, he thinks, may be obviated by "a very simple mechanical apparatus for exhibiting to the eyes of the assembly the motion on which they are deliberating.

"We may suppose a gallery above the president's chair, which presents a front consisting of two frames, nine feet high by six feet wide, filled with black

canvas, made to open like folding doors; that this canvas is regularly pierced for the reception of letters of so large a size as to be legible in every part of the place of meeting. These letters might be attached by an iron hook, in such manner that they could not be deranged. When a motion is about to become the object of debate, it would be given to compositors, who would transcribe it upon the table, and by closing the gallery, exhibit it like a placard to the eyes of the whole assembly."

One would think that these suggestions were sufficiently particular; but Bentham feels it needful to give a page more of minute directions as to size of letters, method of fixing them, composition of the table, &c.

The salutary working of this machinery is obvious:—

"When the orator forgets his subject, and begins to wander, a table of motions offers the readiest means for recalling him. Under the present régime, how is this evil remedied? It is necessary for a member to rise, to interrupt the speaker, and call him to order. This is a provocation, it is a reproach, it wounds his self-love. The orator attacked defends himself; there is no longer a debate upon the motion, but a discussion respecting the application of his arguments . . . . But if we suppose the table of motions placed above [the president], the case would be very different. He might, without interrupting the speaker, warn him by a simple gesture; and this quiet sign would not be accompanied by the danger of a personal appeal."

The faithful Dumont is unbounded in his eulogy of this "absolutely new and original" work, which "fills up one of the blanks of political literature," and reports that Mirabeau and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld admired this "truly philosophical conception." Still the reader will hardly be surprised to learn that Morellet thinks it not likely to be appreciated by "light-minded and unreflecting persons" in the crisis of 1789. Bentham, we feel, must often have appeared to his French friends as a perfect specimen of the cold unsentimental type of Englishman; though with an epistolary prolixity which Sir Charles Grandison could hardly surpass. On one occasion the admiring Brissot cannot repress a murmur at the "dryness and drollery" with which he responds to sentiment. "You have then never loved me!" he exclaims; "me whose sensibilities mingle with legislation itself!" And in truth, though Bentham had plenty of sensibilities beneath his eccentric exterior, he was not in the habit of letting them mingle with legislation.

The above extracts have sufficiently illustrated another marked characteristic of Bentham's work in politics, besides his severe exclusion of fine sentiments: his habit, namely, of working out his suggestions into the minutest details. This tendency he often exhibits in an exaggerated form, so that it becomes repellent or even ridiculous; especially as Bentham, with all his desire to be practical, is totally devoid of the instinctive self-adaptation which most men learn from converse with the world. Still the habit itself is an essential element of the force and originality of his intellectual

attitude. "A man's mind," says the representative scientific man in *Middlemarch*, "must be continually expanding and shrinking between the whole human horizon and the horizon of an object-glass." Bentham's mind was continually performing a similar "systole and diastole"; and thus, in spite of the unduly deductive method that he generally employs, he really resembled the modern man of science in the point in which the latter differs most strikingly from the ancient notion of a philosopher. His apprehension, whether of abstract theory or of concrete fact, has marked limitations; but as regards the portion of human life over which his intellectual vision ranges, he has eyes which can see with equal clearness in the most abstract and the most concrete region; and he as naturally seeks completeness in working out the details of a practical scheme as in dividing the most general notions of theoretical jurisprudence. He aims at a perfectly reasoned adaptation of means to ends in constructing a "frame of motions," no less than in constructing a code of laws; and he passes from the latter to the former without any abatement of interest or any sense of incongruity. Thus, for twenty years (from 1791 to 1811), while his fame as a philosophical jurist was extending through the civilised world, he was probably better known to the Government at home as belonging to the rather despised class of beings who were then called "projectors;" from his favourite plan of a "Panopticon" Penitentiary, which was continually urged on their notice by himself and his friends.

Panopticon or Inspection House was a circular building, in which prisoners' cells were to occupy the circumference and keepers the centre, with an intermediate annular wall all the way up, to which the cells were to be laid open by an iron grating. This construction (which with proper modifications could be adapted to a workhouse) fills a much larger space in Bentham's correspondence than all his codes put together. Indeed, among the numerous wrongs, great and small, on which the philosopher in his old age used to dilate with a kind of cheerful acrimony peculiar to himself, there was none which roused so much resentment as the suppression of Panopticon, which he always attributed to a personal grudge on the King's part. He composed a whole volume on "the war between Jeremy Bentham and George III., by one of the belligerents." "But for George III." the narrative begins, "all the prisons and all the paupers in England would long ago have been under my management." For the administration of his prisons he had devised a complete scheme, to the realisation of which he was prepared to devote himself. The expense of prisoners was to have been reduced ultimately to zero by a rigid economy, which yet, when mitigated by the indulgences that were to be earned by extra labour, would only produce about sufficient discomfort to make the punishment deterrent. Idle prisoners were to

be fed on potatoes and water *ad lib.*, clothed in coats without shirts, and wooden shoes without stockings, and made to sleep in sacks in order to save the superfluous expense of sheets. Existence being thus reduced to its lowest terms, a means of ameliorating it was provided in a certain share of the profits of industry; and Bentham was sanguine enough to suppose that fifteen hours a day of sedentary labour and muscular exercise combined, could be got out of each prisoner by this stimulus. Contract-management was an essential feature of the scheme; it must be made the manager's interest to extract from his prisoners as much work as he could without injuring them; while the prisoners would be sufficiently protected against the manager's selfishness by the terms of his contract, by the free admission of the public to inspect the prison, and by a fine to be paid for every prisoner's death above a certain average.

The amount of labour that Bentham spent in elaborating the details of this scheme, defending it against all criticisms, urging it on ministers and parliamentary friends, and vituperating all whom he believed to have conspired to prevent its execution, would have alone sufficed to fill the life of a man of more than average energy; while the total disappointment of the hopes of twenty years, after coming within sight of success—for in 1794 Parliament had authorised such a contract as Bentham proposed—would have damped any ordinary philanthropic zeal. But Panopticon and all that belongs to it, including all that he wrote on the Poor Law and Pauper Management, might be subtracted from Bentham's intellectual labours, without materially diminishing the impression produced on the mind by their amount and variety. Nay, even if the whole of his vast work on Law and its administration, including innumerable pamphlets on special points and cases, were left out of sight, if we knew nothing of Bentham the codifier, or Bentham the radical reformer, his life would still seem fuller of interests and activities than most men's. Besides his well-known pamphlet in defence of usury, he composed a Manual of Political Economy, in which the principles of *laissez faire* are independently expounded and applied. The Bell and Lancaster method of instruction inspired him to enthusiastic emulation: he immediately planned an unsectarian Chrestomathic day-school to be built in his own garden in Queen's Square Place. The school itself never came into existence; for this, like some other educational schemes, was wrecked on the rock of theology. But Bentham fulfilled his part in composing a Chrestomathia; which contained, besides a full and original exposition of pedagogic principles, a sort of manual of geometry, algebra, and physics, and an encyclopædic discussion of scientific nomenclature and classification. And this is only one striking specimen of his habitual practice. *Quicquid agunt homines*—whatever men do for

men's happiness—is certainly the farrago of his inexhaustible MSS. Whatever business suggests to him an idea of amelioration he immediately studies with minute and intense interest, until he believes himself to have perfectly penetrated it by his exhaustive method, and is ready with a completely reasoned scheme of improvement. Currency projects, Banking regulations, proposals for an "unburthensome increase of the revenue," reform of the Thames police, a new mode of taking the census, a device for preventing forgery, a prospect of abolishing the slave-trade, a plan for morally improving Irish labourers in New York—each subject in its turn is discussed with a fresh eagerness and an amplitude of explanation that seem to belong to the leisured amateur of social science. Nor is his attention confined to matters strictly social or political. He is not too much engaged in applying his method of study to expound it in an Essay on Logic, supplemented by a characteristic dissertation on Language and Universal Grammar. Chemistry and botany, from their rich promise of utility, are continually attractive to him. He is never too busy to help in experiments which may enrich mankind with a new grass or a new fruit. At one time he is anxious to learn all about laughing gas; at another he corresponds at length about a Frigidarium, in which fermentable substances may be preserved from pernicious fermentation while remaining unfrozen. Nothing seems to him too trivial an object for his restless impulse of amelioration; and he cannot understand why it should seem so to any one else. There is an amusing instance of this in one of his letters to Dumont, at the crisis of a negotiation in which the latter, having won Talleyrand's patronage for the Civil and Penal Codes, is delicately endeavouring to secure a favourable notice for Panopticon. Dumont has asked his master to send Talleyrand a set of economical and political works. It occurs to Bentham that it will be a stroke of diplomacy to forward along with the books "a set or two sets of my brother's patent but never-sold fire-irons of which the special and characteristic property is levity." They would serve, he thinks, "as a specimen of the Panopticon system. One might be kept by T. (Talleyrand), the other, if he thought fit, passed on to B. (Bonaparte)." Even the sympathetic Dumont declines to extend his interest to patent fire-irons, and coldly intimates that he is "not familiar with such instruments." The humblest games, we find, are not unworthy of utilitarian consideration, and may be treated in the same confident deductive fashion as governments. At Ford Abbey—where Bentham lived from 1814 to 1817, and where the youthful J. S. Mill found the "sentiment of a larger and freer existence" in the "middle-age architecture, baronial hall, and spacious and lofty rooms"—battledores and shuttlecocks were kept in frequent exercise; and any tendency in manufacturers to deviate from the true type of shuttle-

cock was severely repressed. "Pointed epigrams, yes," writes the philosopher; "but pointed shuttlecocks never were, nor ever will be good for anything. These, it is true, have not been tried; but trial is not necessary to the condemnation of such shuttlecocks as these." Bentham was strictly temperate in his diet: he ate meat but once a day, and then very moderately, and was almost a teetotaler. But the pleasures of the table were too important to be diminished by a stupid adherence to custom; and being particularly fond of fruit, he used often to maximise his prandial happiness by commencing with the dessert, before the sensibility of his palate had been impaired by coarser viands.

I have dwelt at some length on this side of Bentham's character, because it seems to me that we get the right point of view for understanding his work in politics and ethics, if we conceive it as the central and most important realisation of a dominant and all-comprehensive desire for the amelioration of human life, or rather of sentient existence generally. A treatise on Deontology, a code, an inspection-house, a set of fire-irons, may all be regarded as instruments more or less rationally contrived for the promotion of happiness; and it is exclusively in this light that Bentham regards them. Thus, perhaps, we may partly account for the extreme unreadableness of his later writings, which are certainly "biblia abiblia." The best defence for them is that they are hardly meant to be criticized as books; they were written not so much to be read as to be used. Hence if, after they were written, he saw no prospect of their producing a practical effect, he kept them contentedly on his shelves for a more seasonable opportunity. In his earlier compositions he shows considerable literary faculty: his argument is keen and lucid, and his satirical humour often excellent, though liable to be too prolix. But the fashion in which he really liked to express his thoughts was the proper style of legal documents—a style, that is, in which there are no logically superfluous words, but in which everything that is intended is fully expressed, and the most tedious iteration is not shunned if it is logically needed for completeness and precision. And as years went on, and Dumont saved him the necessity of making himself popular, he gave full scope to his peculiar taste. Such a manner of expression has indeed a natural affinity to the fulness of detail with which his subjects are treated. But the tedium caused by the latter is necessarily aggravated by the former; and therefore the "general reader" has to be warned off from most of Bentham's volumes; or perhaps such warning is hardly needed. Those, however, who study him as he would have wished to be studied, not for literary gratification, but for practical guidance, will feel that his fatiguing exhaustiveness of style and treatment has great advantages. It to some extent supplies the place of empirical

tests to his system; at least, whatever dangers lurk in his abstract deductive method of dealing with human beings, we certainly cannot include among them the "dolus" which "latet in generalibus." If in establishing his practical principles he has neglected any important element of human nature, we are almost certain to feel the deficiency in the concrete result which his indefatigable imagination works out for us. Often, indeed, the danger rather is that we shall be unduly repelled by the mere strangeness of the habits and customs of the new social organization into which he transports us.

Thus from different points of view one might truly describe Bentham as one of the *most* or the *least* idealistic of practical philosophers. What is, immediately suggests to him what ought to be; his interest in the former is never that of pure curiosity, but always subordinated to his purpose of producing the latter; there is no department of the actual that he is not anxious to reconstruct systematically on rational principles, and so in a certain sense to inform and penetrate with ideas. While again his ideal is, to borrow a phrase of John Grote's, as much as possible *de-idealized*, positivized, some might say Philistinized, his good is purged of all mystical elements, and reduced to the positive, palpable, empirical, definitely quantitative notion of "maximum balance of pleasure over pain;" and his conception of human nature and its motives—the material which he has to adapt to the attainment of this good—is not only unideal, but even anti-ideal, or idealized in the wrong direction. While he is as confident in his power of constructing a happy society as the most ardent believer in the moral perfectibility of mankind, he is as convinced of the unqualified selfishness of the vast majority of human beings as the bitterest cynic. Hence the double aspect of his utilitarianism, which has caused so much perplexity both to disciples and to opponents. It is as if Hobbes or Mandeville were suddenly inspired with the social enthusiasm of Godwin. Something of the same blending of contraries is found in Helvetius; and he perhaps, rather than Hume, should be taken as the intellectual progenitor of Bentham. In Helvetius, however, though utilitarianism is passing out of the critical and explanatory phase in which we find it in Hume, into the practical and reforming phase, the transition is not yet complete. Still the premises of Bentham are all clearly given by Helvetius; and the task which the former took up is that which the latter clearly marks out for the moralist. Indeed, if we imagine the effect of *L'Esprit* on the mind of an eager young law-student, we seem to have the whole intellectual career of Bentham implicitly contained in a "pensée de jeunesse."

Helvetius puts with a highly effective simplicity, from which Hume was precluded by his more subtle and complex psychological analysis, these two doctrines: first, that every human being "en

tout temps, en tout lieu" seeks his own interest, and judges of things and persons according as they promote it; and secondly, that, as the public is made up of individuals, the qualities that naturally and normally gain public esteem and are called virtues are those useful to the public. Observation, he says, shows us that there are a few men who are inspired by "un heureux naturel, un désir vif de la gloire et de l'estime," with the same passion for justice and virtue which men generally feel for wealth and greatness. The actions which promote the private interest of these virtuous men are actions that are just, and conducive or not contrary to the general interest. But these men are so few that Helvetius only mentions them "pour l'honneur de l'humanité." The human race is almost entirely composed of men whose care is concentrated on their private interests. How, under these circumstances, are we to promote virtue? for which Helvetius really seems to be genuinely concerned, though he is too well bred to claim for himself expressly so exceptional a distinction. It is clear, he thinks, that the work will not be done by moralists, unless they completely change their methods. "Qu'ont produit jusqu'aujourd'hui les plus belles maximes de la morale?" Our moralists do not perceive that it is a futile endeavour, and would be dangerous if it were not futile, to try to alter the tendency of men to seek their private happiness. They might perhaps gain some influence if they would substitute the "langage d'intérêt" for the "ton d'injure" in which they now utter their maxims; for a man might then be led to abstain at least from such vices as are prejudicial to himself. But for the achievement of really important results the moralist must have recourse to legislation. This is a conclusion which Helvetius is never tired of enforcing. "One ought not to complain of the wickedness of man, but of the ignorance of legislators who have always set private interest in opposition to public." "The hidden source of a people's vices is always in its legislation; it is there that we must search if we would discover and extirpate their roots." "Moralists ought to know that as the sculptor fashions the trunk of a tree into a god or a stool, so the legislator makes heroes, geniuses, virtuous men, as he wills: . . . reward, punishment, fame, disgrace, are four kinds of divinities with which he can always effect the public good." In short, Helvetius conceives that universal self-preference might by legislative machinery be so perfectly harmonized with public utility that "none but madmen would be vicious:" it only wants a man of insight and courage, "échauffé de la passion du bien général," to effect this happy consummation.

Such, then, was the task that Bentham, at the age of twenty-five, undertook; and perhaps his bitterest opponent, surveying his sixty years of strenuous performance, will hardly blame him severely for

presumption in deeming himself to possess the requisite qualifications. The young Englishman, indeed, with his faith in our "matchless constitution" as yet unshaken, conceives himself to be in an exceptionally favourable position for realising this union of morals and legislation. "France," he writes in his commonplace-book for 1774-5, "may have philosophers. The world is witness if she have not philosophers. But it is England only that can have patriots, for a patriot is a philosopher in action." Such a "philosopher in action" might hope not merely to delineate, but actually to set on foot that reformation in the moral world which could only come from improvement in the machine of law. But in the moral no less than in the physical world one cannot improve a machine without understanding it; the study of it as it exists must be separated from the investigation of what it ought to be, and the former must be thoroughly performed before the latter can be successfully attempted. This is to us so obvious a truism that it seems pedantic to state it expressly; but it is a truism which Bentham found as much as possible obscured in Blackstone's famous Commentaries. The first thing then which he had to do was to dispel that confusion between the expository and the censorial functions of the jurist, which seemed to be inherent in the official account of the laws and constitution of England. The clearness and completeness with which this is done are the chief merits of the Fragment on Government. In this elaborate attack on Blackstone's view of municipal law Bentham does not as yet criticize the particulars either of the British constitution or of British administration of justice: his object is merely to supply the right set of notions for apprehending what either actually is, together with the right general principles for judging of its goodness or badness. His fundamental idea is taken, as he says, from Hume; but the methodical precision with which it is worked out is admirable; in fact, the Fragment contains the whole outline of that system of formal constitutional jurisprudence which the present generation has mostly learnt from his disciple John Austin. Among other things we may notice as characteristic the manner in which he throws aside the official nonsense about the "democratic element" in the unreformed British Parliament, which half imposed even on the clear intellect of Paley. "A duke's son," he says, "gets a seat in the House of Commons; it needs no more to make him the very model of an Athenian cobbler." In a similar spirit he banters Blackstone's account of the "wisdom and valour" for which our lords temporal are selected. He remarks that in Queen Anne's reign, in the year 1711, "not long after the time of the hard frost," there seems to have been such an exuberance of these virtues as to "furnish merit enough to stock no fewer than a dozen respectable persons, who upon the strength of it were all made barons in a

day;" a phenomenon, he adds, which a contemporary historian has strangely attributed to the necessity of making a majority. It is evident that whatever constitution Bentham may prefer, he will not be put off by any conventional fictions as to the relations of its parts; his preference will depend entirely on what he believes to be their actual working.

More than thirty years, however, were to elapse before Bentham seriously turned his attention to constitutional construction. Indeed nothing is more characteristic of the Benthamite manner of thought, in its application to politics, than the secondary and subordinate position to which it relegates the constitutional questions that absorbed the entire attention of most English politicians of the eighteenth century. Such politicians, even when most theoretical, seem to have had no notion that the political art properly includes a systematic survey of the whole operation of government, and a thorough grasp of the principles by which that operation should be judged and rectified. Their philosophy was made up of metaphysico-jural dissertations on the grounds and limits of civil obedience, and loose historical generalisations as to the effects of the "three simple forms" of government, conceived as chemical elements out of which the British constitution was compounded. What they habitually discussed was not how laws should be made or executed, but what the terms of the social compact were, and whether the balance between Crown and Commons could be maintained without corruption. It is perhaps some survival in Mr. Stephen's mind of this now antiquated way of viewing politics which has led him, while speaking respectfully of Bentham's labours in the sphere of jurisprudence, to refer so slightly to him in describing the course of political thought. And no doubt Bentham's determination to maintain a purely and exhaustively practical treatment in all his writings on law and its administration, render it almost necessary to leave the greater part of his work to the criticism of professional experts. But the general principles by which the whole course of his industry was guided; that government is merely an organization for accomplishing a very complicated and delicate work, of which the chief part consists in preventing, by the threatened infliction of pain or damage for certain kinds of conduct, some more than equivalent pain or loss of happiness resulting from that conduct to some of the governed; that the primary end of the political art is to secure that this work shall be done in the best possible way with the utmost possible precision and the least possible waste of means; and that the rules controlling the appointment and mutual relations of different members of the government should be considered and determined solely with a view to this end—these were surely worth mentioning among political theories. For it is this fundamental creed that has given Benthamism

its vitality; when once these principles were clearly and firmly apprehended by a man with the "infinite capacity for taking trouble" which has been said to constitute genius, though the eighteenth century, ideally speaking, was not yet over, the nineteenth had certainly begun. A theory that is exclusively positive and unmetaphysical, at the same time that it is still confidently deductive and unhistorical, forms the natural transition from the "Age of Reason" to the period of political thought in which we are now living.

When we consider that Bentham's early manhood coincided with the intensest period of revolutionary fervour, and that he was in close personal relations with some influential Frenchmen of this age, it seems a remarkable evidence of his intellectual independence that he should have so long kept his attention turned away from constitutional reform. Probably the aversion he felt for the metaphysics in which the conception of rational and beneficent government seemed to be commonly entangled, co-operated to concentrate his attention on that department of reform in which alone he felt himself in full sympathy with the party of movement. At the outset of the American war he was altogether hostile to the colonists, owing to the "hodge-podge of confusion and absurdity" which he found in their Declaration of Rights. Six years later he was content to regard the English constitution as "resting at no very great distance, perhaps, from the summit of perfection." In 1789 he went so far with his French friends as to offer the cause of liberty his treatise on Parliamentary Tactics. Still, as we have seen, the dry practicality of this dissertation could hardly be surpassed; it does not touch on a single "burning question" except Division of Chambers, which it treats very abstractly and neutrally. In 1793 whatever sympathy he may have felt for the revolutionists had quite vanished. "Could the extermination of Jacobinism be effected," he writes to his cousin Metcalf, "I should think no price that we could pay for such a security too dear;" and about the same time he tells Dundas that though some of the MSS. he sends him might "lead to his being taken for a republican," he is "now writing against even Parliamentary Reform, and that without any change of sentiment." It is evident that he is thoroughly absorbed in schemes of legislative and administrative improvement: his interest in the French Revolution was due to the unexampled opportunity it seemed to offer for new codes, new judicial establishments, Panopticons, &c.; he has no desire to quarrel with the English Tory Government if it will find employment for his inventions in this line. Until 1791 he seems to have hoped that Lord Lansdowne would place him in Parliament; he even obtained a vague promise to that effect, though for some reason or other the

idea was afterwards dropped. Then during the twenty years (from 1791 to 1811) in which Panopticon was in suspense, he would naturally shrink from risking its prospects by any open breach with the Government. Still it is pretty clear that his opinion of the practical efficiency of the Matchless Constitution was growing rapidly worse during the latter part of this period, until in 1809 he wrote his first plan of Parliamentary Reform. This, however, remained unpublished till 1817; and in a letter to President Madison in 1811, in which he proposes to codify for the United States, he takes care to say that "his attention has not turned and is not disposed to turn itself" to changes in the form of their government. Indeed, since the enthusiastic reception which his Civil and Penal Codes, in Dumont's rendering, had met with throughout Europe, his hopes of benefiting the human race by codification had taken so wide a range as almost necessarily to keep him neutral even towards the most despotic kind of rule. In no country was this reception more enthusiastic than in Russia. Accordingly in 1814, Panopticon being finally suppressed, and code-making being in hand in Russia, Bentham considers that the time has come to offer his services for this purpose. The Emperor, with every expression of courtesy and respect, requests him to communicate with the Commission that is sitting on legislation. But this seems to him useless. Alone he must do it; and he somewhat sourly rejects all compliments not accompanied with legislative *carte blanche*. When he is convinced that he cannot be employed on these conditions, his last reason for keeping terms with the traditional forms of government would seem to have vanished; and he prepares, when already verging on threescore and ten, to crown the edifice of his jurisprudence with a Constitutional Code.

It is not often that an energetic practical philanthropist throws himself into constitutional reform at the age of sixty-eight. When he does so, it is likely to be with the accumulated bitterness resulting from a lifetime of baffled attempts to benefit his fellow-men under their existing constitution. And all that Bentham writes after 1817 is full of the heated and violent democratic fanaticism which is incident to the youth of many Liberals who in later years become "tempered by renouncement," but which, as we have seen, was conspicuously absent from the earlier stages of Bentham's political activity. No doubt this may be partly attributed to the spirit of the time. From 1817 to 1830 the tide of Liberalism was rapidly rising, and the flavour of the rising Liberalism was peculiarly bitter. Still a man of sixty-eight is not usually carried away by an upsurging wave of opinion; and we can hardly explain Bentham's mood without taking into account the acrimony of the disappointed projector. It is the persistent rejection of Panopticon and many

other fair schemes which has inspired him with so intense a conviction that governments of One or Few invariably aim at the depredation and oppression of the Many. He tells us himself, in the "historical preface" to the Fragment on Government (republished 1828), that it is only after the experience and observation of fifty years that he has learnt to see in the imperfections of the British constitution "the elaborately organized and anxiously cherished and guarded products of sinister interest and artifice." Had George III., any time between 1793 and 1811, made peace with Panopticon, had Alexander in 1814 allowed free play to the great codifier's energies, the Constitutional Code, we may well believe, would have remained unwritten, and the philosophy of modern English Radicalism would have acknowledged a different founder.

And yet, when we examine the rational basis of his constitutional construction, whether as given in the introduction to his Plan of Parliamentary Reform (1817), or more fully and characteristically developed in the elaborate work just mentioned, we find that it consists in a few very natural inferences from the ethical and psychological premises on which his whole social activity proceeded; inferences, indeed, so simple and obvious, that we can hardly suppose him not to have tacitly drawn them, even in the earliest stage of his career. If once we regard the administration of law as a machinery indispensable for identifying the interest of individuals with the conduct by which they will most promote the general happiness, so that through a skilful adjustment of rewards and punishments the universally active force of self-preference is made to produce the results at which universal benevolence would aim, it is plain that our arrangements are incomplete unless they include means for similarly regulating the self-preferences of those who are to work and repair the machine. And this, of course, must be done by a combination of rewards and punishments; the problem is, how to apply these so as to produce an adequate effect. It is obviously a far more difficult problem than that with which Bentham had to deal in regulating private relations. For what the private man, in his view, has for the most part *to do*, in order to promote the general happiness, is to consult the interests of himself and his family; whatever private services it is desirable he should render to others should rarely be made legally obligatory, except when he has freely bound himself by special and definite contracts. But from governors, if government is to be well performed, we require the energetic and sustained exercise of all their faculties in the service of their fellow-citizens generally—even more sustained energy than most men spend on their own affairs, in proportion as government is a more difficult business; while at the same time this business is of such a nature that it is necessary to give the

managers of it an indefinite power of interfering with the liberty, property, and even life of their fellow-citizens generally. For to set definite limits to this power in the prescriptions of a constitutional code is, from a utilitarian point of view, manifestly irrational. The only rational limits, those which utility would prescribe in any case, cannot be foreseen and fixed once for all; hence any such constitutional restrictions, if observed, are likely to prevent salutary laws and ordinances as well as mischievous ones; while, if they are to be overruled by the "salus populi," their announcement was worse than useless—it was an express incitement to groundless rebellion. The only plan that remains, and the only one that can possibly secure the requisite junction of interests, is to provide that government, while supreme over individuals, shall be under the continual vigilant control of the citizens acting collectively. Every citizen who is not childish, insane, &c., should *primâ facie* have a share in this control, otherwise his interests will presumably be neglected; and every one an equal share, in so far as we have no ground for considering one man's happiness of more importance than any other man's.

We are thus led to the familiar system of Representative Democracy, with universality and equality of suffrage; but, be it observed, without any of the metaphysical fictions which had commonly been involved in the construction of this system. Bentham's system is not a contrivance for enabling every one to "obey himself alone:" such an end would have seemed to him chimerical and absurd: it is merely an arrangement for securing that every one's interests shall be as well as possible looked after. To this difference of *rationale* corresponds naturally a difference of constitutional sentiment. Bentham's supreme legislative assembly is not a majestic incarnation of the sovereignty of the people; it is merely a collection of agents, appointed by the people to manage a certain part of their concerns, liable, like other agents, to legal punishment if they can be proved to have violated their trust, and to instant dismissal if it seem probable that they have done so.

Another important difference appears at once in comparing the *rationale* of utilitarian democracy with that based on natural rights. The former, however dogmatically it may be announced, depends necessarily upon certain psychological generalisations, the truth of which may be continually brought to the test of experience. Between traditional legitimacy and natural freedom there was no common ground, and therefore really no argument possible. If I maintain that I and my fellow-citizens have an imprescriptible right to be governed only by laws to which we have consented, I can find no relevancy in the answer that certain persons have inherited a prescriptive right to govern me. But if I maintain that our common interests are most likely to be well looked after by managers whom

we can dismiss, however confident I may be in my deduction of this probability from the "universality of self-preference," I must admit arguments from experience tending to prove the opposite. And when these are once admitted, the descent from the position of Bentham and James Mill, that democracy is absolutely desirable, to John Stuart Mill's relative and qualified assertion of its desirability, is logically inevitable; though, like many other logically inevitable steps, it took a generation to make it.

The chief peculiarities, however, in the main outline of Bentham's constitution, are due not to his conception of the political end, but to his intense sense of the need of guarding his government against the danger of perversion: a danger which democrats of the older type, from their confidence in ordinary human nature, had commonly overlooked. If the oppressions of kings and aristocrats are connected with the prevalence of prejudice and superstition, it is natural to suppose that when these are removed the business of government is as likely to go on well as any other business. But in Bentham's view governors, under however enlightened a constitution, will be ordinary human beings exposed to extraordinary temptations, to which, therefore, we must presume that they will certainly yield unless very exceptional securities are provided. All the members of government will have natural appetites for power, wealth, dignity, ease at the expense of duty, vengeance at the expense of justice, which are obviously all forces acting in the direction opposed to the general happiness. And since for the exercise of their normal functions governors, or at least the chief among them, must have power not definitely limited, and must have at their disposal a similarly indefinite amount of wealth, it cannot but be profoundly difficult to prevent them from satiating—if it be possible to satiate—all their mischievous appetites. To set one part of government to watch another will avail little: corrupt mutual connivance is too obviously their common interest. The utmost frequency in the elections of the members of the legislative assembly is a desirable, but not an adequate security: it will be the interest of each legislator to corrupt his leading constituents by patronage, and it will be their interest to be corrupted; and the claim of experience which the sitting member can put forward will be so plausible that it will be easy for the leading constituents to hoodwink the rest. How then shall we prevent legislators, administrators, and leading constituents from being thus driven by the combined force of their self-preferences into a conspiracy against the general happiness? We must do what we can by "minimising confidence and maximising control," through the concentration of responsibility, together with arrangements for securing to the public easy and complete cognisance of all official acts. We must "minimise

"the matter of corruption" by continually keeping down the amount of wealth and power disposable by each official: in order to reduce salaries, Bentham proposes to institute a pecuniary competition among the properly qualified candidates for any office, on the principle of choosing the man who will take least, or perhaps will even pay, to perform its functions. We must render bargains with electors difficult by secret voting. But, above all, we must be in a position to stamp out the virus of corruption as soon as it appears by immediately dismissing—or, as he prefers to say, "dislocating"—the peccant official. He considers that direct "location" by the people is incompatible with good government, except in the case of members of the legislature; even the appointment of the head of the executive, who has to make or sanction other administrative appointments, he would give to the supreme assembly; but "universal dislocability" by a vote of the majority of citizens seems to him absolutely indispensable: all other securities will be inadequate without this.

After all is done, the readers of the Constitutional Code will probably feel that, when Helvetius proposed to ardent philanthropy the noble task of moralising selfish humanity by legislation, he had not sufficiently considered the difficulty of moralising the moralisers, and that even the indefatigable patience and inexhaustible ingenuity of Bentham will hardly succeed in defeating the sinister conspiracy of self-preferences. In fact, unless a little more sociality is allowed to an average human being, the problem of combining these egoists into an organization for promoting their common happiness is like the old task of making ropes of sand. The difficulty that Hobbes vainly tried to settle summarily by absolute despotism is hardly to be overcome by the democratic artifices of his more inventive successor.

Bentham's final treatise on politics was never absolutely completed. Only about one-half had been printed or revised for the press when his long career of intellectual toil was terminated. On the 6th of June, 1832, there remained for the indefatigable old man but one last contribution to the balance of human happiness, which was faithfully rendered: to "minimise the pain" of the watchers round his dying bed. His treatise on private ethics, or, as he calls it, Deontology (the place of which in his system had been indicated fifty years before in his Treatise on Morals and Legislation), was left a mere mass of undigested fragments. The task of preparing it for publication was, however, at once undertaken by Bowring, the favourite disciple of the master's later years; and so much of Bentham's work had been given to the world through the medium of a disciple, that there seemed no reason why the Deontology should not take rank with The Civil and Penal Codes as a generally trustworthy exposition of Benthamite doctrine. But the

book had no sooner appeared than it was formally repudiated by that section of the school whose opinions were likely to have most weight with the public. J. S. Mill, writing August, 1838, in the *London and Westminster Review*, urged that, considering its dubious origin and intrinsic demerits together, it should be omitted from any collected edition of Bentham's works; its demerits being that, instead of "plunging boldly into the greater moral questions," it treated almost solely of "the *petite morale*, and that with pedantic minuteness, and on the *quid pro quo* principles which regulate trade." That the Deontology corresponds to this description is undeniable; the only question is whether a disciple of Bentham's ought to have been surprised at it. The surprise, at any rate, is a phenomenon demanding explanation; for Bentham is not a Hegel, to be understood by one disciple only, and misunderstood by him; he is commonly liable to be wearisome from obtrusive consistency, and unreadable from an excessive desire to be unmistakable.

The truth is that an ethical system constructed on Bentham's principles is an instrument that may be put to several different uses; so that it is not unnatural that his disciples, employing and developing it each in his own way, should insensibly be led to widely divergent views as to the really essential characteristics of the master's doctrine. The theory of virtue which he received from Helvetius has two aspects, psychological and ethical. Psychologically analysed, common morality appears as a simple result of common selfishness. "Each man likes and approves what he thinks useful to him; the public (which is merely an aggregate of individuals) likes and praises what it thinks useful to the public; that is the whole account of virtue." How, on this theory, men's moral judgments come to agree as much as they actually do is not sufficiently explained; and in any case there is no rational transition possible from this psychological theory to the ethical principle that "the standard of rectitude for all actions" is "public utility." Nor does Bentham really maintain that there is: when he is pressed, he explains frankly that his first principle is really his individual sentiment; that, in fact, he aims at the general happiness because he happens to prefer it. Still, for all practical purposes, he does accept "greatest happiness"[1] as (to use his own words) "a plain as well as true standard for whatever is right or wrong, useful, useless, or mischievous in human conduct, whether in the field of morals or of politics." The primary function, then, of the utilitarian[2] moralist is

(1) The phrase which he used during the greater part of his life, and which has become current—"The greatest happiness of the greatest number"—he found, at the age of twenty-two, in an early pamphlet of Priestley's. In the Deontology, however, he proposes to drop the latter half of the phrase, as superfluous and liable to misinterpretation.

(2) J. S. Mill tells us in his Autobiography that he introduced this term into

to apply this standard to the particulars of human life, so as to determine by it the different special virtues or rules of duty, so far as such determination is possible in general terms; and, in fact, several of the fragments put together in the Deontology were written with this aim. But suppose this has been accomplished, and the code of duty clearly made out; we have still to ask what the exact use of it will be. It will, of course, give a complete practical guidance to persons whose ruling passion is a desire to promote universal happiness; but Bentham, no less than Helvetius, regards such persons as so exceptional, that it would be hardly worth while to print a book for them. What, then, is the relation of the utilitarian moralist to the great mass of mankind, in whose breasts universal benevolence holds no such irresistible sway? This is the practically important question. One answer to it is that given by Paley (and afterwards by John Austin), which treats the rules of utilitarian duty as a code of Divine Law, adequately supported by religious sanctions. Such an answer avoids some of the objections to utilitarianism, at the cost, perhaps, of introducing greater ones; but in any case it is not Bentham's, though it is not expressly excluded by him. If we put this aside, there remain two entirely different ways of dealing with the question, each of which, from a utilitarian point of view, is perfectly appropriate. In the first place the code as above deduced may be offered to mankind as a standard for rectifying their ordinary judgments of approbation and disapprobation, clearing them from a certain amount of confusion and conflict which now perplexes them, and so increasing their beneficent effect. Even if few persons are sufficiently benevolent to take the general happiness as the one ultimate end of their own conduct, it may still be generally accepted as a standard for apportioning praise and blame to others; and much would be gained for the general happiness if the whole force of these powerful motives could be turned in the direction of promoting it. In all Bentham says of the "moral sanction" in his Morals and Legislation, this conception of morality as a system of distributing praise and blame is implied; and such, I gather, was the view taken by James Mill of the practical function of the utilitarian moralist (except in so far as his associational psychology led him to recognise the love of virtue as a distinct though derivative impulse). But this view, though not absent from the Deontology, is certainly not prominent there; and it is plain from Bentham's earlier treatise[1] that he conceived "private ethics" not merely as an art of praising and blaming, but rather as an art of conduct generally, from the individual's point of view—"art of self-

currency from one of Galt's novels. It was, however, suggested by Bentham, in a letter to Dumont in June, 1802, as preferable to "Benthamite."

(1) Cf. esp. c. xix. of the Principles of Morals and Legislation, § 2, 3, 6, 7.

government" he calls it. But in counselling individuals Bentham thought, like Helvetius, that it was useless to "clamour about duty;" the only effective way of persuading a man to its performance was to show him its coincidence with interest. In such a demonstration the pleasures of pure benevolence are, of course, not neglected; but he obviously cannot lay much stress on them. Hence the necessity for the "quid pro quo" treatment of which Mill complains. The erroneousness of the estimate which the vicious man makes of pains and pleasures has to be shown in every possible way; honesty has to be exhibited as the best policy, extra-regarding beneficence as an investment in a sort of bank of general good-will, &c. We can see at the same time why, from this point of view, the *petite morale* is so prominent. For the more important part of the coincidence between interest and duty it belongs to the legislator to effect and enforce; and his share of the code ought to be written, to use a Platonic image, in large print, needing no comment; the moralist's task is to decipher and exhibit the minor supplementary prescriptions of duty. And that Bentham, when he had once undertaken this task, should have performed it with a "minuteness" which a hostile critic might call "pedantic," can hardly have surprised any one so familiar with his works as Mill was.

So far, I think, there can be no doubt that Bowring has given us the genuine Bentham, and that the faithful historian must refuse to follow Mill in rejecting the Deontology. But it is one thing to hold that the moralist ought chiefly to occupy himself in showing men how much of their happiness is bound up with their duty; it is quite another thing to maintain that the two notions are universally coincident in experience, and that (from a purely mundane point of view) "vice may be defined to be a miscalculation of chances." This latter is the ground implicitly taken throughout the greater part of the Deontology, and expressly in one or two passages. No doubt the step to this from the former position is a very natural one for an enthusiastic and not very clear-headed disciple; for if it is tenable, the moralist's task can be much more triumphantly achieved. But that Bentham himself would ever have deliberately maintained this position is very difficult to believe. Certainly in the passage of his earlier treatise above referred to, where he defines the relation of "private ethics" to legislation, he distinctly avoids taking it. "It cannot but be admitted," he says, "that the only interests which a man at all times and on all occasions is sure to find adequate motives for consulting are his own." All he can maintain is that "there are no occasions on which he has not *some* motives for consulting the happiness of other men." And with his purely practical view of the moralist's function, he would naturally, in writing his notes for the Deontology, exhibit these motives

without dwelling on their occasional inadequacy, and would thus encourage his editor to take the critical step from the actual to the ideal, and assert that they are always adequate. But if, as we have seen, the author of the Principles of Morals and Legislation shrank from asserting this, we can hardly suppose that the author of the Constitutional Code had seen reason to change his mind. For if it is always every man's interest, on a rational computation of chances, to promote the general happiness, what becomes of his anti-monarchical and anti-oligarchical deductions from the principle of self-preference? It may of course be said that monarchs and oligarchs may and do mistake their true interests. But Bentham's argument goes far beyond this. He repeatedly states it as certain and inevitable that, without such artificial junction of interests as is provided by the Constitutional Code, governors will sacrifice the happiness of the governed to their own appetites for power, wealth, ease, and revenge. There are some inconsistencies so flagrant that even a philosopher should be held innocent of them till he is proved guilty; and to hold the serene optimism of the Deontology as to human relations generally, together with the bitter pessimism of the Constitutional Code as to the relation of rulers and subjects, would surely be an inconsistency of this class.

At the same time I must admit that there were other utilitarians besides Bowring who did not perceive the incongruity, and that even after it had been explained to them by a writer who generally succeeded in making his explanations pretty clear. In the famous passage of arms between the *Edinburgh* and the *Westminster* in 1829-30, Macaulay no doubt ventured into a region where he was not altogether at home; still his clear common sense, wide knowledge of historical facts, and a dialectical vigour and readiness which few philosophers could afford to despise, rendered him by no means ill matched even against James Mill; in fact, both combatants, on the ground on which they met, were better equipped for offensive than for defensive warfare; and if the author of the essay on Government had himself replied to his assailant, the conflict would probably have been bloody, but indecisive. But when Macaulay's article came out, the split between Bowring and the Mills had taken place, and the management of the *Westminster* had passed into the hands of Colonel Perronet Thompson, who accepted to the full Bowring's view of utilitarian ethics, and in fact regarded the coincidence of utilitarian duty with self-interest properly understood as Bentham's cardinal doctrine. Colonel Thompson was a writer of no mean talents, and if he had only had to defend his own view of the "greatest happiness principle" he might have come off with tolerable success. Unfortunately the conditions of the controversy rendered it incumbent on him to defend James Mill's at the same time; and

against the compound doctrine that it is demonstrably the interest of kings and aristocracies to govern well, and yet demonstrably certain that they will never think so, Macaulay's rejoinder was delivered with irresistible force.

Macaulay's articles had other consequences, more important than that of exhibiting the ambiguities of the greatest happiness principle. His spirited criticism of the deductive politics of James Mill, though it was treated with contempt by its object, had a powerful effect on the more impartial and impressible mind of the younger Mill; and the new views of utilitarian method which were afterwards propounded in the latter's Logic of the Moral Sciences[1] owe their origin in some measure to the diatribes of the *Edinburgh*. If space allowed, it would be interesting to trace the changes that Bentham's system underwent in the teaching of his most distinguished successor, under the combined influences of Comtian sociology, Associational psychology, and Neo-Baconian logic. But such an undertaking would carry us far beyond the limits of the present historical sketch, and right into the midmost heats of contemporary controversy.

H. Sidgwick.

(1) Cf. J. S. Mill's Logic, b. vi. Ch. vii. viii.; and his Autobiography, p. 158.

# CHURCH AND STATE.[1]

Of the questions which agitate this age none goes deeper or seems more persistent than the battle about the province of Religion and Politics. Here, as in foreign lands, a crucial problem is ever thrust before the eyes of our generation: Ought governments to manipulate the religion of nations?

The simple question before us to-night is the principle of Official Religion. We will put aside all questions of religious equality. We will speak neither of the merits nor of the demerits of the Church as a spiritual body. To make too much of a plea for equality would but little accord with my political convictions. To single out the Church for rebuke amongst all the religious communities would be contrary to my convictions as well as my sympathies. For my part I can claim no connection with any aggrieved community. All my associations have been with the Church; I have been educated within it by its priests and teachers; from boyhood I have been familiar with its spirit. Many of its ministers are and many have been amongst my friends; for not a few I have a lively feeling of admiration; with many I have on social questions the bond of common sympathies. With all that is manly and hopeful in the spiritual life of the Church we may honestly profess a genuine fellowship. Let us give it full measure of our tribute for all that it retains and for all that it can record, whether of learning, of culture, of largeness of temper, saintliness of life, devotion to its social mission, and real imaginative aspiration for a simpler and a wider future. If any man choose to deny that it still has a part in English civilisation (I speak of it solely as a spiritual body, with hope still latent in its inmost conscience); if any man choose to deny that it still counts within it some of the finest natures of our time—I am not that man, nor with that man. Least of all can I forget, surrounded as I have been with its spiritual influences, the promises of development which it holds, for they are amongst the most rational, the most humane—I would rather say the most human—of the manifold influences of Christendom.

But we did not come together either to bless or to ban, to laud or to accuse the Church, when looked at in its spiritual function. Let it be as a spiritual communion all that it claims to be. We meddle not with that high theme. The matter before us is a political axiom—the principle of State religions; a matter that concerns not

(1) The substance of a lecture delivered at Manchester and Liverpool at the request of the Liberation Society.

Churchmen specially, or Nonconformists specially, but which concerns citizens. What we are going to deal with is an anomaly, an excrescence, an abuse of the State. If we deal with the Church, it is only regarded as a political bureau. We shall say not one word of the gospel of Christ; we are speaking of a branch of the governing machine. The questions I shall ask are questions for men of all creeds—questions which are open to Churchmen to ponder as much as to statesmen, to divines no less than to sceptics. Is not an official religion a thing vicious in principle? Is it not growing each day more alien to modern policy? Is not an Establishment a political rather than a religious institution, the invention of an age of unscrupulous politicians and political priests? Can we not read its doom written in every page of our new religious expansion? Can we not hear its buttresses crack and shiver under the swelling of spirit within, the stir and battle of life without it? Does it not add a new bitterness, a fresh entanglement, to many a political contest—making of education a field of contention, turning social problems into sectarian struggles, needlessly filling with embarrassment the tasks of imperial government? Are not statesmen growing weary of this useless burden on political difficulties? Are not Churchmen growing weary of the humiliating dependence? How long will they endure to see religious life thus vulgarised by a compact which forces devotion into the attitude of a parasite, and turns the voice of the preacher into the grating tone of a State official? Churchmen or not, we must all feel sometimes the stir of something within us, as we think on this ideal of the parliamentary gospel—this privileged, political, combative bureaucracy, saturated with lay interests and surfeited with temporal possessions, governed by the secular nominees of a secular parliament, and preaching, for good and sufficient consideration, the religion of Christ at the orders of an assembly, in which very many are not Churchmen and some are not Christians, but in which all are of the great and none are of the poor.

I.

The grounds on which we base this cardinal principle of civil society appeal to the Churchman as much as to the Dissenter; but they appeal, it seems to me, even more to the citizen, be he of any religious school or of no religious school, whether he desire the spiritual life of the Church or deny it to have such life left in it. It is from within the Church itself, we may justly believe, that this movement is about to receive its critical impulse, as sincere Churchmen, yearning for the enlargement of their hopes, shall come to see how the spiritual seed which they plant and water with toil grows up into secular tares under official dictation and political manipulation.

It is these Churchmen themselves who at length will learn to prefer their religion to their title-deeds—who will some day take heart to meet the other religious communities, trusting in their spiritual force and their traditions, and not in official prerogative. Yet these very arguments are quite as fit for the mouths of those who are alien or hostile to the orthodox religion, or of those who would discard any religious organization whatever. It is no paradox that men of very different creeds can hold the same language; that political indifferentism can stand on the same platform with religious zeal; that secular politicians and sectarian enthusiasts, Churchmen, Dissenters, Secularists, can labour together to one end. They all hold the great principle of civil society, the key of our modern history, the watch-word now of healthy progress in things religious as much as in things civil:—*The force of opinion within the world of opinion: political force only in political things.*

How truly damaging to the Church as a religious power is that defence of those misguided friends of it who say: Your demand for freedom of religion will be the ruin of the Episcopal Church, will rob the poor of all religious teaching; for the disestablishment of the Church as a State bureau is the same thing as the decease of the Church as a spiritual society. The residuary legatees, they say, stand agape for its expected dissolution: the Church of Rome, say some; Infidelity, Materialism, Atheism, and so forth, say others. What! is the Church of England, with its history and its aspirations, come down to this shameful end? Is it alone of all Christian denominations unable to live of its own life and by the devotion of its children? Must it cease out of the land when it surrenders its statutory prerogatives, and is no longer choked by so much misappropriated wealth? For my part I hesitate to say anything so dishonouring to the communion in which I was brought up, and in which I can see new life. The Church of England—so runs the political sophism of the day—is the poor man's church; it puts in every parish—sometimes they say a cultivating power, sometimes they say a civilising influence, usually the term is a gentleman, though I believe what is usually meant is an upper-class man. Now I am not about to dispute that there are civilising influences left in our parish system, and many a fine character amongst our parish clergy; I am alive, as much as any man, to the spiritual and humanising traditions of which, from St. Augustine to Keble, that clergy bear the inheritance. But why is all this to end when that Church is made a spiritual community instead of a political bureau; when it exists by the moral ascendancy which it can command, instead of serving in bondage to the State; when it is supported, as in its better days it was supported, by the offerings of its people, instead of fighting an ever-widening battle upon platforms and in lobbies for

monopolies, temporalities, and dignities? If it is a living spiritual energy, it will live in a healthier way without parliamentary prerogatives. If it cannot live without them, it deserves to die.

There are some of its friends who tell us that the Church of England *consists in* this accretion of statutory privileges; that, repeal the acts on which its ascendancy rests, there will be nothing left; that the Church is not so much a community of fellow-believers as an artifice of law, a collection of legal monopolies. And these men imagine themselves to be defending the Church! Advocates of the Establishment who rely upon this line of support paint it in blacker colours than the bitterest opponent. The damning sentence upon it is uttered in the words of this defence. If a man tells me that the Church is full of life and is doing a great work, and tells me that to seek the disestablishment of the Church is to destroy an instrument of good, I ask such a man: Is your Church the one community of Christians which can flourish only by Acts of Parliament and enormous stipends, given centuries ago for a very different purpose? Is your association so precarious that nothing but the Privy Council can keep you from tumbling to pieces? Are your bishops the only bishops who can be kept at their high level of spiritual earnestness by sitting in state in the House of Peers, and by consuming revenues which suffice for whole churches of their fellow-Christians? I would say to such an one: The very Mormons and Shakers can keep up their own religious offices by their own unaided efforts; the Nonconformists of every denomination can push their work into every corner of this island, can found schools, raise and maintain colleges, build fabrics which vie with the ancient temples of our land; the Free Kirk of Scotland can go forth from the State Church, shaking the dust from off its feet, and from that very dust there shall rise up kirks and schools, manses and chapels, for free worship, so that not the bleakest rock of the Western Islands shall be without its house of prayer, its school, and its minister, freely maintained by these poor fishermen's pence; the Catholic Church in England and in Ireland can hold its ground beside its parliamentary rival, with splendid ritual on the one side, and on the other with devoted toil in the most struggling populations, bringing to the doors of the poorest peasantry in the realm a ministry which has at least as much moral influence as any in Christendom. And yet your Church, I would say to this Churchman, is to pine and disappear, and be known only in history the moment the factitious resource of its State patronage is withdrawn—so soon as the vast possessions which it has quietly usurped are restored to their original and legitimate purpose. Truly, I say to this passionate Churchman, I have a better opinion of your Church than you have, and should feel shame to dishonour with such suicidal apology the religious community in which I once so

honestly trusted, and in the promise of which for a better future I once was willing to believe.

The Church may well ask to be saved from such friends as these. Can we imagine anything more cruel than their loud assertion that the surrender of the political privileges of the Church is the annihilation of the spiritual community? For my part I do not urge this policy in order to give new life to the Church; I do not urge it in order to destroy that life; but because it is of vital moment to the honesty and peace of the nation. I have little doubt that there are elements in the Established Church, truly religious forces and really spiritual natures within it, which, when free from secular distractions, may put out new activity. So far as it can win a legitimate influence in the sphere of religious and moral life, no reasonable man can complain, however little he accept its creeds, its system, or its ritual. What we repudiate is the illegitimate influence, gained not in the moral, but in the political world, by enormous endowments, State monopoly, and artificial supremacy. We repudiate State patronage of any religion, of any Church, be it good or bad, pure or selfish; but most of all we should repudiate such State patronage for our own faith or religious community. We protest, as citizens, against politicians manipulating a religious communion of any kind; but we should resist with indignation their invasion of our own religious communion. When a Church in which we have no share traffics itself into a mere government office, we suffer a political abuse; if that Church be one in which we have a share, it is a moral as well as a political debasement that we tolerate. An Anglican Church now is but a historical theory, a bit of antiquarianism, a piece of religious furniture like a young Ritualist's crucifix. Changes in our civil constitution have left the theory high and dry. A National Church, as the religious phase of the English nation, is now a disingenuous phrase, which no rational citizen can think of as an actual or possible fact. We know, and honest Churchmen all know, that the reality behind this ancient escutcheon is a sect in a minority of the English people, which barters its spiritual freedom for official privileges and public salaries. For our part, if we protest as citizens that the State, of which we are members, shall no longer make this unseemly subvention to a sect that has lost its self-respect, at least let each of us, for the religious community in which he shares, reject the political interference of civil authorities, and cast down with loathing all government hire of our spiritual offices, as we would cast down before the chief priests the thirty pieces of silver.

Once for all, we say as citizens that it is a source of evil in the State that the political force of the Government should be able to buy the partisanship of a religious community, and with the common

property and revenues of the nation give factitious ascendancy to a faith in which a minority alone believe. And if this official Church could be by a miracle converted into an ideal of a Christian fold, we insist that under State patronage and secular manipulation it must be ever hastening back to the condition of a secular institution. Let us close this unhallowed bargain for the sake of the State, for the sake of the Church, for the sake of everything that is honest and true in spiritual aspiration. Citizenship, public morality, and the wholesome hope of any manly religion demand it. If we knew it certainly that the Church would gain in power by the change, we should still repeat, No official religions. If the Church were certain to disappear from these islands like the Druids, we should still say, No official religions. For its disappearance would be certain proof that, in a religious sense, it had been dead generations ago. But, be the Church living or dead, useful or useless, pure or corrupt, there is one paramount truth in human societies that official religions cannot be religious. In the political aspect they are obsolete and discredited engines of government. In the spiritual aspect they get choked and entangled with secular interests and official contrivances, whereby there grow upon them the two not incompatible offences of time-serving and of arrogance—pliancy towards their political masters, self-assertion towards their religious rivals.

II.

Let us go a little to first principles—for Churches are bound by their title-deeds to be ever referring to first principles, to be unassailable in theory as well as convenient in practice—let us consider the things which the State undertakes to do, and the ways in which alone it can act. The direct and immediate purpose of the State is to protect the lives and property, to insure the material convenience, of the citizens. It may be all summed up in this, that it guarantees industry and peaceful intercourse in all its forms. We hence get all the great departments of State—Justice, Police, Health, Public Works, Defence, Commerce, Trade. All this relates to our material lives, to industry and intercourse, not to thoughts or moral dispositions. The seeming exceptions as to Education, Art, and Science are no exceptions at all. In this and in all practical nations we are jealous to guard the principle that the State shall not dispose of the real education of the people. The primary instruction of children, or rather of such children as would be otherwise untaught, it is true that the State or some public authorities provide. But in doing this we see how impossible it is to go beyond the bare elements of knowledge; how deep is the feeling of this country that education in all its higher departments would be paralyzed as well as corrupted were it ever to

become a monopoly of the State. Museums, galleries, and the like are simply the purchase, by a trifling State appropriation, of the material implements which intellectual and moral training requires as its tools. The State does not teach Science, Philosophy, Art, or Morality; much less does it pretend to set up with parliamentary privileges and official incomes a peculiar theory of Philosophy, a special style of Art, this or that doctrine of Morality, this or that curriculum of Science. Imagine the storm, not so much of indignation as of ridicule, which would crush any attempt of the State to create an Established Philosophy, or to found an Orthodox Art, the professors of which should sit in the House of Lords and mourn solemnly over the unhappy Dissenters from their canonical curriculum, or the unruly sciolists who denied the apostolical succession of their mediæval Gothic. Yet an Established Religion, an Orthodox State Church, is in principle in these days a more presumptuous anomaly. We have only to conceive of the State enforcing the Philosophy of Kant, or the Architecture of Palladio, as the only official mode of thinking that could be recognised by Act of Parliament, to see how deep in the souls of Englishmen lies the sense that the business of the State is with our material, not with our spiritual lives.

Turn we to the mode in which we permit the State to act, in which alone it can act at all. It can act only in material ways, by preventing deeds; it cannot act in moral ways, by inducing convictions or forming qualities. It cannot even compel actions which it approves; it can only punish actions which it condemns. It repels invasions; it cannot inculcate peace. It imprisons a wrong-doer; it cannot reprove his conscience. It enforces agreements; it cannot enforce benevolence; it cannot even punish ingratitude, or put a mark on heartlessness. The most just judge and the most energetic minister are utterly powerless within the sphere of morality, except so far as it can come into the four corners of the statute book. They can enforce legal agreements and punish statutory crimes; but beyond the sphere of the life, property, contracts, reputation, and convenience of the citizens, they have less power over the thoughts and the characters of their countrymen than a village schoolmaster or a hedge-preacher.

About all the functions of the State there runs one common character. In the first place, they concern men in their material lives, in the free employment of their industry, and the facilities for common intercourse. In the second place, they act in material ways by the arm ultimately of the policeman and the turnkey; they stand apart from the sphere of persuasion; they act only in things when the mass of the citizens are practically agreed. Lastly, from the nature of the case, the State cannot recognise sections. If a tax is made, every citizen liable to it must pay. A man cannot disapprove of

paying income-tax on moral or religious grounds. No man can, politically speaking, be a Dissenter from the State unless he take himself off beyond seas. The State is peremptory, with a hard and fast line, knowing nothing of consciences, or motives, or excuses. All must pay; all must submit; all must avoid this—or go to prison.

How different is this from the sphere of action, from the ways of action, of any Church or religious society, of any power whatever which professes to promote morality, truth, religion! Anything that can be called a Church ought to appeal to our highest emotions, persuade, stimulate, teach; it must look into character, judge motives rather than actions, distinguish intentions rather than services, make allowances for circumstances, insist on ideals; it should hold on always by principles, put forward the best types, avoid all averages, and abhor compromise. Teachers of all kinds (whatever the particular religion, morality, or science) are bound to abstain from pressure and from uniformity; they must command attention by their own character and their superior intelligence, not by the arm of the law or by any method of averages. The spiritual and the secular methods of acting differ as much as the way in which a mother teaches her children to love her, differs from the way the drill-sergeant teaches his recruits to march. And the drill-sergeant would fail as completely with the children as she would fail with the recruits.

These are fixed conditions of all State action. Political parties and statesmen are bound to bargain, to accept the decision of the majority, to take the best that public opinion will admit, often to choose the lesser of two evils, and earnestly to work for many a useful but equivocal compromise. In politics we must be always thinking of the average public mind, of a uniform standard, of men's acts rather than their motives. Statesmen necessarily become (and in one sense very rightly so) creatures of compromise, ready to take men as they are, sceptical of all ideals, willing to accept instalments, and referring all things to the opinion of the world. If statesmen acted with the religious temperament in affairs of State, they would produce an insurrection in a week. We see that when men of the great creative power in religion (it matters not what the creed), be it Mahomet, Pope, Calvin, or Knox, if they get control of the State forces they speedily develop a monstrous tyranny.

When politicians get control of churches the reverse takes place. The Church becomes a department. Its spiritual life is paralyzed. An average official tone creeps over it. It catches the air of the man of the world, the practical politician, the doubter of all ideals. It assumes the red-tape attitude, without that wary good sense which sometimes hides under the red tape. It soon becomes stereotyped under its forms, and hardens into a formalism; the formalism

becomes its end; its prerogatives swell to the measure of a great doctrine; and at last its privileges are the most sacred truths which it has to guard. Thence it grows into a recognised State bureau, with functions and duties which are only half expressed; it becomes political whilst professing the spiritual; it grows to be an engine of government whilst repeating, "My kingdom is not of this world;" it gets saturated with secular interests, secular objects, and secular habits, whilst insisting that it shall never be judged as a secular institution. Here we have full-blown the Establishment, which is by its origin in a false position, the action of it forced to be sinister, and the language of it tending by a law of nature to cant, as the language of all ambiguous things must. Are we still to call this a Church, where doctrine is emphatically a thing for the Legislature, where the truths of religion are the statutes and the rubrics which make up the rules of the service, where spiritual energy is discountenanced as a dangerous nuisance by the official superiors? A State Church, by the conditions of human society, has Insincerity for the marrow of its bones, and Self-assertion for the breath of its nostrils.

There is this incurable vice in the constitution of all State Churches—it is bred in them and it clings to them through life: that, in the last resort, the same men who administer the State administer the official religion; they bring to the control of things spiritual the same temper that they apply to the Home Office and the Treasury; they infuse into it that unspiritual, temporising, official habit which answers practically for the Customs or Police. For never forget this: that in religious institutions especially their real character is determined by their principle, by their tone, by the dominant scheme on which they are constructed. A spiritual foundation is of this kind: that unless it is true and sound in principle it is rotten and barren from root to topmost branch; every day of its life plunges it deeper into a false base, and every effort it makes involves it in a new hypocrisy. In things political an institution ill begun grows into usefulness by self-adaptation. We do not ask for the title of every practical institution, nor are we curious to try its fruits by its promises and its ideal. But in things spiritual it is the ideals, the principles, the title which are the essence—the one thing needful. They must stand out bright and fair before the light of heaven and the eyes of the people, or all that depends on them is false and wrong. In politics it is often enough that a thing works well; we will not press for its history nor speculate on its possible decay. But in religion nothing works well unless it is right—right in its origin, pure in its purposes, and permanent as truth. Churches that are based on sinister principles are rotten to the core. Creeds that are working compromises, articles of faith which are a *modus vivendi*, "national"

Churches which are voted by dominant majorities and believed in by mere minorities—these things cannot by possibility work well.

There is thus infused into that which is set up as a standard and source of truth a conscious insincerity, a deliberate acceptance of what men believe to be in part untrue as well as unjust. The whole sphere of the spiritual world is thus poisoned by a temper of material coercion and official dictation. They stunt spiritual growth to the measure of conformity. The very essence of religion is to unite. And State Churches stand ever, with parliamentary privileges, a monument and symbol of division. Their existence is a standing sneer against ideals. Churches, if they mean anything, mean that we should be ever stripping off the untrue, ever pressing forward to a higher conception of the true, to a wider harmony and union. But State Churches raise up their mitred heads and draw round them the robes of their parliamentary dignity to remind us of the religious uses of an elegant exclusiveness. Their smooth official smile is ever ready to repeat to us that religious unity is not a practical thing, that the illogical may work a little longer yet.

What depths of degradation and dishonesty lie in that little phrase, "It works well"—the great argument, small as the phrase be, of an Establishment. It works well is the evasive defence of all, from prelate to curate, from Whig indifferentist to Tory partisan. "It works well," say the squire and the squarson, being dimly connected in their minds with the preservation of game and a docile tenantry. "It works pretty well," says the business-like bishop, a little more doubtfully; "we must trust to time; beside, what would work better?" "It will work well one day," says the zealous Church reformer, "when we have freed it from the grip of the Privy Council, and have made the Church a really spiritual body." "It works very well," says the cynical politician, "for it makes government easy and keeps religion quiet." And this, in effect, is the ready answer to all objectors. It is hardly denied that enormous wealth, temporal power, and legal precedence are contrary to all the principles of Christianity, and have never entered into a Christian Church without degrading it. It is not denied that the so-called National Church is nothing but a privileged sect; that a Church which is repudiated by about half the nation, and honestly trusted by a section only of the other half, can be called "national" merely by a preposterous fiction. It is not denied that a spiritual body, scrambling in political arenas for the safety of its wealth and its rights, forms no very edifying spectacle to a generation that arraigns Christianity itself. It is not denied that the origin of the Establishment is mixed up with plunder, treachery, tergiversation, servility, jobbery, and intrigue, which stand out even in the tortuous history of the sixteenth century; that the annals of the Establishment run black and red along with some of

the blackest and reddest pages of royal tyranny and government corruption; that to this hour the official pretensions of ecclesiastics send year by year a spasm of bitterness down to the inmost depths of the English people. It is not denied that a religious society, of which the ritual is prescribed by a Parliament largely made up of men alien to the Church, is a religious society secularised; that the ultimate appeal of its priests and prelates lies to a body of laymen who for the most part are nothing but political lawyers. It is not denied that the confusion of Church and lay property, ecclesiastical and secular interests, clerical and magisterial functions, has made the Establishment worldly, political, plutocratic, from the lawn of its sleeves to the hem of its cassock. It is not denied that the secularisation of what are grossly called its livings, as part of the landlord's estate, the traffic in these offices, the want of any control either by Church or congregation over the disposal of these livings, or over the men who fill them, or the mode in which they are exercised, constitutes an indescribable scandal. And the answer to all this is the well-worn defence of a political anomaly, "It works well." We make bold to say that it does not work well. This is a matter not of convenience, but of conscience; not of practical results, but of spiritual ideals. We are not speaking of a local corporation or a trading privilege. But we are speaking of a religion, which for six days in the week is thus occupied in its worldly business, and on the seventh day can array itself in the canonical robes and the parliamentary vestments, and in the attitude and tone prescribed by the learned Dean of the Arches can safely ejaculate, "My kingdom is not of this world."

An Establishment which accepts such conditions gets Hypocrisy graven on its Decalogue, and Simony "writ large" for its rubric and its ritual. For we are not to be misled by the nonsense we still hear sometimes about the Church being independent of the State, that it is a spiritual body with its own spiritual organization. It was the stock-in-trade of the polemical lawyers of old that the Church was the nation in its religious aspect, that it had a complete constitution and action co-ordinate with and not subordinate to the political, that there really was an Ecclesiastical Polity. Whatever there once was, there is nothing of the kind now. There is a body of political servants who wear black or white gowns and perform stated duties as Acts of Parliament direct. The idea of a really independent Church would hardly pass now in an essay at a diocesan school. A National Church ought at least, one would think, to consist of the immense bulk of the nation. Yet the Establishment has never succeeded in showing that it has the active adhesion of even a majority of the people of England, and of course of the people in Great Britain it is in a hopeless minority. Yet the

organization, property, ritual, discipline of the Church of England depend directly on a British Parliament: not in the general sense in which Parliament has paramount power over all institutions in these islands, but in the very different sense that Parliament continuously and directly determines them. It is hardly a generation since Parliament entirely recast the whole scheme of Church property by the Ecclesiastical Commission, redistributing a vast proportion of its revenues and the duties of its functionaries; it is only the other day that this present Parliament amidst violent opposition passed an Act which wholly reformed the discipline of the Church; and it is now engaged in founding new bishoprics. Well! the House of Commons (and in this country we have long been accustomed to look to that House as the sole seat of power)—the House of Commons which does these things can hardly show a majority of English Churchmen. If we subtract the Irish, Scotch, Nonconformist, Catholic, and Jewish members, there will be a very narrow majority of members of the Anglican Church, and many of these are avowed opponents of an Establishment. And it is certain that of the constituencies which return that House a majority are not adherents of the Anglican Church. But Churchmen or not, the point of importance is, that these constituencies practically name the Minister and the Government who govern the Church of England, as completely as the Pope and the cardinals govern the Church of Rome.

The real head of the Church of England, in spite of statutes and formularies, is the minister of the day; political parties make as much use of the Church for party purposes as of any other branch of the service; dignities and offices are distributed very much in the same way, under the same motives, as public offices of a secular kind. The same kind of qualities which are expected in a lord lieutenant of a county have been often sought for in a dignified ecclesiastic; safe, judicious, *via media* men who will avoid scandals and extravagancies, and satisfy the common sense of average men of the world. As long as scandals are avoided and flagrant offences are not proved, all that the government of the Church can exact is outward conformity to the current law of the time; and gross incapacity and mischievous absurdities have to be quietly endured, for they cannot be brought within the hard lines of parliamentary crimes. The civil authority always must be paramount master of an Established Church; and when it is master of any Church, it necessarily makes of it a secular department, because the civil authority can only govern a Church in the same secular way in which it administers the Exchequer or the Army. Civil authority can only enforce law; it cannot inculcate morality and virtue. It says: We have no means of exhorting men to good lives; we are here to punish those who rob or defraud. And when called upon to uphold religion, the civil

authority can only say: We have no official standard of religious earnestness; all that we undertake for you is to see that certain prayers and rituals passed by Act of Parliament are duly recited at fixed times by duly certificated persons. To them we guarantee certain salaries, if they do not wear fanciful costumes, or bow in the wrong place, or teach or do things so extravagant that they get within the four corners of the Public Worship Act, or overstrain the contemptuous indulgence of the Privy Council. Of all the unreal pretensions of that mountain of pretence on which I suppose the Church of England to be built, as the Church of Rome is said to be built on the rock of St. Peter, the most sophistical is that which presents to us the Established Church as a free religious community. Why, the Army or the Post Office might as well tell us that it was a free community, independent of governments! The Establishment is more completely the servant of the civil power than any community of Christians in Western Europe. It is mediatised and secularised from the two Houses of Convocation to the clerk and beadle of the parish. The so-called Church in Russia is no doubt more palpably a department of the Ministry of the Interior, and is treated with more undisguised dictation, and is more deeply degraded by its service. But, outside of Russia, and perhaps of Constantinople, there is no body of Christian men which so hugs the chains of those civil authorities whose patent and sign manual it is its pride to flaunt.

To this we hear sometimes the following rejoinder. In the first place, they say, it is a very good thing that the Church should be in strict subjection to the civil authorities; it effectually represses priest-craft and all sacerdotal assumption. And in the next place, they say, if the Church is in bondage, what is that to you? If the Church itself is contented, it is not for you to complain. Now, surely this is a very damaging defence; and, as usual, the Church is more injured by its friends than by its opponents. We, no doubt, should all agree that—given an Established Church with its privileges, its ascendancy, and enormous possessions—it is far better that it should be in bondage to any civil authority rather than exercising such powers without lay control. It would indeed be a monstrous thing to have an official religion free from secular authority, and wielding a great public force without any political responsibility. However ruinous to spiritual uprightness be a religious establishment manipulated by political parties, it would be far more ruinous to civil freedom if we had such an establishment putting all political parties at defiance. To put ecclesiastical weapons in the hands of politicians is bad enough; but to arm ecclesiastics with political authority is worse a thousand times. This danger, at any rate, we are not about to incur. If there is one thing which the English people have irrevocably decided, if there be one constitutional principle dear to the

ruling orders of whatever party, it is this: *that a Church which is trusted with official authority, and maintained by public endowments, shall never be a free Church.* In return for its wealth and its supremacy over the sects, it shall be the creature, as it is the creation, of civil authorities. With this resolve we are content: our demand is a very different thing. It is the official religion which we condemn, not that the official religion should be under official control. So long as the Government of this country shall maintain a bureau for ecclesiastical functions, its first duty is to keep that bureau well in hand and under strict discipline. An independent ecclesiastical department of State would be a national enemy. What we desire to make an end of is this: not the subjection of the clerical department, but the maintenance by the State of any clerical department.

I venture, too, to think that it is a matter of concern to us all, and not merely to Churchmen, this subjection of the Church to civil authority. Churchmen or not, we are all of us, and each in our own way, most deeply concerned in the free growth of a healthy religion. Our conceptions of what is spiritual enlightenment will differ, perhaps, so much that it is needless for me here to pursue this subject. Each of us at any rate has his own vision of an all-sufficing truth, and his own hopes of an ultimate unity of belief. All of us, however we may differ, shall agree in this: that spiritual enlightenment is impossible without spiritual freedom, and that unity in faith ever vanishes into space before the hide-bound and strident formulas of Acts of Parliament. But it is as citizens rather than as religionists that this service of the Church to its civil superiors affects us and offends us. The civil community is hampered and demoralised by the encumbrance of a quasi-religious department. The old principles on which it was founded have gone one by one; its pretensions are palpably untrue to facts; its style, its machinery, its resources, have become a series of hypocrisies. It stands now like some mediæval fortress in a modern city, no longer its dominant centre, but blocking up the light, embarrassing its avenues, and reminding us of the strange fabrications of ancient tyranny. The same character of the *obsolete*, which stamps on all its pretensions and its titles that damning mark of the disingenuous, infects its life and action from top to bottom. It is a hybrid thing, neither frankly secular nor truly spiritual. It is the parasite of the civil administration, not an integral part of it. As it stands here with its lofty claims in such daring contradiction with facts, with its historic escutcheons so riddled and defaced by the vast revolutions of three centuries, it seems to me, like another famous relic of monarchic times, to lift its head and equivocate. We have raised it as a national consecration of fair-seeming, a symbol of insincerity, the comforter of hollow

assumptions everywhere; a monument to record that we have buried our spiritual hopes, and must limit the function of religion into decent routine and political usefulness.

III.

We pass by, we do not forget, all the time-honoured apologies and defences of official religions, a procession as stale as the pasteboard emblems in a civic festival. We do not forget them—would that we could; but we are weary of them, and would fain take them all as read, and as said, and put away till another time. We know them all only too well. We know the historic argument and the constitutional argument; the sentimental argument, the gentlemanly argument, the culture argument; the *quieta non movere*, the *argumentum a paupere* about the poor man's church, the *argumentum ad homines*, or rather *ad divites*, or the rich man's insurance; the argument from Romanism, "the expectant legatee," the argument from toleration, the argument against fanaticism; the grand argument, finally, of the politicians: that an Official Church makes all religion a moderate and conventional thing, that it is an invaluable instrument of social police. We shall hear all these again and again. We shall hear how Parliament and the nation would be instantly unchristianized if they abandoned the Church of England, even though Parliament and the nation keep up a very different official religion in Scotland, and none at all in Ireland. We shall hear that the Church of England is the nation in an ecclesiastical attitude, although the English nation has no legislative existence apart from the British nation, and a majority of the English nation dissent from the ecclesiastical attitude in question. We shall hear, first, that the Episcopal Church in England will disappear the moment we repeal the Act of Uniformity; next, that it will be so strong that it will eat up every other community; and lastly, that the instant it ceases to have political power it will become a monster of tyranny. And none of those who repeat all this will stop to inform us why the Established Church of Ireland, which has now been free for some seven years, has neither disappeared, nor swallowed up its rivals, nor in any way changed for the worse. In truth, all these Protean arguments about the independence of the Official Church, about its vested interests and its sacred mission, about the cataclysm of Popery, Heresy, Infidelity, and Barbarism which will roll over its ruins—all these arguments have been killed for ever by the plain story of the Irish Establishment; they have been all buried and carted away amidst the mountains of refuse rubbish which we got rid of when the nation cleared the overgrown site of Ecclesiastical ascendancy in Ireland.

And are we bound to go over the old historic disquisitions? Are we destined to hear, how the origin of the Church is lost in the distance of ages like the origin of the State; how there is no corporation of the Church treating with a distinct corporation called the State; how the separate institutions of our ecclesiastical system are historic accretions like a landed estate or a family coat of arms; how, in fact, the term Church of England is a vulgar error, which loosely describes a mere aggregate of properties and persons over whom the nation has no more authority than it has over the Duke of Bedford and Covent Garden? A most learned historian, whose vast powers of research, and whose really tragic earnestness in all matters of antiquarian punctilio I am the foremost to acknowledge, has been lecturing about the Church of England as if the English public were an old almanac, and as if mediæval history were the sole reality extant. And the most historical of historians has been followed by some smaller people, who forget that to affect his mannerisms is not to display his learning. But we tell Mr. Freeman and the worshipful company of Freemannikins that this great question will be settled, not by the charters of Ecgbercht, or of any other hero of even older and more unpronounceable English, not by any historic researches whatever, but solely by the interests, opinions, and needs of the living Englishmen of our day.

Are we still to listen afresh to the sentimental argument in all the tones of its simpering advocacy—how the Church is so courtly and cultured and picturesque, so tranquillising in these days of steam, such a school of fine manners, of elegant tastes, the true *dolce far niente* in spiritual things, that it gives an air of distinction to religion which religion most sadly lacks? This is the age of a mild æsthetic curiosity, of chastened enthusiasm for *rococo* and old lace; but it has invented nothing stranger than this defence of the Church for its purely decorative value. There is a popular school amongst us which supports an official religion with all the pretty enthusiasm of an *abbé* of the last century. The fashion of the age requires it to profess a superb detachment from the Christian verities, but it stands by an Establishment with epigrams and drawing-room sermons. It makes *vers de société* upon the Trinity, and tries to apologize by *bons mots* against Dissent. Though the creeds of the Church are purblind old forms, there is somewhere about the Establishment, it thinks, an aroma of piety which society may do well to preserve. I can see it now preaching on this theme in a sweet but somewhat mystical manner; and as it taps its snuff-box, redolent of pungent stuff, it reminds me for all the world of one of those accomplished ecclesiastics of the *ancien régime* whose charming eloquence brought religion into fashion again. The Church of St. Louis and St. Bernard had arrived at a refined spiritualism; it was ending in quietism and the

ecstasy of pure gracefulness, alas! when the great crash came. There were things about the Gallican Church which the consummate taste of her preachers entirely omitted to explain, and, indeed, forgot to mention. How grand was Bossuet, how touching Fénelon, how finished Massillon and the rest; but the question of tithes, of Church exemptions, and Church prerogatives (to say nothing of La Barre and Calas), they touched not with the tips of their fingers.

The researches of lawyers and historians, however, would as little maintain the Establishment itself as the sentimentalities and epigrams of society. Its real strength lies in the convictions of politicians that it is a useful engine of social police. But how dishonouring to a spiritual body is the purchase of such an alliance! Are the priesthood and laity of the Episcopal Church openly willing to accept the conditions on which their parliamentary privileges really but secretly depend? Let the zealous Church reformers who dream of Augustine and Bede, St. Cuthbert and St. Chad, the holy Edmond and the judicious Hooker, let every honest Churchman of every school reflect, that the last word of the governing classes of this country is, that the Official Church shall be an official subordinate. Pharaoh will not let the people go. He means them, priests and Levites, from Aaron the High Priest down to the doorkeepers in the Tabernacle, to be his subjects, his agents, to do the bidding of his magistrates, to keep the people of Israel quiet and patient at their work. "We want the Establishment," said a politician of singular experience, "we want it as a social police; to sever it from the State would destroy its usefulness as a police; it is a valuable barrier against superstition and the extravagances of hot gospellers, who would burn everybody who did not care for their gospel. In this way it is invaluable as making a quiet life possible: it conduces to order and general culture. Why! a famous member of Parliament used always to say that the Establishment is the one thing which protects us against Christianity!"

These things are not said on platforms or in public, but they lie deep in the breast of the wary, worldly, sceptical man of affairs. They represent the official origin of the Establishment, the greater part of its history, and nearly the whole of its organization. It was founded by a political party for party objects, in an age when your religion meant your faction, by men with whom religion was a trade. It has been used as a political thing for political ends; and its whole constitution, its temporalities, its dignities, its privileges, its hierarchy, its legal and social status, its discipline and its government, are designed to make it the most political of all Establishments, the most worldly of all Churches. There are men in high places and in low places in the Church, who, with that genius for hypocrisy which is the original sin of Establishments, are still found to repeat that it is very sad that the Church should still be so

afflicted, but with the help of God and by the increase of true religion these spots upon its fair fame shall be effaced. Spots upon its fair fame! These things are the essence, the *raison d'être*, the final cause of the Establishment and of all Establishments; they will be effaced only when it ceases to be an Establishment and begins to be a Church—when it casts down the thirty pieces of silver, and comes to see that the part of religion is something higher than to be the instrument of secular interests or the social police of a class.

Let no one suppose that we rate too high the relations of the Establishment to the State, strictly so called, and leave out of sight its relations to society. It is quite true that in England the Church has made no such alliance with the State as was made by the Gallican Church with the Empire of Napoleon; it is quite true that the Establishment in England is not a government department in the sense that it is in Russia. We have no such thing as the State, a vast centralised bureau, as we see it in Russia or France. But in England we have for our civil order a dominant social hierarchy, of a stronger and more permanent sort—a mixed plutocracy—for we cannot call it an aristocracy without still further outraging that most abused of political terms. It is with this plutocracy that the Establishment has made its alliance; it has sunk into it; it has become part of it; it has taken it to wife; it has given it its sons and its daughters in marriage; it is mixed up with it in interests, in possessions, in privileges, in prejudices, in habits, in sports, in social instincts. It is thus the most secular of all Churches, for it is part and parcel of the dominant social order; it is part not so much of the governing State as of the governing class in the State. Thus it is that it gets its virtues and its cultivation—they are the virtues and the cultivation of a governing class. Hence it is that it draws its aversion to all ecclesiasticism, for it is itself an order of society, not an ecclesiastical organization. Hence it gets its self-governed, independent type—that looseness of discipline and want of cohesion which make us often wonder if it is a Church at all, and not a lay accumulation of rights to property, of personal franchises, and titles of precedence. When we look at a parish it seems to us only a kind of manor burdened with the feudal duty of its weekly services. A parson is hardly distinguishable from a squire in law, as so often in fact. A bishop is only a more than ordinarily impressive peer; a cathedral is merely a college where nobody need study, and the dean is its warden in perpetual long vacation. No priesthood in the world are such "good fellows" as the clergy of the Church of England; none ever came so close to the type of the English gentleman. It is ridiculous to call them priests. Priests they are not. But as their fathers and their brothers are impropriators of the clerical tithes, so they are impropriators of the clerical offices. There

never was a priesthood, therefore, so thoroughly identified with the secular government. It is itself a part of that government, a simple specimen of the dominant class.

It is just this lay character which is the boast and glory of the Church. Never, it is said, was a priesthood so entirely part of English society as the clergy of the Church of England; never a Church which made so little pretensions to be a Church. Neither of these positions is strictly justified. The clergy are not a class, but they are part of a class; not a part of English society, but a part of a part of English society. Towards the State, towards the dominant order, the attitude of the Church is that of any ordinary public official. It affects no sacerdotal authority, and practises no clerical isolation. It has none of the arrogance of a priesthood, and accepts the orders of politicians as readily as a clerk in the customs. But towards the mass of the English people, towards all who reject its ministry, its attitude and language are very different. If it does not pretend to be a Church, it never forgets that it is an Establishment. A clergyman may not claim the privileges of a priest, but he is jealous of those of the parson. He never forgets that he is the legal representative of the official religion, and that he has to maintain its privileges in the midst of schismatical errors which the State may tolerate, but never can countenance. The "parson" may be a boor, but he never forgets, and it is never forgotten, that at least he is a "gentleman;" not in the noble sense of that beautiful word, but in the ignoble sense of being "one of the gentry," one of the dominant class. It is a place, indeed, to which from his culture and his training he is usually most fully entitled; but it is also a character which, if he desire it, he never can put off. He is bound to the plutocracy, and is become bone of its bone so utterly that he is wholly unconscious of what is to him a second nature. A Church that is identified with a class, and that a very rich class and a dominant class, a Church that has a perpetual concordat with a plutocracy, a clergy of which nine hundred and ninety-nine in a thousand are without relations to nineteen out of twenty millions of Englishmen, either by family, or education, or habits, or social sympathy—such a Church and such a clergy must, in any case, but ill represent a religion whose part it is to efface the distinctions of class, to check the insolence of wealth, and to raise the humble and the poor. There is not a free Church, not a free clergy in Christendom, but does something to promote these ends: the poor "father" of Connaught does a great deal; the poor Methodist preacher by the hillside does something; even the gross Greek "pope" in his blind mechanical way means to do something in this way. But the Established Church, because it is established, can do nothing. The Established clergyman may talk about it, but his voice is the voice of Jacob, and the hands are the

hands of Esau. His Church is the political device of a far-sighted aristocracy. He himself is the official of a powerful order. He looks on the "poor" from without: usually kindly, often paternally, sometimes intelligently; but always from above, as the squire looks on them, as the magistrate looks on them, as the Board look on the paupers. And the Official Church may perhaps be called the Church of the Poor, much as the Board are officially the Guardians of the Poor.

We make it no special rebuke to the Establishment that it is the Church of the powerful, the wealthy, and the refined. We do make it a rebuke that it won this character by a jealous monopoly of the means of culture, which its interest with the powerful enabled it to secure. We shall not demand of it any impossible asceticism, or enforce on any modern Church a too literal compliance with the poverty of the Christian ideal. We do demand of a Church which deliberately chooses this class character, which is pre-eminently a rich Church as well as the Church of the Rich, that it shall no longer remain in exclusive possession of national authority and national endowments. Let no one confound this just and reasonable claim with the sneer that we sometimes hear at the modern representatives of the Carpenter and the Fisherman. There are Churches which can adorn their religion with magnificence, adorn it with learning, art, and grace, and yet are not established by civil authorities, nor endowed by converted confiscations. Let the Church be learned, let it be cultivated, let it surround us with a type of every grace—and we shall not gainsay it, so that all things be done unto edifying—but its first duty is to be just, single-minded, free from offence. Let it carry religion into the high places, if it choose that courtly mission, and make itself the special Apostle to the Gentry; but if it visibly ceases to represent the nation it must cease to monopolize the stamp of the nation. Its culture can avail it little whilst it flaunts the badge of its official supremacy. Its æsthetic value can hardly be counted whilst the nation is torn about its restless pretensions. Its associations, its traditions, its virtues, its aspirations, its undoubted services to civilisation are forgotten and overborne by the sense of injustice, self-seeking, and insincerity.

The myriad apologies for an Establishment have one and all this fatal blot. They are irrelevant. They prove something which no one disputes; deprecate a consequence which never will result; celebrate a virtue which is of minor importance; or claim for the Church a function which humiliates it as a Church to acknowledge. Let them cease to talk of the virtues of Ken and Keble, and the intellect of Butler and Berkeley. Who disputes it? who despises it? But saintly lives and cultured intellects are not made by Acts of Uniformity, nor are they nurtured by sectarian ascendancy. Is there

no saintliness, no wisdom, in any unofficial Church? Are worth and knowledge unknown—I say not to the religious fraternities of the world, but I say to the Episcopal Church in Scotland and the disestablished Church in Ireland? Are worth and knowledge plants of such tender growth that they cannot blossom but in the atmosphere of the House of Peers? Are they exotic outside of sinecures? Is the beauty of holiness not genuine save when stamped with a statutory label? How arrogant, how presumptuous, how hollow are these damaging defences! Let them cease to talk of the manly lives of so many of the parish clergy, of the sweet reasonableness of the vicar's home, of the zeal of the curate in many a crowded and dismal cure. Who denies it, who undervalues it? But are the ministers of no other communion manly? Are none zealous but the official clergy? Does none other but the Established curate toil in obscurity and poverty? Methinks, if the Churches were called upon to rehearse their claims, there are communions in these islands which need not be ashamed to hear the tale of their sacrifices and their labours. I can imagine the ministers of some communions, without the parliamentary titles or the vast possessions of the Establishment, with no advantage of a legal organization, who might say with confidence, "Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant: . . . in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

Above all, let them cease to humiliate the Church by apologies and defences which would shame any religious community. This great question of truthfulness and honesty will never be decided on petty æsthetic motives. If the Church is to be guaranteed in its prerogatives, it will have to be on other grounds than simply because it is picturesque. The nameless charm of historic grace is one thing; the peace and vitality of the nation is another. There is many an Auburn and many a Wakefield in England yet, and many a vicar who does something to perpetuate that exquisite ideal of our rural life. But such an one as lives for ever in the genius of Goldsmith is found oftenest now without the parliamentary badge, and is but seldom the official of a dominant bureaucracy. We are not blind to the artistic majesty of our ancient relics; nor are we deaf to the melodious murmur of sweet memories, which hovers round some old cathedral precinct. We are not insensible to all the bonds of fellowship and culture which make the Church of England dear to culture and the cultured classes. We do not dispute its usefulness as an instrument of conservatism, or deny that it prolongs the ascendancy of the territorial plutocracy. But are these to be the titles, I will not say of a Christian, but of a religious community? Is the Church thus willing to accept the cynical commission of political

astuteness? Is it quite in accordance with the spirit of its traditions that it should occupy the place of a social police?

Once more, the whole of these kinds of defence are as hollow and as disingenuous as they are irrelevant. Once more, we say there is no proposal, there is likely to be no proposal, for the legislative dissolution of the Anglican congregation. Who has ever proposed a law to proscribe it as a religious communion, or to retaliate upon it by the smallest disability or inequality? Who has ever suggested that these glorious abbeys and cathedrals, the hallowed heirlooms of our English race, shall be turned into factories or warehouses, or sold out in lots to a speculative builder? Who has ever suggested that every rectory and vicarage should be turned into farms, or the churches which existing congregations have built for themselves should be seized for secular use? Why is all that is graceful, cultured, historic, to pass away from the Episcopal communion because it surrenders the arbitrary privilege which was thrust on it by Tudor astuteness and Stuart intolerance? It is not for us to justify the Establishment and its ways, but for my part I would prefer to believe that what it possesses of great and sweet and fruitful is the produce of the higher natures that have adorned it, not of persecuting statutes or government monopoly. If the Establishment be a Church, it will retain all that it possesses of worth and promise, restricted no doubt to its genuine adherents, but made more of a living thing, inasmuch as it will depend no longer on the dead roots of official conformity. It will be a lasting disgrace to its members if they suffer it to perish; if they do nothing to maintain its discipline, its organization, its ritual; if they suffer its historic memorials to drop out of its hand, its congregations to disperse, and its parishes to be without a minister to teach them. Other Churches have to do all this, and do it, under far greater difficulties and with far smaller resources. If this were to be the result, the inference is obvious. The Establishment in that case will perish because it is not a spiritual body at all; because it is nothing but a system of obsolete prerogatives, a creature of law and of political contrivance. If the Establishment be a Church, it will gain by becoming a free Church. If it be merely an Establishment, in the name of honesty let it go.

After all, this great issue must be decided by politicians on strictly political grounds. When the politicians have come to see that the State gains nothing by this unmanageable encumbrance, when they find public questions continually stopped and embittered by the jealousy of clerical interests, when the governing classes come to see that their authority is weighted and not aided by the irritating zeal of an Official Church, the days of an Establishment are numbered. It is at most a question of time. For the whole set of the politics of

our age and of this immediate generation runs counter to official religions. The awakening sincerity in religion, the growing directness in politics, the tendency of our times to be rid of artificial compromise, to make religion genuine, to make opinion free, to make the State equal, all ring the knell of the State Churches, ring out the devices of political prelates, ring in the free religion that is to be. A State Church which for three centuries has lost instead of gained, and now stands barely a majority in one branch alone of this United Kingdom, has judgment against it by default. It has conspicuously failed to make itself the Church of the nation.* It is not necessary to show that the Church is evil or corrupt as a Church; it is not necessary to deny that it has some good work to do; we may even admit that it is recovering its energy within, and is putting forth new sources of strength. What of this, if other things are growing too, if the battle of the Churches is growing hotter and on a larger scale, if the whole spirit of the age is this: that the battle of the Churches shall not be fought at the cost of the State for the benefit of a class? There is not a single principle which applied to the establishment of a sect in Ireland which does not apply to the establishment of a sect in England. Here, too, we have the Church of a section of the nation artifically aggrandised by parliamentary privileges. Here, too, its history is a tale of exclusion, arrogance, injustice. Here, too, the battle of the Churches is the source of political strife. Here, too, what begins in ecclesiastical ascendancy gathers strength till it becomes a political imbroglio, and threatens to end in a social convulsion. What differences there are between Establishment in England and Establishment in Ireland are questions not of principle, but of convenience; that is to say, they are questions of time. The principle remains—a principle which we maintain without haste, but without flinching—that the age of official religions is gone; that Establishment in England, like Establishment in Ireland, has grown to be an obsolete encumbrance, a perennial source to us all of political embroilment and religious dishonour.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

## PARTIES AND POLITICS IN GERMANY.

More than a year ago the Prussian Minister of the Interior, as a delegate to the Reichstag, made what the loyal press called a classic harangue. The standard of oratory is not high in Germany, but the professors at least have been credited with some appreciation of the masterpieces of Greece and Rome; and it was, perhaps, without their sanction that Count Eulenburg's attack upon the Socialists was printed in the *Official Gazette* and placarded in the rural communes as the effort of a Cicero or a Demosthenes. Without stronger laws against public agitation, said he in substance, the vicious Democrat will continue to sit and make laws in the Imperial Parliament. I have a vivid recollection of the occasion on which this reactionary minister made his *début* in the Reichstag, of the interest shown even by the Liberals, and above all of the serene and stately satisfaction of the extreme Conservatives. But the picture was only completed by Bebel, who is a good mechanic and a poor legislator. This vicious Democrat pointed his long finger at Count Eulenburg, and spoke of the Commune of 1871 with the affection of a French refugee at the Café Trieber.

Between these two orators—the German Demosthenes and the German Thersites—the Reichstag made no absolute choice, for it dislikes the one and does not understand the other. It is fastidious, and draws in its skirts when the masons and smiths and printers walk in among the conscript fathers; but it is also prudent, and is unwilling, even under pressure from above, to accept without reserve Count Eulenburg's reasoning. So the deputies gave him only a part, but a very considerable part, of the new powers which he demanded; and with these he undertook to cleanse the house of its impure elements. The result of the late elections must, therefore, show the minister and the majority the uncertainty of human nature. By a strange caprice in the political elements, a flood of radicalism and a flood of reaction swept at the same time over the country; and from this double inundation the Liberals escaped only after a great loss in numbers and prestige. The Social-Democrats, for instance, carried their seats from nine to thirteen, and increased their popular vote throughout the land in the same ratio. The Old Conservatives doubled the number of votes which had been counted for altar and throne. And other less important cliques and factions which hover around the outskirts of the Reichstag, as the agents of special or general discontent, as the foes of party method and discipline, are more numerous and not less capricious in the new Chamber.

An incidental but grave calamity, caused by this event, was the revival of that ancient subject, the centrifugal force in German politics. Why do Sonnemann and Gerlach, why do the Poles and Clericals and Socialists, fly so persistently from common centres of action, and fritter away their strength in the assertion of a useless individuality? This question has been repeatedly answered by German philosophers. After much obscure speculation they commonly find that there is an undue "personality" in this people, and yet it has been ruled for centuries by an impersonal bureaucratic machine; an extreme consciousness of the "ego" in a nation which subjects the best years of every youth to a uniform military discipline. Thus, in spite of the authority by which it has been supported, this view is shallow and superficial. It does not touch the true secret of party divisions in the Empire, nor the grave danger which is implied in the fact of their existence. The parliamentary manual shows for the first Imperial Diet no less than nine distinct parties; but in the next Chamber some subtle chemical force had reduced the Liberal Reichspartei and the German Reichspartei to a single homogeneous body, which was at once Liberal, German, and Imperial. At present only eight parties are necessary to legislation in the Empire. I shall, therefore, give a brief sketch of these factions as they are described in the parliamentary jargon, which even the official manual dignifies by adopting, and then endeavour to classify them on the more fundamental or organic principle which is alone permanently correct.

The significance of the Social-Democrats in politics is altogether recent. The German Empire, with universal suffrage and direct elections, opened to them a new career, and they have shown their gratitude by violent opposition to every measure for strengthening the new commonwealth. But even the organization of German working men for any common purpose belongs to the immediate past. Lassalle died in 1864. He was not, indeed, the founder of working men's clubs, nor the inventor of Socialist doctrines; but he was the first German to make these clubs serve these doctrines through the ordinary political methods. His Volksstaat is no less effective as a war cry because no one can define what it means. After Lassalle's death his successor, Karl Marx, diverted attention for a time from the national organization of German working men to his own plan for an international organization of all working men. There was a further local schism up to 1876, owing to the rivalry of the Berlin and Leipsic schools. But last year these brief differences were healed, and the party, going into the elections with a united front, proved that the labourers are capable of self-discipline, though they loathe the discipline of society and the State.

The mantle of Lassalle has fallen upon none of the present leaders of the Social-Democratic party. They may be as dangerous as the Government and the majority affect to believe, but they certainly are not picturesque. Lassalle was a thinker, a scholar, and a man of elegant manners. The Bebels, and Hasselmanns, and Liebknechts, on the contrary, are still under the impression that society is to be reformed by long hair and untamed beards; that soap and brushes and clean linen are luxuries of capital; and that grammar and logic are the fetters which despotism puts upon the operations of the natural reason. They blunder thus in the work of destruction, and give but sorry promise of success in the work of construction. Their best ally is the Government, which tries to put down their mischievous agitation by force. Nothing could be more extraordinary than the fatuity with which Prince Bismarck, and under his inspection the lawyers, police, and courts ennoble these fanatics by persecution, and lift the proletariat to the dignity of a political party. This policy converts a theory into a cause, and makes an army while trying to suppress a mob.

The Conservatives control the Upper and are very strong in the Lower house of the Prussian Diet; but in the Reichstag also they form no contemptible minority. Most of them are dull country squires; but they have a Moltke who is not always silent, and Prince Bismarck once complimented Von Kleist-Retzow on his "fatal gift of eloquence." This brings up again the vexed question of what constitutes eloquence in Germany. Kleist has certainly an affluence of words, but so had the late Professor Ewald, who was, besides, one of the profoundest Orientalists of Germany; yet when this amiable old reactionist, with his pale classical face and hair whitened by decades of scholarly labour, began to address the house, the members took to their books, to their cigars, or to their fish salads. I always listened to Dr. Ewald with a respect which ought to have been willingly paid by his own countrymen to his great services and his excellent character. He was a Hanoverian, and might have been pardoned for his reluctance to accept the hard logic of defeat; he was the historian of Israel, and had little sympathy with a policy which ushers the Jews into the sacred mysteries of politics; he was a Conservative, and his affections lingered fondly about an era now happily passed away. His methods, too, were wholly political, and therefore legitimate, while too many of his colleagues might become Straffords if they were not Falstaffs. They fail to see that the style in which they parade their antique conceptions through the halls of parliament is not altogether tragic; but they are thereby assured a calm pleasure, which the revelation that they are only acting in a frivolous farce would rudely disturb. Few

of them would, perhaps, care to go back to that primitive age when half the nobles of Brandenburg were in arms against the first Hohenzollerns and the sacred interests of society and religion. They would rather find in the eighteenth century—in the period between the suppression of the States-General by the Great Elector, Frederic William, and the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg—the golden age of Prussia.

The peevish opposition of these bigots is not to be compared with the fine party tactics, the adroit skill in parliamentary practice, or the keen and ready political sense of the Ultramontanes. Herr Windthorst, their leader, is a very practical politician. He, too, is a Hanoverian, and was a minister of King George, so long as his Majesty had a kingdom and needed ministers. The most cynical of deputies, he often refers to the blind exile, his former sovereign, in terms of real affection, which provoke the laughter of an intolerant majority; but Windthorst's feelings are generally under control of his reason, and then he is an object for something quite different from ridicule. Few Liberals care to feel twice the lash wielded by the little sleepy deformed man, with the lips of a negro slave, but the tongue of a Cato or a Talleyrand. No romantic ideals divert his mind for an instant from the stern necessities of the present. He is as little inclined to wander off like Montalembert in search of some impossible union between orthodox Catholicism and liberal statesmanship, as to join the Italian Jesuits in a crusade against all the ideas and institutions of modern society. In other words, he is educating the Ultramontane party in Germany. It occupies the centre in the Chamber, and its geographical position serves its parliamentary art; for under Windthorst's masterly touch it oscillates between right and left, between Conservative and Liberal, and chooses its own advantage wherever that is to be found. In the facility which seizes a strategical point at any and every cost, the Ultramontanes have no rivals in the Reichstag. The manner in which Herr Windthorst prepares himself was made known the other day in the Prussian Chamber, and ought to shame the indolent but confident critics who sit on the opposite benches. Count Eulenburg had been delivering one of his classical invectives against the Social-Democrats. The Liberals, continuing the debate, laid indignant stress upon the alleged co-operation between Social-Democrats and Ultramontanes; and this of course called up Windthorst. He made some general observations, just and pertinent, on the causes of socialism, and the measures that were alone efficacious against it. But, he continued, did the Liberals and the ministers know what class of men vote the Social-Democratic tickets? He himself did know, for on the day of election he had gone about from poll to

poll in Berlin, had questioned the voters as they went in to deposit their ballots, and found that the supporters of Most and Hasenclever did not all wear the blouse of the *ouvrier*, but that many of them were gentlemen who took this very emphatic way of expressing a general dissatisfaction. Against such an opponent, prepared in this way, of course the vague generalities of the Minister of the Interior are ludicrously weak.

Applying this homely practical wisdom to their own special grievance, those Ultramontanes who follow Windthorst have learned the fact, which is persistently ignored abroad, that the question at issue between Prince Bismarck and themselves is political, not religious or ecclesiastical. They have learned that the syllabus and the dogma of infallibility cannot be defended on the grounds that the Church has an absolute authority to teach, the subject an absolute right to practise, and that the State may not interfere even for its own protection. The issue became, therefore, one of interpretation, not of principle; in other words, one of practical politics. There are, of course, different opinions of the success with which Herr Windthorst has defended the views of his party and the interests of his Church. But what he and his colleagues, Mallinckrodt, the Reichenspergers, and others certainly did accomplish—a grave and ominous triumph—was the organization of the Catholics as a party, equipped for all the ends of parliamentary strife. There were Catholic deputies, but no Catholic party until the policy of Prince Bismarck, or, as he would say, the necessities of the German Empire, legislated one, as it were, into being.

There are two or three other factions, less important, which are defined by being named. The Poles, the Alsatians, and one might add the Danes, are indeed not without convictions on actual issues; but their peculiar mission, which they serve with rare patience and devotion, is to protest against the injustice that permits or requires them to sit in a German parliament. The first impression is, therefore, that such deputies must be isolated from the leagues and combinations by which more practical men utilise their dislike of the Government. This is only true in respect to form; the fact is otherwise. It can be shown that all the parties hitherto described—Social-Democrats, Catholics, Old Conservatives, Poles, Danes—though yawning gulfs divide their ultimate principles, have a common basis for action, if not for sympathy, in hatred of the present German Empire.

Each of these several elements has its own peculiar grievance. As the victims of Prussian oppression, the Poles, of course, cannot rejoice at such a vast aggrandisement of the oppressor; and they have already learned that success in this case brings no relaxation of vigilance or severity. Within two years some new laws of unusual

rigour have been aimed at their language, nationality, and aspirations. If, therefore, this unfortunate people are restless and dangerous, and refuse to be either wooed or driven to submission, it cannot be said that Prussia for her part has neglected any measure suggested by the iron will, but the false policy, of power. The same observations apply also to the Danes and the Alsatians. The subjugation of the former marks the first step, that of the latter the last step, in the policy of which the Empire is the triumphant result. It is but just to Prince Bismarck to say that he, at least, never cherished any romantic hopes of conciliating in a year, or a score of years, either of those annexed peoples. He knows too well the faults of his countrymen, as he once declared in the Reichstag. The Prussian officials, he said, could govern a conquered province with vigour and with justice; but they had none of those amiable qualities which win the hearts and disarm the resentment of the governed.

If the opposition of these classes to the Empire is sectional or national, that of the other parties is political, and therefore more general. With them it is a question of life or death, for while the Poles and the Empire could survive a separation as they now sustain a union, the theories of Windthorst and of Bebel, if pushed to their extreme length, would be fatal to the unity, if not to the existence of the Fatherland. In the cause of the Ultramontanes the Germans profess to find reproduced, under altered conditions, the old issue between Pope and Kaiser. This is, of course, true enough, and even trite; but some of the features of the quarrel, as conducted under the "altered conditions" of the nineteenth century, are novel, not to say ludicrous. It is not recorded, for instance, that Henry IV., before he went to Canossa, expected the Church to supply the means for resisting the claim of Papal investiture. Prince Bismarck, however, has not only seized the treasure of the fugitive King of Hanover, the so-called Guelph funds, but he has actually, in contempt of all the rules of chivalrous warfare, used those funds to subsidise the servile Ghibelline press. In this press one commonly finds the Ultramontanes and the Socialists associated as enemies of the "State." The latter are indeed enemies of every existing State as an accumulation of powers and functions for a definite end; but if their vague formulas have any meaning, they aim at an extension rather than a reduction of political agencies. They aspire to a State which shall give Schultze work, and Müller clothes, and the children of Schmidt eleemosynary bread, not out of charity, but out of justice. And they oppose the Empire because it requires taxes and soldiers, and has but one law for rich and poor.

The Old Conservatives would resent the charge of co-operating with those pernicious foes of social order, in whom the majesty of the Christian State inspires no awe; but they cannot shake off the

reproach of labouring with different means to the same end. The Socialists would sweep the State violently forward into an unknown future. The Conservatives would drag it back to an impossible past. Thus they agree in opposing the actual order of things; and so long as their activity is merely destructive, they are in one sense allies. In regard to the particular grievance of the reactionists against the Empire, it may be described as both political and personal. As Prussian particularists—by the way, the most obstinate in Germany—they feared that the dignity and influence of their "narrower Fatherland" would be compromised in a federal union composed of such diverse elements. As Prussian aristocrats, jealous of their order, they believed that German unity could rest only on liberal institutions; and that these, reacting upon Prussia, would destroy their own monopoly in the conduct of political affairs. To their credit let it be said that they foresaw this result long before Prince Bismarck had openly deserted them. In the so-called Conflict Period, which preceded the Austrian war, they supported the policy of the Cabinet, not because it was directed against Austria, but because it was carried out in deliberate contempt of the Charter, and by trampling, in a way dear to their hearts, upon the obnoxious Radicals. It may naturally be left to every reader to make the necessary exceptions to the rule which is here laid down. Count Moltke, for instance, though an "Old" and very extreme Conservative, would not lose faith in German unity because the delegates of universal suffrage did not accept his views on the atonement, or on the proper distribution of land. This is true of the officers in general. They have little sympathy with the recent tendency of politics—with county and provincial reform, with anti-Catholic legislation, general synods, elective parliaments, and such modern inventions—but they know too well the cost of the Empire, they have too much pride in the new position of their country, to surrender the one or the other without a struggle. But the tone of the Old Conservatives is struck by the men in, not by the men out of, politics; and want of candour has never been one of their vices.

Such, then, are the forces which, in various forms and for various reasons, are working against the stability and permanence of the imperial fabric. In looking them over, one is at first amazed that Prince Bismarck has not already succumbed to their persistent and irritating attacks. It would not be thought strange if in despair before the fiery Pole with the eternal story of his wrongs, or the Social-Democrat whose dreary rhetoric no man can escape, or the Conservatives who preach in press and pulpit the imminent destruction of the world, not to speak of ingenuous friends who give him but little less trouble—it would not be strange if the Chancellor should suddenly hand back his commission and shake the dust of office from

his weary feet. But in reality there is no slight element of strength in the number and variety of his enemies. He can play them off one against another, saving society to-day with the Right against the Socialists, and to-morrow using the Radicals to crush some ancient superstition of the Right; thus making himself loved by no party, and feared by all.

But this is a safe policy only in the hands of a master of the parliamentary art, and that title does not apply to Prince Bismarck. His prejudices are strong, his temper irritable, and his manner despotic; whereas the politician who would thread his way between a dozen petty factions, and pick out of them majorities to suit every occasion, must have a supple and adroit conscience, and manners which conciliate where the reason might not convince. It is, therefore, as necessary for Prince Bismarck as for less able statesmen to find pretty constant support in at least one part of the house. It is necessary for him to be associated with one great principle for which a fair majority can be rallied.

This majority is made up of the Moderate and Liberal parties which gravitate from both wings toward a common point of sympathy, and the interest which binds them together is that of German unity. Down to the year 1866 the patriots were never agreed about the order of precedence between unity and freedom. These two aspirations were equally dear; but the question constantly came up in a practical form: Shall we strive first to unite the Fatherland, and then make it free through union; or shall we first liberalise our institutions, and thus reach union through freedom? This problem divided, and thereby weakened, even the Liberals, but the question of method reunited them against Herr von Bismarck. They were as clear as he that the grotesque unfitness of Austria made Prussia's leadership necessary; only the difficulty was to replace the one by the other. The Liberals tried to solve this by councils, parliaments, and delegations; by leagues and unions; by pamphlets and newspapers and harangues from fiery barristers. These movements made a tremendous noise, but their issue is now only a subject for the caricaturist. In the abject capitulation of the Liberals, which is called the Compromise of 1866, they practically accepted the method of blood and iron, and proclaimed their new belief that the most enduring legislation is that of the battle-field.

Out of this transaction came the National Liberal party, and it has subsisted on compromise ever since. It compromised in 1871 in the constituent Reichstag, when it demanded an imperial cabinet with responsible ministers, and finally accepted a single chancellor with a hierarchy of clerks and accountants. It compromised in 1875, when it surrendered for seven years the control of the military budget. And last winter the party closed its record on the Judicial

Bills by nobly depositing on the altar of German unity nearly all the principles which it had saved from earlier holocausts, and which feebly sustained its claim to be liberal. The method of these compromises, too, is no less revolting than their substance. They are not reached in Parliament through open debates, which sift the various sorts and forms of opinion, and deposit as a result the modified, mature, and resolute wishes of the house, but by secret intrigue in the lobbies and mendicant delegations to the Chancellor. If he throws them alms enough to save their honour they are satisfied. But if he lays down an ultimatum, as is more common, and the Liberals have the choice between serving their own convictions or the immediate interests of the Fatherland, they accept at once the latter wing of the bitter alternative. This is called by the smooth euphemism of the party press "practising a patriotic resignation." But the more concrete definition of the *Kladderadatsch* has truth as well as wit: a National Liberal is a man who votes "no" on the first and second readings, and "yes" on the third. Accordingly the *National Zeitung* thinks Berlin humour is a demoralising force in politics.

In respect to Prince Bismarck himself there is much to excuse, if not to justify this complaisance. He is indispensable in foreign politics, and among the peasants his name will long remain as the symbol and only support of unity. But of the other ministers not one belongs to, or has any sympathy with, the National Liberal party. Indeed, it is a ludicrous affectation to call them ministers; they are rather head clerks, or, as the French say, chiefs of section. Thus the Cabinet is purely one of affairs; and by reducing the sum of their political opinions to a minimum, the higher officials have cut the ground from under the demand that they shall be acceptable to the majority. The principle of ministerial responsibility has been practically abandoned. When vacancies occur, they are filled not from the ranks of the leading party, but by the promotion of obscure subordinates through the exercise of the royal prerogative; and the Cabinet, instead of being an interpreter between the deputies and the people on one hand, and between the deputies and the Crown on the other, is simply an integral part of the bureaucratic machine.

The workings of this system had a novel illustration in an incident that is just reported. A deputation from the interior called on Prince Bismarck to ask the dismissal of Herr Camphausen, the Finance Minister, who has long been unpopular, and has an insecure tenure. The Prince heard them patiently, and said, "Very well, let us consider Camphausen removed. Whom do the deputation propose as his successor?" At this turn of affairs the delegates were dumbfounded. They had not completed their little plan to that point; and Prince Bismarck was justified in coolly dismissing them

with a shrug of the shoulders. Now this problem would have offered no difficulty to an Englishman, trained in the habits of party government. He would promptly have suggested Ludwig Bamberger. It is true that such a change of ministers would involve no change of system; but with the rural malcontents this is of no consequence, for it is not the policy but the person of Herr Camphausen that by a vague public opinion is held responsible for the depression in trade, the reduction of wages by Krupp, the floods in East Prussia, and the loss of the *Deutschland*. Herr Bamberger might be more successful in averting such remote disasters; but he would apply to financial evils the same remedies as the present minister. He believes in free trade, specie currency, single standard, and the other elementary truths of political economy. In the periodical press he writes on these and kindred topics with confidence, and even assurance; but as he wants alike the bureaucratic dogmatism and intolerance of Camphausen, and the vast political authority of Prince Bismarck, his position in the Cabinet could only be maintained, as that in his party was won, by hard effort and real merit. Under the present sovereign and present premier there is unhappily little chance for such men as Bamberger, Lasker, Gneist, and Bennigsen. But it is questionable how long a system can be sustained in the future which excludes from any share in the executive the best parliamentary talent of the country, its most patriotic spirits, its ripest and broadest intellects.

The men of Progress, who sit next around to the left, were lately designated by the *Provinzial Correspondenz*, an official sheet, as knaves. In the course of the budget debate in the Prussian house, it may be imagined that the deputies thus characterized did not support with much enthusiasm the annual allowance for press purposes; and Professor Virchow, their leader, said they could not be knaves, since they had supported the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. To Herr Windthorst this was doubtless a patent *non sequitur*, but Count Eulenburg said he regretted the use of the term.

The schism in the Liberal party dates from the year 1866. A minority at that time refused the shameful compact offered by Bismarck, and so eagerly accepted by many; and this dissent is perpetuated and emphasized in the present party of Progress. Both parties draw their support from the enlightened middle class, *das freisinnige Bürgerthum*, as their organs say with unctuous complacency; both affect a Platonic reverence for the "revolution" of 1848. Their difference is one of method rather than belief. If platforms were the fashion here as in America, and contained only declarations of political faith, not rules of political action, it would require no ingenious carpentry to make one which might serve as a common basis for National Liberals and Progressists. But the Pro-

gressists are those awkward men of consistency, who never balance the scruples of conscience with the glittering coin of success. They have no particular feeling for or against the men in power. As Professor Virchow said, they believed in the Culturkampf, and supported it, just as they have supported other measures in which there was any element of reform; but they are equally frank in opposing those reactionary bills in which the real views of the Government are, perhaps, more clearly revealed. They did not believe that the Reichstag ought to give up for seven years its right to fix the strength of the army, and they voted against that astounding proposition. They are in favour of a free press, and they resisted the police censorship which has been re-established. Thus on the whole they are in pretty steady opposition; and the Government naturally regards them as perverse fanatics, who wish to Anglicise the institutions of the Empire. This vulgar aspiration has now been discarded by polite society, but it was once common to all Liberals. "Give us English freedom of the press, English self-government, above all English parliamentary supremacy," shouted year after year the majority of the House of Deputies, until Dr. Gneist came forward with his famous work on the English constitution. He laid down the daring thesis that the institutions of one country cannot be transferred bodily to another, and defended it in three stout volumes. The Progressists do not quite advance the opposite of this proposition. They do not even reject the further apophthegm of Dr. Gneist, that the Germans need to hear less of rights and more of duties. But they are obnoxious to the Philistines, because their sense of duty, like their sense of right, is reconciled with the strenuous advocacy of every reform by which Germany shall profit from the experience of other peoples.

There is another small party, known as Moderate Conservatives, or the Deutsche Reichspartei. It is made up of mediatised princes, who have accepted the new order of things, and with it the most profitable and honourable offices; of Hebrew bankers, who wish to oblige the present ministry without forfeiting their chances with the next; and a few professional jurists who have not yet reached even the National Liberal standpoint. Prince Hohenlohe is a member and an ornament of this party; and most of the ministers are loosely classed with it. In fact, it might be said that the Government, not wishing to associate itself with either of the great factions, had organized a little domestic coterie of its own, in which the higher officials meet to draw their salaries and to sing the beauties of a non-partisan administration. The Liberal party is not yet quite *hoffähig*. In its youthful and impetuous days it made clumsy epigrams about the sacred institution of royalty, and in the scale of civic usefulness it puts the sober, industrious, and

intelligent cobbler above the rude and dissolute country noble. Its associations are too vulgar and degrading for the *jeunesse dorée* of the Union Club and Hoppegarten. The Liberals are labouring to merge the separate states in a single centralised commonwealth, but the "German party," if it have any policy beyond a sycophantic support of Prince Bismarck, favours a limited nationalism. It is sincerely devoted to the cause of the Empire, but without surrendering the essential reservations of a federal system.

Professor Treitschke, who, as a Liberal, made himself notorious by defending the Schleswig-Holstein business, while all his present associates were denouncing it as a national infamy, has just declared that there is no great Liberal party, as the combined National Liberals and Progressists are often designated. The real Government majority, he maintains, is Liberal-Conservative, and is made up of the National Liberals and the German party. But this is in the end a barren dispute about words. There are two fixed factors in the case, the one to the left, the other to the right, of the National Liberals; and this great party inclines to the one or to the other, according as it obeys the mandate of its own convictions or the mandate of Prince Bismarck. And unless a mere servility be the only patriotism, and political integrity be treason, the Progressists cannot be so easily counted out of the company of the Unionists. In the discretion, therefore, of an alien and impartial observer, I shall take the liberty of ignoring party lines, and construct out of different parliamentary elements what may be called the Unionist or Nationalist majority. The object for which this majority strives is, first and last, the unity of the Fatherland. There are in its different sections and members many shades of opinion as to the policy best adapted to that end; but as to the end itself there is absolute unanimity, and this for the present is security for the future.

The basis of this majority, as has already been shown, is the National Liberal party. To it, therefore, falls the duty of reconciling for each particular case the contrary views of its two allies, and, as the first step, of ascertaining the last concession of the Government. For this species of diplomacy it has several useful men, like Forckenbeck, Bennigsen, Simson, and Miquel. These men have a theoretical affection for the rights of parliament, but also a very practical respect for the power of the Government. After the majority, reversing the usual order of legislative procedure, have learned the ultimatum of Prince Bismarck, it is their duty to run about in the dark, to hold whispered consultations in the Foreign Office, and to sweeten the ugly dose by fair phrases. Among these negotiators the last named, Miquel, is, perhaps, the most eminent and most successful. Miquel is, like Bennigsen, a Hanoverian, is a

trained jurist, and was concerned actively in the pre-Bismarckian struggles for unity. He was one of the founders of the National Verein, that imposing league of unpractical patriots who up to 1866 used to meet once a year, listen to long declamations, and pass sounding resolutions in favour of the abstract beauty of union. Of course, too, Bismarck's more concrete method, which he had once bitterly denounced, found his ready approval as soon as it was crowned with success. At the close of the French war, Miquel, who had been burgomaster of Osnabrück, removed to Berlin, and became a director in one of the great financial companies which floated into existence on the general inflation that the milliards caused in German commerce. His connection with this company did not improve his general standing. Its intimate relations with Strousberg and his suspicious enterprises gave it a bad name with the public; and while Miquel, as one of the board, shared the general unpopularity, it was further urged against him specially that he owed his connection, and the profits which it brought, to the influence that he was supposed to have with Prince Bismarck and the Government. It is a pleasure to say that, although the company has been involved in a number of scandal suits, nothing against Miquel's character has ever come to light. He only followed the example of many of his friends, who after the war hastened to consolidate the new institutions by founding joint-stock companies and electing themselves into the directorships. The public distrust of Miquel is encouraged, too, by the very qualities which make him so successful a mediator. He has a smooth insinuating manner, dresses with unusual taste for a German, and has keen penetrating eyes, which fascinate those who know him well, but frighten those who see him seldom. His conscience has been so long pulled hither and thither in the vicissitudes of a busy public life, and has become so elastic through the conflicting demands of party, truth, patriotism, and policy, that it fits readily into any parliamentary niche, and is a type of the only party that can survive Prince Bismarck's peculiar method and manner.

I am anxious to do the new school of Prussian Liberals no injustice. They have the right to urge against the charge of inconsistency that the problems of politics are unlike those of mathematics, that the factors are flexible, not fixed, and that just as the House of Commons in England would not dream to-day of claiming powers which even Charles I. was ready to surrender to the Long Parliament, so they are satisfied with the general respect and deference paid to the legislative authority, even though they miss many of the concrete forms of respect and deference on which they once so strenuously insisted. They admit that in 1848, and for a decade afterwards, their distrust of Frederic William IV. led them to break the historical continuity, which reform ought, if possible, to

preserve, and to demand as guarantees many things which, in other times, would have been revolutionary and dangerous. But there is now no excuse for such extreme measures. Such authority as the laws give to parliament it enjoys undisturbed, and the scope of its activity is slowly but surely widening. The chief minister himself, though he has no sympathy with the great body of liberal aspirations, has, nevertheless, been fairly loyal to the majority; he is the author of German unity, and the best bulwark against foreign aggression. Besides, if Bismarck should retire, who would replace him? The Emperor still claims the right—which will not be contested while he lives—of choosing freely his own ministers; and the loss of his favourite councillor might provoke him to make Kleist-Retzow or Windthorst Chancellor of the Empire and Minister President of Prussia. When one has to reckon with the caprice of a royal octogenarian, a wise prudence which saves something is better than a rash extravagance which loses all. It is unsafe to trifle with the cohesive forces of the new system. Placed in the middle of Europe, and watched by one neighbour who thirsts for revenge, by others who are jealous of her power, Germany needs rather the elastic practical wisdom which is the parent of strength than the fanatical obstinacy which breeds discord and disaster.

To this reasoning the advanced Liberals reply that to treat Prince Bismarck as the indispensable support of the Empire is to expose the weakness, not the strength, of that edifice. If it is to endure it ought to have a more solid base than his life and policy. Is it, therefore, prudent, they ask, to suffer him, as the chief architect of unity, to build in Romanesque when we prefer Gothic or Grecian, in the hope that under his successor we may correct his faults and restore our favourite style? With the most skilful workmen such a reform is full of danger. Even if the alterations seem slight—a cornice here, a window there, a capital to be modified, a frieze to be removed—it is not impossible that while we are admiring the course of our improvements the whole building may fall into ruins. The true policy in organizing a new system like the German Empire is to build permanently from the first, to endow no man with the title of infallible and indispensable, and not to be satisfied with a patriotism which can only rise to the height of a splendid servility. The arguments of the Moderate Liberals, they would say, are the delusive sophisms by which, in every age, opulence and indolence have excused the encroachments of power. Opinion need not turn backward to-day because it shot too far ahead in 1848. It is not by exchanging one error for another that truth is reached; nor is it a mark of political enlightenment to reject a policy because it was false thirty years ago, if the interval has overtaken it and stamped it with the seal of present utility. The politician who acts on such a maxim is like the workman whose materials are always too crude or

too old—he can never adjust himself to the obligations of actual duty. The structures achieved by him will be hollow and unsubstantial frames, which go to pieces with the first convulsion that shakes them from below, or the first storm that beats against them from without.

As a reward for their efforts the Liberals have achieved in unity one of the great ends at which they aimed. This, in itself, is no slight compensation. No generous person, who respects the deeper and nobler springs of human action, will deny that in the gratification of that wild and passionate longing for the union of the Fatherland there was a distinct advantage, not affected by the practical value of the acquisition, by the means through which it was acquired, or by the cost at which it must be preserved. But the Liberals themselves have now ceased to implore the sympathy of the world, and, rationalists themselves, they invite the judgment of a cold and cautious rationalism. This justifies and almost compels the exposure of one or two fallacies that are current in the ordinary discussions of recent German history, and especially of the present attitude and policy of the Moderate Liberals.

Our first observation is that much of the reasoning by which the Liberals defend their recent policy revolves in a vicious circle. It used to be said that Germany needed union in order to be strong; now it is said that she must be strong in order to save the union. Either of these propositions alone may be a fair basis of public and party policy, and in a course of natural development the one may quite properly succeed the other; but there is a visible absurdity in joining them as the support of a voluntary and artificial process. It is false in logic, if not in practice, as the countrymen of Trendelenburg ought to know. But in examining more closely the second of the two propositions, which alone has a present value in German politics, one is also forced to inquire how far the necessity for a strong government is due to the method by which unity was attained. The National Liberals themselves can throw a great deal of light upon this point. They can explain how, after making their peace with Bismarck, they easily learned to regard his policy as identical with the cause of unity, and therefore to support almost without reserve the military measures which were taken under the North German Confederation, and which they knew would lead inevitably to war with France. Against efforts which were made to bring the South German States into the union by friendly negotiations, Bismarck threw all the weight of his vast authority, and it is well known with what success. The time was inopportune, he said, the method wrong; and the Liberals meekly acquiesced. Since the opposite policy, that of war, was fully carried out and did its work, it is now too late to argue with it, or to do more than point out the serious burden which it put upon the future. A German Liberal,

who is a zealous patriot, but a keen and candid politician, lately observed to the writer, "We have for the present reached an end in the work of unification and consolidation. The current now sets the other way. Such a task as ours can only be completed in a storm." Ominous words! which from the lips of Bismarck would be the death knell of German unity or of European peace. In their sad but wholesome frankness lie at once praise and reproof for the method of blood and iron; for while they imply that the Germans can be roused to union only by the excitement and impetus of a patriotic war, they suggest doubts about the value of a system which is strong only in the number and activity of its enemies. The Liberals walked into this dilemma with open eyes, and the friends of Germany can only hope that in extricating themselves they will consult the honour as well as the interests of their country.

A second inquiry is suggested, and in a measure answered, by the above remark of a despondent patriot. Have the Liberals succeeded, even with the aid of their precious "historical principle" of union, and after all the costly moral and material sacrifices that they have made—have they succeeded in organizing a system which has a real working efficiency and a prospect of permanent existence? The answer to this question, if sought in the recent speeches of Prince Bismarck, would be an emphatic negative. It is true that when the mind of the Prince is darkened by some personal grievance, it is apt to throw a cloud over the whole surface of politics; he fancies an eclipse of the sun every time his own body casts a shadow. Still there was very little exaggeration in the complaints that he made about the impotence of the Chancellor as such, about the ambiguous position of the Emperor, about the independence and insubordination of minor officials, about the narrow obstructiveness of the Federal Council. The latter body, for instance, a favourite creation of Bismarck himself, was in its purpose a necessary recognition of the rights of the States. But, as constituted, it is at once a ministry charged with the presentation of bills, and a Senate with a final voice in legislation, from which it results that the members, though colleagues of Bismarck in the first instance, can overrule both him and the Reichstag in the last. This double function would nevertheless not be so great a practical evil, if the system of popular government in the local politics of the several States were faithfully carried out. The delegates to the Bundesrath are the spokesmen of the States; but if the ministers who appoint and instruct them reflected fairly the prevailing view of each of its own people, it is evident that the aggregate, or rather average, opinion of the council could not be permanently different from that of the national elective parliament. It is notorious, however, that this condition is wanting. The ministers of the petty principalities are mere court favourites, not the servants and representatives of the people; and they send

to the Federal Council the agents of an aggressive reaction and an aggressive particularism. The latest achievement of this body, the resolution to place the imperial tribunal at Leipsic instead of Berlin, wrung from Prince Bismarck the cry that the centralisation process had reached its flood. But is it not gross sophistry to say that in the case of German unity the present backward movement is simply a natural reaction, which will be followed in its turn by a new and more vigorous impulse forward; in other words, to make an imaginary law of ebb and flow excuse an inherent defect of the political situation? We can accept the admission, forced from the unwilling lips of anxious and patriotic Liberals, that the unionist cause has met a check, and that its course is even reversed. But we cannot join them in describing that fact in terms which imply that a state is subject to a regular alternation of good and bad fortune, without any power to preserve the one or evade the other by the exercise of political virtue.

Such considerations as these ought to have no little influence in determining the amount of practical wisdom in the policy of the Liberal majority. It may be morally honest: that is a question for the individual conscience; but can it show to-day, or is it likely to show for the future, in settled political institutions, in the sense of public security, in the contentment and happiness of the people, and in the increase of truth, honour, justice, and enlightenment, those results which ought to be the object of all political efforts? If this be answered in the affirmative, the tones of dismay now so common have no meaning, and the January elections convey no lesson.

So long as these graver interests are in suspense, it is perhaps a trifling humiliation that threatens the Liberals in the new departure of Prince Bismarck. During the canvass his name and influence were freely used in their behalf. He doubtless sincerely preferred the moderate reformers, who had stood by him in the hard fight against the Papacy and the Ultramontanes, to those Conservatives who, being extreme Protestants, are the natural and willing friends of clerical authority. The issue may, therefore, signify that he has suffered a certain loss of prestige; but it cannot be maintained that his relations with the National Liberal party have ever been of such a nature that he is required in honour to throw in his fortunes with theirs, and retire from office because they have met a reverse. He pretends to conduct a non-partisan government: this has simply meant for a number of years a Conservative cabinet and a Conservative policy, supported by Liberals. If now the reports be true that the Prince is swinging round to the Right, the change signifies only that the elections have taken the seat of power away from the National Liberals; that they cease to be employed because they are no longer necessary; and that returning to his early allies, the Chancellor will introduce a system conservative in all things, in its

origin, its character, and its support. But such a system, even if sincerely attempted, will probably have only a short and fitful life. The great body of the German people are resolutely liberal; and though they will make great sacrifices for the cause of unity, they will not deliberately betray their own interests and those of the Empire to a faction which is the common foe of both.

The new Chamber, which has just got fairly to work, preserves that variety, which to foreigners seems almost like an anarchy, of parties. Nothing like it can be found elsewhere in Europe. Austro-Hungary being, as Prince Gortschakoff says, a government but not a state, has as many parties, but they are ethnical rather than political. In England the minor factions—with the not unimportant exception of the Home Rulers—are lost in the great division between Liberal and Conservative. France is the only other country where this sort of segregation is carried out on anything like the same scale, but even in France there is a fundamental difference. In a certain loose sense the National Liberals are Centre Gauche, the German or Free Conservatives are the Droite, the Progressists are the Gauche Républicaine, and so on. But while at Versailles these parties are not only marked by different shades of conservatism and liberalism on all general questions, but are even more sharply divided by disputes about the form of government, they agree in devotion to the political and territorial integrity of France. They are Republicans, Monarchists, Imperialists, but always Frenchmen. There is no party which advocates the secession of Nice, or Savoy, or Calais; no party which would dissolve France in a universal socialistic republic; no party probably which in the last test would put the will of the Pope above the ascertained interests of the nation. In German politics, however, the State itself is in question, and not the forms which it shall assume. The events of this domestic conflict make up the daily parliamentary records; and even when the Foreign Office takes the deputies into its confidence, and there is a brief debate upon Russia or Turkey, the spirit of internal dissension penetrates it through and through.

Thus broad and liberal reform measures are not to be expected from the present house. It almost seems, indeed, as if the Crown was willing to have it act on the defensive. The speech from the throne hints at the menaces of the Socialists, and hopes that the moderate and conservative elements will succeed in saving society. This modest hope will be amply realised. The heart of the Emperor and of the court chaplains will be often gratified by the union of three hundred and seventy-five orthodox Christians against a dozen outlaws who sit at the extreme left. But this is not the chief and only end of legislation; and a parliament which is unable to do more, exposes along with its own impotence the grave outlook for the future of the country.

HERBERT TUTTLE.

## THE LEVIRATE AND POLYANDRY.

POLYANDRY having been traced, on the testimony of witnesses, as still existing over a wide area, as having till recently existed in various places from which it has now died out, and as having existed among several of the ancient nations, it became a question whether to regard it as abnormal or as normal in the development of marriage. If the area of its former prevalence could, on any good evidence, be extended *much* beyond the limits fixed for it on the testimony of witnesses, it would unquestionably have to be regarded as normal, as a form which the marriage systems of the world, speaking broadly, everywhere at some time or other passed through. But where was such evidence to be looked for? Assuming that polyandry had anywhere prevailed formerly, it seemed to me that we might expect evidence of the fact—first, in the local laws of inheritance, and secondly, in the perpetuation of practices and moral sentiments derived from polyandry. And it seemed worth while to consider whether any such evidence was to be found.

On a discrimination of the cases, existing or recorded, of polyandry, it appeared that it presented itself chiefly under one or other of two forms—the Nair or the Thibetan. In the former of these the husbands of a wife are unrelated to one another by blood; in the latter they are brothers. On evidence that seemed sufficient, the conclusion was reached that Nair polyandry was a preparation for Thibetan; Thibetan polyandry an advance from Nair. The inheritance law is the same for both forms, with a difference. In connection with Nair polyandry brothers, speaking broadly, succeed as heirs to one another, and the last surviving brother is succeeded by his sisters' children—the succession law proper to the system of female kinship; in connection with Thibetan polyandry brothers succeed as heirs to one another, and the last surviving brother is succeeded by the eldest son of the brotherhood—this son being, like the rest of the children, accounted as in a special sense the son of the eldest brother—the rudest form of succession law proper to a system of male kinship. In the special case of a Nair family being decomposed into sub-groups composed of a man and his favourite sister and her children, it would seem as if these children alone succeeded to the man's movable estate direct, a fact illustrating the operation of the motives that at a later stage established the succession of sons to fathers. But in the case of heritable estate its administration or possession in trust for the family was always among the Nairs in the eldest male of the family.

Here, then, was a peculiar law of inheritance connected with polyandry, brothers succeeding in preference to sons; and, in connection with Thibetan polyandry, an equally striking fiction by which the eldest brother in a group of brother-husbands was accounted to be, in a special sense, the father of all the children. The Thibetan inheritance law is, of course, easily intelligible from two points of view. First, the succession of brother to brother originating in the Nair stage, and necessitated by the system of female kinship, would simply, because it was established, long persist in the Thibetan stage; and, again, were there no other reason for it, the copartnery of the brothers in marriage would exclude the idea of their children succeeding in preference to any of them. The fiction which accounted the children as specially belonging to the eldest brother is probably attributable in part to his superior position as ruler of the house and administrator of the family property, and in part to his being the first to marry and beget children. The name of "father" or protector, unconnected at first with the idea of begetting father, had been taken over from the Nair into the Thibetan family system; and it is consistent with all the brothers being "fathers" to the children, and the children being to them severally "sons and daughters," that the children, in a special sense, should belong to the eldest brother.

Could such an inheritance law as we find with polyandry be derived from any form of the family founded upon monandry? It seemed indisputable that it could not; that such a law, wherever found prevailing, must be taken as a proof of the former existence there of polyandry. Accordingly I concluded that wherever the law of inheritance constituted the brothers of a deceased person his heirs in preference to his sons, we had evidence of the former existence of polyandry.

What, then, of the fiction which made the children to be accounted the children of the eldest brother? It, of course, at once suggested the Levirate. Was the Levirate to be accounted a remainder of polyandry?

There are two main features of the Levirate—(1) the obligation laid on a brother to marry the widow of an elder brother who has died childless; (2) the purpose of the obligation, namely, to "raise up seed upon the inheritance" of the deceased brother. Judging by these signs, we infer the existence of the Levirate wherever we know that a man must marry the widow of his next elder brother deceased without issue, and that the children of this marriage are accounted the children of the deceased brother. And going on these tests, we find numerous cases of the Levirate. It happens, however, that, except in regard to the two main cases of the Indians and Hebrews, we have not full accounts of the Levirate as an operative law.

The obligation laid upon brothers by old Hebrew law to marry the widow of a brother deceased without issue is a remarkable exception to the spirit of the Levitical prohibition of marriages between persons related by blood or affinity. The earliest recorded example of it is in the story of Judah and Tamar. Tamar had successively been wife to Er, Judah's eldest son; and to Onan, who was disinclined to perform the duty of the Levir, as the children he might have by Tamar would be accounted the children of Er. There remained another brother, Shelah, to whom Tamar was entitled as husband, but he was a youth, and for prudential reasons his marriage to the widow was postponed. After a time the widow, who had meanwhile been staying in her father's house, felt aggrieved at this postponement, and planned an incident through which she became the mother of twins to Judah himself. Judah, on hearing that she was with child, ordered her to be brought to him to be burned; but ascertaining the true state of the facts, he confessed himself in the wrong. "She hath been more righteous than I, because I gave her not to Shelah my son." The position of the issue of her connection with Judah is shown by the event. Her son became *the head of the family*, obviously succeeding in the name of Er.

Now the story of Tamar connects itself with inheritance law only through this fact. The son of the Levirate union succeeded to the inheritance of Er, and cut out Er's brother Shelah from that inheritance; and he would have done the same thing even had Shelah been his father. For the rest, the story is simply this—that the woman having married an eldest son, was in law entitled, so long as she was childless, to have the other brothers of her husband as husbands in succession. The brothers, it may be, were entitled to claim her; but Onan at least was disinclined to make such a claim. Regarding the duty laid on him as disagreeable, he failed to discharge it; "and the Lord slew him." It is similarly as a *duty* that in Deuteronomy xxv. 5, in the case of brethren dwelling together, and one of them dying childless, a brother of the deceased (obviously the next brother) is required to marry her, and "perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her." "*And it shall be*," says the text, "that the first born which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead." Here we have a reference to inheritance, and its meaning is obvious. The child of the Levirate marriage succeeded in the name and as the son of the deceased brother to his putative father's property. The Levir gained nothing by the transaction. If by taking the widow he had got the estate and united it to his own, for the benefit of his children at large, he would have gained; but he did not get the estate. The estate was held apart from his, and lost to his family, through its destination to a child counted the child of his dead brother. His business was merely

"to raise up the name of the dead upon his [the dead's] inheritance." In the circumstances, and the Levirate having much about it revolting to sentiments that had grown up with monandry, and which have since destroyed the Levirate, it is no wonder that the law came to provide a process by which the Levir might evade the obligation. At first he had no choice: the woman was his wife *de jure*, and without form of marriage—a fact easily comprehensible if the Levirate had its origin in Thibetan polyandry. Afterwards—under the growing influence, no doubt, of ideas of propriety derived from a practice of monandry—a formal marriage between the Levir and the widow became indispensable. The case of Ruth and Boaz, I may say, is not, strictly speaking, a case of Levirate at all. Where a kinsman, other than a brother of the deceased husband, took the widow, he took her not as Levir, but as a Goël, or redeemer of the inheritance of the dead; and there was no law requiring him to marry her as a condition of the redemption, though no doubt he usually did so. At the same time we may see, from the opening chapter of the Book of Ruth (verses 11—13), the position of the Levir. The widow could claim her husband's brother, the Levir, as husband, even were he unborn when she became a widow.

The Indian case is on "all fours" with the Hebrew. On a man dying childless, the law provided for the begetting on the widow, by his brother, or, in the event of the brother being incapable, by some other relation duly authorised to act for him, of at least one son. There is no mention of *marriage* in the Code of Menu as entered into between the Levir and the widow; and possibly, as in the Hebrew case in the oldest times, the widow was *pro re* his wife *de jure*. His relations to her, however, were regulated by both law and religion. "Sprinkled with clarified butter, silent, in the night, let the kinsman thus appointed beget one son, but a second by no means, on the widow or childless wife" (Menu ix. 60). Here again the *duty* of the Levir appears pure; and he took no advantage from its performance, for the law provided as follows: "Should a younger brother have begotten a son on the wife of his deceased elder brother, the division of the estate [the estate, that is, of the father of the two brothers] must then be made equally between that son, who represents the deceased, and his natural father: thus is the law settled." So that the son of the Levirate union carried away the deceased's estate in the name of his putative father from the family and children of his real father. Meantime, and till this heir was born, the estate of the deceased—if already there had been a partition made of the father's property—was vested in the widow. (See the "Vivada Chintamani," pp. 261 and 289.) The Levir's obligation, then, appears to have been unconnected either with marrying the widow or inheriting his brother's property. The Levirate was,

in fact, a process for cutting off the Levir and his family from the succession. It is needless to say that in the Indian case, as in the Hebrew, the Levirate is seen from the first as in decay under the influence of sentiments growing up with the practice of monandry. Already it had fallen into desuetude among the twice-born classes, and was in use only among the servile classes; but the same text that declares it a practice "fit only for cattle" discloses that, anciently, even the twice-born classes had had the practice.

The Levirate, as seen in these two cases, is obviously one and the same thing; its effects and intention are the same. By the obligation laid on the next brother, it cuts off that brother and his family, and the brothers generally, from the inheritance of the deceased brother, and gives it to that brother's reputed son. It is an institution, then, which from its nature must have been posterior to the law of succession of sons to fathers being firmly established, so firmly that even a fictitious son was preferred to a real brother.

In both the Hindu and Hebrew cases there are notes of Thibetan polyandry, and they are the same in both. The appointment of a brother to perform such a duty as the Levir's would be nowise abhorrent to a people who had had recent experience of a practice of Thibetan polyandry; and moreover, among a people who had had such an experience, it would not be surprising to find the fiction that a child begotten by one brother was truly the child of an older brother deceased. It will, I think, at least be conceded that the origin of so strange an arrangement must have been the same or similar in the Hebrew case and in the Indian.

But in the Indian case we can prove, *aluudè*, the ancient prevalence of Thibetan polyandry. One text in the Code of Menu seems to me conclusive on this point (ix. 182): "If among several brothers of the whole blood, one have a son born, Menu pronounces them all fathers of a male child by means of that son, so that if such nephew would be the heir *the uncles have no power to adopt sons.*" But I shall not dwell on this text, as we have in the case of Draupadî the fact independently proved.

It is familiar that in the great epic, the Mahâbhârata, the heroes, the five Pandava princes, had but one wife between them—Draupadî. The authorities hold that the Brahmans who compiled this epic from old materials found the tradition of this marriage so strong that they could not suppress it; and that, since the marriage was repugnant on the whole to Vedic, and altogether to post-Vedic ideas, the story must be referred to the pre-Vedic period.

The father of Draupadî (as I have said elsewhere) is represented by the compilers of the epic as shocked at the proposal of the princes to marry his daughter. "You who know the law," he is made to say, "must not commit an unlawful act, which is contrary to usage and the

Vedas." The reply is, "The law, O king, is subtle. We do not know its way. *We follow the path which has been trodden by our ancestors in succession.*" One of the princes then pleads precedent: "In an old tradition it is recorded that Iatilâ, of the family of Gotama, that most excellent of moral women, dwelt with seven saints; and that Vârskî, the daughter of a Muni, cohabited with ten brothers, all of them called Prachetas, whose souls had been purified by penance." The tradition being too stubborn for the Brahmans, they thus tried as much as they could to palliate it.

It is a clear tradition of Thibetan polyandry; it is confirmatory of the supposition that what seem notes of that kind of marriage found in the Code of Menu are truly notes thereof; and accordingly it serves to show that what seem notes of polyandry in the Levirate in India are truly notes thereof. But having thus connected the Levirate and pre-existing polyandry in India, we cannot refuse to connect the Levirate and pre-existing polyandry among the Hebrews. The general inference, of course, is that the Levirate, wherever found, is a remainder of Thibetan polyandry.

By means of this inference, and of the inheritance law which preferred the brothers of deceased persons as heirs even to their sons, taken together, the area of the former prevalence of Thibetan polyandry received an enormous extension, and it became manifest that polyandry must be regarded as a normal form in the development of marriage; that is to say, that Nair polyandry as a preparation for Thibetan, and Thibetan polyandry as a preparation for monandry and male kinship, lay on the main path of human progress—a proposition quite consistent with the supposition of the existence of monandry and polygamy as practices, but not as predominating practices, of men from the first. The question whether the general inference above mentioned was a sound one has now become, however, more curious than important, seeing that the classificatory system of relationships has since been brought to our knowledge, and promises an absolute proof of the former prevalence universally of polyandry.

The foregoing argument differs from that which I stated twelve years ago in two particulars only, and they neither of them affect its force. I was not aware of what Selden had pointed out, namely, that the author of the Book of Ruth and Josephus were both in error in regarding the case of Boaz and Ruth as a case of the Levirate. Accordingly, I assumed the Levirate to be the counterpart of a right of succession, an error possible only through inattention to the operation of the law in the unquestionable cases of the Levirate. Owing to this error, again, I connected the Levirate and the law of inheritance preferring brothers to sons, as if they had something more in common than being both of them remainders of polyandry. I may be permitted to say that I do not owe the knowledge of these errors to criticism.

Not but that there has been some criticism. Sir John Lubbock, having considered the subject, disposed of it some years since with characteristic brevity. "The system of the Levirate," he said, "under which at a man's death his wife or wives pass to his brothers, is, *I think*, more intimately connected with the rights of property than with polyandry" (*Origin of Civilisation*, third edition, p. 135). It is needless to say that this description of the system is inaccurate. It omits the leading features of the Levirate—(1) that it occurs only where a brother dies childless, and (2) that the children of the marriage are accounted the children of the dead brother. Moreover, the instances of the system which Sir John adduces show that he had overlooked those features of the Levirate. In none of them, so far as he gives the details, is it said that the brother takes the widow only when the elder brother dies childless; and in only one of them is it said that the children born of the union are called the dead brother's children. So far as appears, they are cases of the succession of brothers in preference to sons.

The single sentence in which Sir John Lubbock states his view will be seen to be ambiguous. It might mean, if strictly construed, that in his opinion the Levirate is intimately connected both with polyandry and with the rights of property, but more so with the latter than with the former. Since, however, he has included the leading cases of polyandry under his description of "communal marriage," and has recently explained that by this he means no marriage at all, his opinion must be that the Levirate, being connected with rights of property, cannot be connected with polyandry. But why this consequence should follow, he has not thought it in the least necessary to explain. Dimly, in the obscurity of this partial revelation, would seem to loom a notion that the Levirate originated somehow in property law, and not in the law of marriage.

This is the notion which Mr. Herbert Spencer has, in his way, thought out. He accepts Nair and Thibetan polyandry as stages in the transition from promiscuity "towards more coherent and definite domestic relations." But while regarding polyandry "as one of several marital arrangements independently originating in the earliest societies," he declines to accept it as normal, or the Levirate as a remainder of it. He rejects my view of the Levirate without criticism, but for an excellent reason, namely, that he has found for it "another explanation which is much more natural." This is, that "under early social systems, wives being regarded as property, are inherited in the same way as other property," and that "succession to wives by brothers goes with succession in general." The next brother, in short, being the heir, takes the elder brother's widow as part of the estate.

Now undoubtedly a man's brother, being his heir, will take his

widow with the estate, if she is part of it. But it is hard to see how the fact can be made to explain the Levirate. If the heir takes the widow as a chattel, why should her children be accounted the dead man's children? And why should she have *a right* to the heir as a husband? Property, no doubt, has its duties as well as its rights; but there is a gulf between the idea of ownership and that of marriage. Supposing, however, that we could deduce her right to become wife of the brother from the fact of his taking up the succession as heir, how came that right to survive the brother's right to the property? How came the next brother's right of succession to be resolved into a thankless duty by performing which he cut himself off (as in India) from the bare hope he might have had of becoming heir to his brother through his surviving the widow, she dying childless?

Mr. Spencer seems to have considered none of these questions in connection with his origin of the Levirate. What purports to be his argument on the origin of the Levirate is a mere proof of a familiar fact, sinuously put forward by way of "suspicion" and "confirmation of the suspicion," that in some cases the next brother is the heir of his elder brother, and takes his widow with his other property—he might have added, "including the children, if any." And it is very obvious from the form of this proof that he never had in his mind an idea of the nature of the Levirate. None of the cases he adduces is so presented as to exhibit any mark of it. In none of them is it said that the brother succeeds only to the wife of a brother dying childless, or that the children of the marriage are accounted the children of the dead; in all them it would seem the brother was heir even though his dead brother left children. Mr. Spencer's "origin" of the Levirate is, in short, a failure, because he did not have before his mind its peculiar features as the things requiring to be accounted for.

But supposing that Mr. Spencer had accurately remembered what the Levirate was; and supposing that he had explained it by "his much more natural explanation," would he thereby have disconnected the Levirate and polyandry? That two men of the eminence of Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Spencer should have, for a moment, thought that because the Levirate was connected with property and "succession in general," it *therefore* was disconnected from the law of marriage, is a fact simply astounding. Every one accustomed to juridical notions knows that it is from the law of marriage and the forms of the family that all laws of inheritance are derived; and even those to whom the ideas of jurisprudence are altogether strange, may see the truth of this if they ask themselves from what other source a law of inheritance *could* be derived. Such a law must depend primarily on the system of kinship prevailing, or on one that formerly prevailed; secondarily on

the form of the family that determined the system of kinship; and in the last resource, on the marriage law which determined the form of the family. And laws of inheritance, being in their nature very enduring, are often ascribable to forms of the family that have long passed away. "When the ancient constitution of the family has ceased to affect anything else," says Sir Henry Maine, "it affects inheritance. All laws of inheritance are, in fact, made up of the *débris* of the various forms which the family has assumed." The inheritance law which gives the succession to brothers in preference to sons must, like every other inheritance law, have had its origin in a system of kinship which, in its turn, must have originated in a form of the family; and, had Mr. Spencer been right in connecting it with the Levirate, his next step should have been to find out the system of kinship, and the form of the family concerned in producing it. This it has not occurred to him to do. Of course, he would have had to show that the inheritance law in question was not derived from a polyandrous form of the family; and I think I have already given reason for believing that this would have been very difficult for him. The system of inheritance which he has pointed to is the inheritance law proper to polyandry in both its forms; and my own view, as already stated, is that it was derived from polyandry, and could have been derived from no other marriage system. Some further remarks on this matter may not be here out of place. The succession of children to parents is the species of succession proper to monogamy and polygamy. It has become the law in every part of the world, covered by monogamous or polygamous races, and is rapidly becoming the law of inheritance among those so-called primitive races which have as yet, on the whole, the system of kinship through females only. It has become the law among various tribes of Australian natives, and various tribes of American Indians, and must necessarily in time become the law wherever the family system permits of it. Nor is the reason for this far to seek. Where the marriage system permits of the certainty of male parentage, the system of kinship through females only, which cuts off children from being heirs to their father, as not being of his blood, tends to die out, and is, in time, replaced by a system acknowledging blood-ties through both parents. As soon as the relationship between fathers and children comes to be acknowledged, the law of inheritance, which ignored that relationship, must begin to be undermined. Nothing but the effect of custom could then cut off a man's children from inheriting his property. Born to him in his own house; by blood and circumstance the nearest and dearest to him; all his natural feelings would prompt him to leave to them his wealth. And the effect of men desiring to do this, operating throughout a community, must inevitably, in time, be to change the law of inheritance;

first, as to ordinary estates, and afterwards as to more important successions—as, for example, to a chieftainry, or a throne, as to which, as we shall see, the law of inheritance is peculiarly enduring. It is in the latter class of cases, however, that we see best illustrated the operation of the natural feelings that tend to introduce and establish the succession of sons to fathers. Sovereigns holding thrones, the law of succession to which gives the throne to the eldest male of the family, have been used to slaughter without scruple their brothers and the other heirs interposed by law between their own sons and the succession—thus acknowledging the law in defeating it.

Since, however, kinship through females only does manage to subsist along with monogamy and polygamy, it may perhaps be said that the succession of brothers in preference to sons can be explained, apart from polyandry, by this system of kinship. A man's heirs are his nearest of kin. With female kinship and exogamyô prevailing a man's children are not of his kindred, and therefore cannot be his heirs. His brothers uterine are his nearest of kin, and therefore are his heirs.

In answer, I have elsewhere maintained, and here repeat, that the system of female kinship could not have arisen where marriage was on the whole monogamous or polygamous. No case can be stated that will bear a moment's inspection, tending to show how, *apart from the force of some custom established by a more primitive and earlier marriage system*, the children of a man and woman living together as husband and wife should belong to the mother's tribe and not to the father's, be named after the mother and not after the father, and be her heirs and not their father's. We should rather expect (human nature being as it now is) that with monogamy prevailing from the first, the contrary result would have followed, and that relationships would from the first have been agnatic. Equally and for the same reasons, the system of female kinship could not have originated in a practice of polygamy. A practice of that kind could nowise prevent the filiation of children to fathers, though it might be less effective than monogamy in destroying a system of kinship through females, once it had been established under another family system. But the only marriage law remaining in which such a species of kinship could have originated is polyandry —polyandry of the ruder sort with a family system of the Nair type. So that we are relegated, for the origin of female kinship, to an early time when as yet monogamy and polygamy are exceptional, and polyandry the rule.

3. That the system of female kinship had its origin in a far distant past, and in circumstances totally different from those now existing among tribes like the Australians or American Indians who are now on the whole monogamous or polygamous, may be shown from

dying out among these races, under the influence of the improved modes of marriage; and, that it has had the support of religion against that destructive influence, and, in Australia, the support of social disorders connected with the practice of capture. The first point I have already noticed. As to the second, the Totem bond, which unites persons of the same stock, in whatever tribe they may be, by a common faith and the obligations of a blood feud, opposes a most powerful barrier to the destruction of the system of kinship in connection with which it has become established—the system of kinship through females only.

If it be granted, as I think it must be, that the first intermixture of stocks in the local tribes was effected by causes which are daily effecting it still, namely, the operation of exogamy and female kinship, it results that before these causes began to operate there existed local tribes each of which counted itself a stock. These stock tribes must have developed both the religious regard for the Totem and the system of female kinship before the transfusion began. This is only like saying that the causes of an effect must have existed before the effect began to be produced. If the Totem had not been developed there could have been no filiation, such as we find, of the members of a stock to one another, through it, in whatever local tribe they found themselves; and if kinship was not through women the children could not have been counted of the stock of the tribe from which their mothers were captured.

We are relegated, then, to a distant past for the origin of female kinship, and to local tribes the members of which counted themselves all of one stock. There are no such local tribes now in Australia or in America. Before the natives of Australia or America came to our knowledge, the original stock-groups of these countries had already been transfused by the operation of exogamy and female kinship. And the condition of things when such stock groups existed, and when the first ideas of kinship were dawning, must have been very different from what we see now among the aborigines in either country.

Now *some* form of the family must have preceded in these stock tribes the rise of the system of female kinship. It is impossible to imagine that when the relations of men and women were haphazard and fleeting—which is what is meant by promiscuous—and marriage was unknown, kinship should be thought of. It would naturally, however, soon be thought of on these relations coming under rule and permitting the consolidation of some form of the family.

The most elementary family group we can think of is that formed by a mother and child, for the endurance of which for a considerable time Nature has taken securities in the child's necessities. Suppose it enlarged by the continued acknowledgment of the ties between

mothers and all their children, and we have an approach to the form of the family found among the Nairs, and the only form that is in its nature qualified to suggest and finally establish the system of female kinship. It would but require the taking of the step whereby a daughter's or sister's children were seen to be of one's blood to complete the system of kinship and the family group as the Nairs have it. And since we know that in fact this system of kinship and the inheritance law peculiar to it *did* issue from that form of family that, at the time referred to, on the whole prevailed in the local tribes, and since we know of no other form of the family that could well have produced it, we are shut up, it seems to me, to the conclusion that the first form of the family was the Nair, the first form of marriage law polyandry, and that of these, wherever found, the system of female kinship is a remainder. Other forms may have existed concurrently with the Nair; but they must have been, on the whole, exceptional, or their influence would not have been overridden in determining the form of kinship.

On every view, then, the succession of brothers in preference to sons must be accepted as a remainder of polyandry; so that even if Mr. Spencer had explained the Levirate by it, he would not have succeeded in dissociating the Levirate and polyandry.

The inquiry as to the origin of the inheritance law just considered is, of course, of importance only as being connected with the question whether polyandry is to be regarded as a normal form of marriage. If I have repelled Mr. Spencer's criticism, cases of the sort adduced by him, of which he has in all given five examples and Sir John Lubbock three, and of which I had myself previously adduced three, must be taken as indicative of polyandry. If so, the area of the former prevalence of polyandry may receive through such cases a fresh extension. Besides those I have just referred to, I find I have noted examples of this succession as still to be found among some Australians, among the Belooch, the Samoides, the Bakalai and Ashangoes (Africa), the Koupooes (N.E. of India), the Feejees, Ashantees (Africa), the But (Bodo), at Calicut and in the Island of Formosa, and a good example is presented by the ancient Scandinavians. Both Gisli and Bork married the widows of their next elder brothers. "Now Bork sets up his abode with Mordissa, and takes his brother's widow to wife with his brother's goods; that was the rule in those days, and wives were heritage like other things"—an example even more emphatic than any adduced by Mr. Spencer. (See "Gisli the Outlaw," Dr. Dasent, Introduction, xxiii.; and "The Saga," pp. 5, 56).

But it is possible now to give a still further extension to the area of the former prevalence of polyandry, while at the same time strengthening the argument I have been conducting. I have said that a customary law of inheritance is in its nature very en-

during. And it is, I think, obvious why it should be so. Any change in a law of succession must deprive some who, but for that change, would be amongst the heirs of a deceased person, of the sorrowful comfort, as Roman law calls it, of inheriting a portion of his wealth. No one readily foregoes that species of consolation. The proximity in blood, again, of those between whom questions about an inheritance can alone arise, is a powerful guarantee against innovation. It establishes a disposition towards "fair" dealing among them, and "fair" is but another word for the established and customary; and it supplies a sanction in support of that disposition through the fear of family quarrels, than which none are more bitter, especially when they arise out of disputes as to inheritances. In cases of succession to honours and offices, and especially to the sovereignty, there are similar and even more powerful guarantees against change. A change in the law of succession to the throne, excluding, as it would, from the succession some one till then necessarily counted the rightful heir, would be almost surely followed by something more serious even than a family quarrel—a civil war. And the effects of the special exclusion from the succession to honours of persons designated by old law to inherit them would similarly tend to perpetuate old law. We should expect, therefore, a customary law of inheritance, once established, to be everywhere very stable, and most enduring of all where it relates to honours or the sovereignty.

And this is what we find. In France, for example, long after the establishment of male kinship, the inheritance law proper to the system of kinship through women only remained in force to certain effects. In ancient France, according to Chateaubriand ("Analyse Raisonnée de l'Histoire de France"), nobility descended according to this law. "Le ventre anoblissait, c'est-à-dire que la noblesse était transmise par la mère." "Anciennement en France," says Laurière, "le ventre affranchissait" ("Note sur Loisel," l. i., t. i., r. 22). "Au defaut de *parents maternels*, les parents paternels sont appelés," says Chateaubriand in another place ("Etude Historique"). "Cette noblesse, que la mère transférait à ses descendants, dans cette province," says Banyier, speaking of the province of Champagne ("Mem. sur la Champagne"), "ne commença d'être attaquée qu'en 1566, le procureur de la cour des aides de Paris prétendit que cette coutume avait été tolérée par nécessité, et pour remplir le pays de noblesse; que la cause étant cessée l'effet devait aussi cesser." A like law regulated the descent of nobility in the Parages of Metz (see Dugange, "Dissert 110 du Frérage et du Parage"), and a similar law is traceable in Sweden ("In Leg. Scaniæ apud Andream Suenoni"), lib. vi. c. v. I repeat that we must infer the former prevalence of polyandry wherever we find that law of inheritance. And I ask the reader the more readily to believe that the system of kinship now found among the natives of Australia, for example, is a remainder from an earlier and ruder marriage

system than they now have—seeing that in France, till near the close of the sixteenth century, the system of female kinship regulated some successions.

Turning to the law of succession to thrones, we get a further extension of the area of the former prevalence of polyandry. The Nair rule which gave the management of the family lands to the eldest male of the family—usually the succession opens to brothers—is the law of succession to chieftainries in most quarters in Africa and to rajahships in India. It is the law of succession to chieftainries, I believe, among every branch of the Turcoman race. It was at one time the law of succession to the throne in Russia. "En Russie le frère puiné du monarque defunt lui succédait préférablement à ses enfants." It is now the law of succession to the throne in Turkey, as it was till a few years since to the Khediveship in Egypt, and as it was more remotely the law of succession to the throne under some dynasties in China and in ancient Numidia, and in Scotland (what may be called "recently,") as may be seen in the pleadings in the competition between Bruce and Baliol. It is familiar that this law regulated successions to chieftainries in Ireland. Some may imagine a different reason for so singular a law in the superior capacity of the eldest male for command; but nothing could be less satisfactory than such a reason, for the capacity for command in a chief or sovereign, it is notorious, is apt to be but little considered. The law must be accepted as of the *débris* of the primitive form of the family. In Turkey it is seen unrelated to capacity in the chief, and as surviving the establishment of the succession of children to parents, in ordinary cases, settled on the basis of a religious command,—and surviving merely in virtue of its antiquity and the persistency of customary law.

For myself, I trust the more to the reasoning in this paper contained that the conclusions it supports have twice enabled me to infer the existence of polyandry in cases where I had no knowledge of it. 1. I had inferred that Thibetan polyandry had prevailed in Sparta, from the story that Lycurgus, had he married his brother's widow, *i.e.*, taken up the succession that had opened to him, would have cut out from the throne his brother's son; and I made this inference years before I knew of the fact on the authority of Polybius. 2. I suspected a polyandrous succession law, and therefore polyandry, among the Wahuma, from Speke's account of the preliminaries for the slaughter of Mtesa's brothers, soon after his succession, years before I knew from Colonel Grant of Thibetan polyandry as the marriage system of the Wahuma.

J. F. McLennan.

## BARRY CORNWALL.[1]

Of all men in the world the biographer of Lamb deserved to be fortunate in his own biographer, and the volume before us, fragmentary as it is, conveys a complete impression of the charm which the compiler has felt. We hardly know Mr. Procter when we have read it, but we know why he was loved by all who knew him. The book is full, one might say, of the perfume of a flower which has bloomed its time, and it is rather a gain than a loss that there is no print of the discoloured petals on the leaves. If one wishes to see how the dead flower looked in the keen air that killed it, one must turn to Miss Martineau, who made Procter the subject of one of the shrewdest and not the least kindly of her sketches. At first it looks as if it were her talent to pick out the facts of the poet's personality, while it was C. P.'s talent to explain facts away; but after all it is C. P. who leaves the impression of a character which might be conceived as a whole. This is the more important because Mr. Procter, like Lamb, originally owed his place in the literary world quite as much to his personality as to his talent. Lamb's personality had a piquancy which can be explained, but Mr. Procter's charm, though as genuine and as potent, was more indefinite.

"His small figure, his head not remarkable for much beside its expression of intelligent and warm goodwill, and its singular likeness to that of Sir Walter Scott; his conversation, which had little decision or 'point' in the ordinary sense, and often dwelt on truths which a novelty-loving society banishes from its repertory as truisms, never disturbed the effect, in any assemblage, of his real distinction. His silence seemed wiser, his simplicity subtler, his shyness more courageous than the wit, philosophy, and assurance of others. When such a man expressed himself more or less truthfully in a series of gracious poems, of which he alone of all his circle did not seem proud, it naturally followed that all who knew him were eager to declare and extend the credit and honour to which he had aspired with so much simplicity, and which he bore with so entire an absence of self-assertion. The tradition of such a character has the power of lingering in the world even when the life has been so uneventful as to leave little scope for biography and even for anecdote. And the writings which are the outcome of that character are floated down by such tradition to a posterity which might never have heard of them but for this proof of their genuineness."

That is true, and admirable, and generous, and yet it points to a

(1) "Bryan Waller Procter (Barry Cornwall)." G. Bell and Sons.

another point of view. Observe that the system of female kinship is limitation: the chief lesson of the lives of Byron, or Shelley, or Burns, is how much their inspiration cost; but we do not admire the inspiration less because it was visibly at the cost of the life. Their greatness is such that we feel judgment to be an impertinence: it is only of smaller men that the observation holds good. "Their ways cast suspicion on their works, and the reputation of a man of genius who lacks in his life the courage or the habits of his inspiration may suffer for generations, or even for ever, if his biography happen to have been such or so written as to go down to posterity with his truer self."

Mr. Procter's life did honour to his poetry, and is in a way in harmony with it; but it is the harmony of contrast, the harmony of the leaf and the flower, one might almost say the harmony of the ashes and the flame. Here, too, we are reminded of Scott, whose practical life as lawyer and laird, with its eager bustle of practical cheerfulness, contrasts oddly with the sentimental regret for the past, on whose ruins he throve; as Mr. Procter's idealism in verse, with its alternations of romantic grace and wilful exaltation, contrasts with the cautious prudence and refinement of his life. Of course if we knew Mr. Procter as well as we know Scott, we should see that the life had its romantic, perhaps even its wilful, element, too. Only with Scott the turn of the homely practical element came first; with Mr. Procter the turn of the romantic element came earlier, in the long interval between boyhood and middle age. Another difference is that in Scott's large nature there was room for both at once. One side might be more conspicuous at one time, and another at another time, but both were always there. The contrast forces itself upon us more in a nature of narrower range, less massive and less complex, and proves perplexing from its very simplicity. The poetry of Barry Cornwall is the record of the extravagances of one who was habitually sober, the audacities of one who was habitually cautious, the eloquence of one who was habitually reserved. And yet there is no inconsistency, the contrasted elements heighten and sustain each other. It is a mistake to suppose that the only way to make the most of what we value in life is to concentrate ourselves upon it. Labour heightens the zest of a holiday, and a holiday restores the energy of the labourer; there is a reaction after a fit of high spirits, but there is a reaction from depression too. The reason that most of us fear to abandon ourselves to the natural alternation of our moods and desires, as we abandon ourselves to the natural alternation of cloud and sunshine, day and night, is that we are not disinterested and free: our appetites and theories chain us to a treadmill which we must go on mounting as long as we can, because we know that we shall lose our footing, and

be crushed at last. Such unity as our lives attain is due to the pursuit of a purpose, the carrying out of a doctrine in season and out of season: the unity of a life like Mr. Procter's, serene and beautiful, even on "the woeful threshold of age," where he had to linger so long, is due to the spontaneous nobility of mind which never forgot its innate generosity, delicacy, and uprightness, in converse with nature as with men, with books and the world, but gave their due to all.

He came of a good stock, of a family of farmers which had held their own in Yorkshire or Cumberland—he never knew which—for three hundred years or more without producing anybody distinguished, and rather ashamed than otherwise of the one period when their line was crossed by a strain of indisputable gentry. His father was one of several children—"the best among the males." Perhaps this was the reason why he came up to London to seek his fortune; he found it rather than made it, and when he had found it he "subsided into a private station where he lived unoccupied and independent for many years. He possessed," his son says, "the most uncompromising honesty I ever met with. My mother was simply the kindest and tenderest mother in the world."

In his autobiography, which does not go beyond his twentieth year, he dwells with predilection on everything that can be made to show himself in a common-place light. He was really a singular and precocious child, with a touch of something out of the common in his quality from the first, and yet neither then nor afterwards was his mental stature much above the common. At five he knew nothing beyond his letters, or a little easy reading acquired mainly from a Bible full of pictures; but for a year past he had, as we learn on the authority of his mother, preferred books to everything, and could hardly be got to leave them for his meals. His senses, he says, were attracted by the scent of the violet, the April grass and the flowers; he heard noises in the winds and the running river; otherwise he marched quietly onwards in the great crowds of human life with his undiscovered destiny before him. The sign of that destiny showed itself in the childish love, whose story is told in the beautiful essay on the Death of Friends. In the height of his passion he was sent to school; he tells us little of himself or of what he learnt there, but much of a charming, kindhearted, *emigrè* M. Molière who was one of the masters, who was fond of mignonette and myrtle, and denied himself even these pleasures for the sake of charity. At thirteen he went to Harrow, where he was the contemporary of Peel and Byron, and he once promised to pay Peel half a crown to do an imposition for him. He did not admire the studies of the place; and the levelling character of public school discipline told upon him to the full. "The daily task, the daily meal, the regular

hours of sleep and exercise, or idleness, were all sufficient in themselves for me. I had nothing of that feverish unwholesome temperament which opens the scholar into worlds beyond his reach, and which is sometimes called genius; not much even of that vigorous ambition which tempts him into the accessible region just above him; yet I was not without daring." In fact he was rather celebrated for his boxing, and liked in after years to recollect that he had beaten boys bigger than himself.

It was in the vacations in the country, which he spent mostly at the house of his mother's uncle, that his individuality nourished itself: he fancied that a raven haunted him; some things which were beautiful, and many things which were terrible, operated very sensibly upon him; he began to dream and to recollect his dreams, and strove to discover their meaning and origin. A healthier influence was that of a servant, the daughter of a man who had failed in a profession or business. She knew Richardson and Fielding well, and told him stories out of them, and taught him to worship Shakespeare, whose works he bought with the first money he got, and entered into a world beyond his own: it is characteristic that he did not attempt to carry on his Shakesperian studies at Harrow. He left there at eighteen, and was articled to Mr. Atherton, a solicitor at Calne, where he spent two of the most fruitful years of his life. He learned to think and feel, and there was nothing to interrupt him: he was attached to Mr. Atherton but not to his profession, which only influenced him by setting him to brood on all the difficulties and intricacies of life. In his autobiography he makes light of the doubts and change of opinion which at the time he dignified with the name of speculations, and it is, perhaps, to be wished, that people whose individual opinions are of less value than Mr. Procter's, were as far from the pretension of idealising them. Country life told favourably upon susceptiblities which he regarded as more important: he fell in and out of love, and cultivated his imagination, and even began to write verses.

About 1807, at the age of twenty, he came to London to live, and for the first eight years he seems to have been sufficiently occupied with living. He did not work at his profession; he can hardly be said to have worked at literature: oddly enough, it was his acquaintance with three literary men whom he could hardly admire, that first made him aware that he too was capable of literature. He had no ambition, and a great awe for authorship in the abstract; but when this awe was worn away by experience, he was attracted by a refined amusement which lay within his reach. In 1815, he began to contribute poetry to the *Literary Gazette*. In 1816 his father died and left him what seems to have been a handsome independence for a bachelor, which he enjoyed without

impairing it, though some temporary embarrassment connected with his partnership with a solicitor of the name of Slaney made him, about 1821, dependent upon his literary earnings, to his great disgust. He kept a hunter, he took boxing lessons from Cribb, he went to the theatre. In his youth, he says himself, he had some courage and some activity. These years of freedom and enjoyment were also the years in which he made his mark as a poet: The Dramatic Scenes, Marcian Colonna, the Sicilian Story, Mirandola, a tragedy, and the Flood of Thessaly, all appeared between the years 1819 and 1823. Then, too, he laid the foundation of the lyrical collection which was published in 1832 and continued to receive additions for many years. One almost fancies that the Barry Cornwall of those years was the true Procter, and that then his life and imagination were of a piece, and that the irony, now paradoxical and now pathetic, of the later years, was due to the contrast between the old life and the new—the true self flashing through the veil which custom and courtesy and prudence had woven over it. Mr. Procter wrote a poem in the manner of Beppo, and there is a whole side of his poetry which reminds us of Byron; only in him the revolt, natural to a simple vivid spirit in its hours of exaltation against second-hand systems of doctrine and proprieties of conduct, was not inflamed by a morbid organization or poisoned by personal excess. It may be doubted whether he had force enough to sustain him in his revolt; and the temper of rebellious scorn was subdued by the influence of a dutiful and prosperous life, till his best friends doubted whether it was more than a poetical caprice, just as he doubted himself whether Godwin's magnanimity had any existence except on paper.

It is noticeable that he seems to have thought Don Juan was Byron's great poem. Perhaps its realism attracted him: one can fancy his disliking the rather rhetorical mysticism of Childe Harold, and the rather theatrical heroism of the Giaour and the Corsair. He had the sense of measure and of sanity, if not exactly of reality; he disliked what was vast and vague and pretentious. He was capable, which Stothard was not, of a genuine imaginative sympathy with passion; but subject to this limitation we might adopt the biographer's graceful parallel between them. "In their characters, even more than in their works, there is a quality rarely found elsewhere, except in sensitive single-hearted (and slightly 'spoilt') children; children who are confident of their company, and have not been laughed or frightened out of knowing and speaking their own minds. These alone express themselves with such directness, concreteness, and naïve limitation; often attaining, in their artlessness, to humour, wit, and grace which are the artist's envy. The greatest point of resemblance between Stothard and the poet is

that last named—a narrow limitation of the sphere of thought and feeling; a sort of voluntary ignoring of all that might clash with or contradict the habitual mood or idea." "Stothard and Mr. Procter are alike chargeable with sometimes giving the effect of hard outlines where no outlines really exist; and this through no incapacity of touch, but by an artistic idiosyncrasy; an insistance on the beloved limitations; a protest against the vastness, variety and inscrutability of fact."

In Mr. Procter's case the protest was accentuated by his innate energetic rightmindedness. "Few men surpassed him in the unpretentious and untalkative wisdom and fidelity of a right direction of heart and mind." And for this very reason he had a curious dread and distrust of public opinion, which is always too noisy to be quite sincere, and is always insisting on more than it really wants, and pretending to more than it really has. Those who have the power of being leaders without the vocation of being martyrs, make the most of it as a boisterous approximation to truth; but it presents itself as a hypocritical tyranny to simpler, perhaps finer, natures who ask only to lead their own lives, do their own duty, and take their own pleasure.

At the time we are speaking of public opinion was divided against itself, it was the opinion of a party, and for this reason Mr. Procter feared it the more; he had a sort of feeling that unless he kept clear of party warfare, party spirit would crush him as he believed it had crushed Hazlitt, whose clearness and precision and robust sincerity were very attractive to him. He was fond in his old age of dwelling on his own freedom from party connection (though *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly* long insisted on abusing him as a Whig), and believed that it was to this that he owed his free intercourse with all the literary men of his day; which was really the reward of his talent for exquisite hospitality and his entire freedom from self-assertion. But though he saw the whole literary movement of his day and sympathised with it, his own place in it is very definite. He belongs to the group of Leigh Hunt and Lamb and Keats: Leigh Hunt influenced him as an example; Lamb influenced him as a guide in the wide field of Elizabethan drama. One cannot say that either he or Keats influenced each other; but there is a real analogy in their method, and in their dependence upon the literature which they studied. Keats, of course, is incomparably the most fertile and splendid of the two; but, except in his odes and sonnets and the ballad of La Belle Dame Sans-Merci, Keats never mastered his materials, while Mr. Procter, who did not begin to write till he was eight-and-twenty, is always thoroughly workmanlike, and the union of purity and delicacy, with masculine sanity and vigour, is always attractive. Like Keats Mr. Procter sometimes touches Shelley, as in

the Journal of the Sun which the editor has printed, on the side where Shelley touches Greece, and Byron on the side where Byron touches Ariosto, and one might add this is not the most valuable side of Keats or Barry Cornwall. And with all his manliness there is an element of unreality in Barry Cornwall which there is not in Keats. Keats wrote of what he imagined, though his imagination was coloured by his reading. Barry Cornwall's imagination was not so rich. He wrote of what he read and felt, without having seen or known. So far as his reading fed feeling which found itself a musical expression, he was justified in the gentle contempt he entertained for the tendencies of a later school, with whom reading sometimes serves to feed nothing better than a cold, fanciful precision of detail; but after all he stops short of real insight. It is not that by choice or by defect of power he has to subordinate force and truth of detail to general harmony and richness of effect: it is that in the narrative poems, at any rate, he has no first-hand grasp upon nature and fact at all. He gets his effects, which are really rich and harmonious, by combination and reflection out of the second-hand impressions which he has retained from reading.

His dramatic works are of a higher order. Lamb said of the Dramatic Scenes that there was not one of them that he would not have placed in his collection if he had found it in one of the Garrick plays at the British Museum. And though this praise has its limits, it is not at all too high. The scenes Lamb extracted from the ancient drama are commonly much better than the plays they are taken from. The plays are alive, but as wholes they are not for the most part delightful. Barry Cornwall's Dramatic Scenes are delightful if we will take them for what they are, without asking if they too might not have been enshrined in live coherent plays. There is one sort of romanticism which finds the fresher air and brighter light it longs for in old books, as another finds it in old life; and for romanticists of the first sort Barry Cornwall seized and reproduced the charm of the gracious pathos and nobility of the Elizabethan, or rather Jacobean, drama, with as much mastery as Scott, on a larger scale, seized and reproduced the charm of the picturesqueness and generosity of Border and Highland life. Every nation which is fortunate enough to possess a classical drama inherits from it a school of classical acting, and this school in turn propagates a longer or shorter succession of acting plays, with classical pretensions, which perhaps in a period of literary revival may possess genuine literary merit. Mirandola was so good and succeeded so well that, as late as 1844, Mr. Carlyle, among others, was still pressing the author to persist in the career of dramatist, which he had long abandoned. According to the author's own account it was a very hurried and imperfect production. "Had I taken pains I could have made a

much more sterling thing; but I wished for its representation, and there were so many authors struggling for the same object that I had not firmness to resist the opportunity that was opened to me through the kindness Mr. Macready to offer it to the proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre. I allowed the play to appear, while I was conscious of its many shortcomings. The toil of placing a tragedy or comedy on the stage (apart from the trouble of writing it) is sufficient to daunt most men from repeating the experiment. Without doubt, the activity and kindness of Mr. Macready, and the general good-will of the actors, saved me from much trouble, and from many rebuffs. The tragedy was acted for sixteen nights; it produced, including the copyright, £630; and then passed away (with other temporary matters) into the region of the moths."

Mirandola was performed in 1821. In that year the author became engaged to Miss Skepper, the daughter of Mrs. Basil Montagu by her first husband. Considering the way in which he spoke of his most considerable literary effort, it is anything but strange that his marriage in 1825 should have been the close of his literary career. Literature had been the pastime of his leisure, when leisure had been the whole of his life; he had neither strength nor ambition to pursue it in the intervals of business. And he turned to his business of conveyancing with an ardent appetite which left few intervals, as men often do who take up practical life late, and find they are still in time to succeed. Apparently the sense of having got hold of reality at last, just before a man's power is over, is one of the keenest enjoyments there is. Mrs. Procter says her husband never expressed so much satisfaction at any literary success as when the solicitor on the opposite side employed him because he admired his work. He took many pupils—Eliot Warburton and Kinglake among them. He sat up two nights a week to work, and lived to reflect, that if in all labour there is profit, this too is vanity and vexation of spirit.

Here are two stanzas from "Labour Improbus," published for the first time in the work before us:—

In the morn are dreams of labour,
Labour still till set of sun;
Evening comes with scanty respite,
Night—and not one good is won.
Formal phrases!—barren figures!
Sentence such as steam might turn!
What, from such laborious trifling,
Can the human creature learn?

I remember hopeful visions
Since that time have fled away—
When wild autumn brought its leisure,
And the sunshine summer day;
Now unseen the river wandereth,
And the stars shine on their way;
Flowers may bloom, but I, poor labourer,
With the worn-out year decay.

One notices that what he regrets is liberty to enjoy nature rather than liberty to cultivate art. Long ago he had defended poetry on the ground that it helps better than most things to keep us near our ideal; but after all, people come nearer their ideal in a really happy marriage. Mr. Procter's marriage must have been very happy; and busy as he was, a really tuneful nature can always find space for song. Mr. Procter agreed with most of his friends in regarding the English lyrics as the most permanent portion of his work. He differed from them, characteristically, in doubting whether they would really last. He rather overrated the power of fashion, and thought it hard to believe that any author could be classical when the sale began to fall off; he thought he had lived to see the end of even Wordsworth's day. Even the editor feels a need of reassuring himself against his author's self-distrust: he fortifies his own judgment with the testimonies of Landor and Mr. Swinburne; but there is really no need to go beyond the unbroken consent of the literati of fifty years. The interest of the Dramatic Scenes is purely literary, and though it is probable that good judges here and there will always be found to rate their literary merit as high as that of the English Lyrics, the time has come when they have decidedly more interest for literati than for cultivated men at large. And the English Lyrics appeal to all cultivated men, and as literati are men too, they appeal more readily than the Dramatic Scenes even to literati.

It is easier to feel the charm of the English Lyrics than to define it. We know approximately what Burns is admired for, or what Shelley is admired for. We know the sort of grace which seemed admirable in Moore, or, to come to a later reputation, we know what is the attraction of the Legends and Lyrics of Barry Cornwall's own daughter, which it seems now are selling better than any poetry but Mr. Tennyson's. But when we try to appraise the English Lyrics, it seems hard at first to get beyond praise that would do for anybody. When we have said that the sense and feeling and tune are thoroughly good and manly, and that the metre and finish are quite good enough, we have said no more than we might fairly say of any creditable *fiasco* of a personal friend. That is clearly not an adequate account to give of poetry which a whole generation of intelligent readers, including many like Miss Martineau, who were not easily moved, found the most moving poetry of the time. Perhaps we come a little nearer when we notice that one of the most individual traits of Mr. Procter's lyrics is a hearty æsthetic appreciation of horseflesh and wine. When we remember how sober he was in the actual enjoyment of both, his praise of them takes the character of an escapade, and this character seems in a way to fit his lyrics as a whole, and to account for the attractiveness they

have for earnest and intelligent readers in a community which is getting more complex rather than more perfect. Such readers are repelled by a systematic revolt against what is indispensable, or a systematic pursuit of what is unattainable, but a short sincere musical cry interprets and relieves their passing moods of personal discontent, and the deeper under-current of social dissatisfaction that runs through most generous lives.

One of Mr. Procter's few irrepressible convictions was that the inequalities of an old civilisation were too iniquitous to be borne without relieving them, and he quite consistently exhorted the community in verse to wholesale almsgiving, while in prose he wanted the few, who found it almost as hard as he did to be callous to distress, not to impoverish themselves to relieve the ratepayers. His own generosity took the form of secret and delicate assistance to the temporary distresses of people of his own condition. The editor has told the secret of an unasked loan of this kind to a friend whose wife was saved by the timely help, although Mr. Procter's own income had been largely reduced by his relievency from the Commission of Lunacy. In such cases he was always willing to act on the maxim *qui prête donne*, but it did not raise his opinion of human nature to find the maxim generally taken for granted by those he helped. There are plenty of useless people in the world who never get any good luck or deserve any, and hardly know a happy day, and yet when they excite themselves over human life in general, they say, as sincerely as they can say anything, how fine and admirable they think it all. Mr. Procter's life was full of good luck till he was over seventy, and full of good deeds till the last, and yet, whenever he got excited over human life as a whole, he always thought it a poor, sorry, contemptible thing, and said so with emphasis.

The literary character of the English Lyrics is as composite as that of the other poems. As Lord Jeffrey says in the admirable review of the Sicilian Story, from which the editor has quoted largely, there are echoes of the cavalier poets of the usurpation; the terrible verses on the Burial Club in 1839, now printed for the first time, seem to owe their motive to Dickens; but the manner is almost an anticipation of the imitators of Browning. The Hebrew Priest's Song reads almost like a very early work of Mr. Swinburne.

Mr. Procter was too sure of perception for a critic, who had best not be much wiser than the public, so that he can sit down with them to analyse and feel his way, and we probably lost little by his being too busy to respond to Jeffrey's endeavours to secure him for the staff of the *Edinburgh*. But the few fragmentary recollections of contemporaries, mostly written down after he was seventy-eight, deepen the regret which the classical life of Lamb, published when he was seventy-seven, left behind, that he did not put a complete

account of his literary souvenirs on record. Now and then, as in the case of Carlyle (from whom there is a beautiful letter on the life of Lamb), Mr. Procter's judgment is too straightforward to be suggestive, but in a hundred pages, more or less, there are not a few stories as good as this of Rogers. Mr. Wordsworth was breakfasting with him one morning, he said, but he was much beyond the appointed time, and excused himself by stating that he and a friend had been to see Coleridge, who had detained them by one continuous flow of talk. "How was it you called so early upon him?" inquired Rogers. "Oh!" said Wordsworth, "we are going to dine with him this evening, and——" "And," said Rogers, taking up the sentence, "you wanted to take the sting out of him beforehand."

There is more than one appreciation as rare and gentle as this of Leigh Hunt. "He saw hosts of writers, of less ability than himself, outstripping him on the road to future success, yet I never heard from him a word that could be construed into jealousy or envy, not even a murmur. This might have arisen partly from a want of susceptibility in his constitution, not altogether from that stern power of self-conquest which enables some men to subdue the rebellious instincts which give rise to envious passions. . . He had no vanity, in the usually accepted sense of the word, I mean, that he had not that exclusive vanity which rejects all things beyond self. He gave as well as received, no man more willingly. He accepted praise less as a mark of respect from others than a sa delight of which all are entitled to partake, such as spring weather, the scent of flowers, or the flavour of wine. It is difficult to explain this; it was like an absorbing property in the surface of the skin. Its possessor enjoys pleasure almost involuntarily, whilst another of colder or harder temperament is insensible to it."

When Mr. Procter spoke of pleasure, he spoke of what he knew. He had said long ago, "If life itself were not a pleasure, the utility even of its necessaries might very well be questioned." He is almost an unique example of one who without a touch of baseness deliberately and consistently preferred enjoyment to activity.

G. A. Simcox.

# VIRGIL IN ENGLISH HEXAMETERS.

## Eclogue X.—Gallus.

Grant, Arethusa, to me this last of my labours to finish—
Few be the songs that I sing, but Lycoris herself will behold them—
Sing to my Gallus, alas! Oh, who would deny them to Gallus?
So, when you glide underneath the blue Sicanian billows,
Pure be your stream and unmixed with the brackish Dorian waters!
Goddess, awake! Let us tell the tale of the love-stricken Gallus
While on the tender twigs the snub-nosed she-goat is browsing.
Not to the deaf do we sing, to each note the woodlands make answer.

Naiads! what were the glades or what were the forests that held you,
When, of unworthy love, the gentle swain lay a-dying?
Surely not Helicon's heights, nor yet the ridges of Pindus,
Hindered your onward flight, nor Aonia's fount Aganippe.
Him too the laurel wept, and the lowly tamarisk also;
Him, as he lay forlorn in the jaws of the desolate mountain,
Pine-crowned Menalus wept, and the rocks of the icy Lycæus.
Round him his sheep stand still; they turn not away from their shepherd.
Turn not away from thy flock, O minstrel favoured of heaven!
(He too fed his flocks by the streams—the gentle Adonis.)
Thither the goatherd came and the weary tramp of the cowherd;
He too was there, all damp from the acorns of winter, Menalcas.
"Tell us," they ask, "what ails you?" And now in the midst is Apollo.
"Gallus, wherefore this frenzy?" he cries. "Your darling Lycoris
Follows another, alas! through the snows and the terrible camp-fires."
And Sylvanus was there, in the glory of rustic head-gear,
Brandishing wands of willow, flower-crowned, and the largest of lilies.
Pan too was there, of Arcadia the God—as ourselves we beheld him,
Steeped in vermilion was he, and the blood-red juice of the elder.

"When will the end be?" he cries. "Will Love with such offerings be sated?
Cruel he gloats upon tears, as the parched grass gloats on the river,
As on the clover the bee or the goat on the leaves of the forest!"
Sadly then Gallus: "Ah well! though it be so, yet you to your mountains,
Sons of Arcadia, will tell the tale—oh, where is the music
That with Arcadia's may match? How softly my spirit would slumber
Could I but dream that your pipe were telling the tale of my sorrows!
Would that I were one of you! Oh, would that to me it were given
Either your flocks to tend or reap your mellowing vintage!
Surely, whether my Phyllis were here, or whether Amyntas,
Which of my loves, I care not—(oh, what of the dusky Amyntas?
Is not the violet dark, and dark the hyacinth also?)
Lying with me in the shade of the sinewy vine by the willows;
Phyllis would gather me flowers, Amyntas a melody chant me.
Cold is the fountain's wave and soft is the meadow, Lycoris!
Shady the grove! Here with thee I would die of old age in the green shade.
Mad is the lust of war, that now in the heart of the battle
Chains me, where darts fall fast and the charge of the foeman is fiercest.
Far, far away from your home—oh, would that I might not believe it!
Lost amid Alpine snows or the frozen desolate Rhineland,
Lonely without me you wander! Oh, let not the frozen air harm you,
Let not the keen ice-blocks those tender feet cut to pieces!
Yes! I will go—and the songs of the old Chalcidian minstrel
Set to my pipe's sweet notes—the delight of Sicilian shepherds—
Deep in the wild wood's glen, by the side of the lair of the lion,
Patient my griefs I will hide, and the tender trees of the forest
Score with the tale of my loves—they will grow, and my loves will grow with them!
Free, meanwhile, over Mænalus' heights with the nymphs let me wander,
Hunting the fierce wild boar, and, with fleet Parthenian boar-hounds,
Heedless of winter's cold, encircle the skirts of the forest.
Now over rocks, methinks, I fly, and o'er echoing woodlands,
Hurling from Parthian bow the swift Cidonian arrow.

Madman! as if such freaks could heal such terrible frenzy,
Or such a god could learn to melt at the sorrows of mortals!
Me not the Dryads' dance, nor yet the songs of the minstrel
Ever again may woo! Oh, strive not to woo me, ye woodlands!
He will not change—not He, though sorely we labour to change
him,
Not though in winter's depth we drink the waters of Hebrus,
And in Sithonian snows crouch before the watery tempest;
Or when the dying sap shrivels up on the tops of the elm-tree
Fold Ethiopian flocks in the desolate tropic of Cancer—
Love overmastereth all; then we too will bow down before him."

Goddess, I go! These things are enough for your poet to sing you—
Sing, while he sits and weaves his basket of slender rushes.
Surely they are the best, which you can give to my Gallus,—
Gallus, for whom my love each hour as quickly is growing
As in the young springtide upshoots the green of the alder.
Rise, let us fly from the place! for deadly the shade to the minstrel—
Deadly the juniper shade—the shade is the bane of the cornfields.
Home! O my goats, full fed,—see! the even-star comes—get you
homeward!

GEORGE OSBORNE MORGAN.

## TURGOT IN LIMOUSIN.

In the year 1761 Turgot, then in his thirty-fourth year, was appointed to the office of Intendant in the Generality of Limoges. There were three different divisions of France in the eighteenth century: first and oldest, the diocese or ecclesiastical circumscription; second, the province or military government; and third, the Generality, or a district defined for fiscal and administrative purposes. The Intendant in the government of the last century was very much what the Prefect is in the government of our own time. Perhaps, however, we understand Turgot's position in Limousin best, by comparing it to that of the Chief Commissioner of some great district in our Indian Empire. For example, the first task which Turgot had to perform was to execute a new land-assessment for purposes of imperial revenue. He had to construct roads, to build barracks, to administer justice, to deal with a famine, just as the English civilian has to do in Orissa or Behar. Much of his time was taken up in elaborate memorials to the central government, and the desk of the controller-general at Versailles was loaded with minutes and reports exactly like the voluminous papers which fill the mahogany boxes of the Members of Council and the Home Secretary at Calcutta. The fundamental conditions of the two systems of government were much alike; absolute political authority, and an elaborately centralized civil administration for keeping order and raising a revenue. The direct authority of an Intendant was not considerable. His chief functions were the settlement of detail in executing the general orders that he received from the minister; a provisional decision on certain kinds of minor affairs, and a power of judging some civil suits, subject to appeal to the Council. But though the Intendant was so strictly a subordinate, yet he was the man of the government, and thoroughly in its confidence. The government only saw with his eyes, and only acted on the faith of his reports, memorials, and requisitions; and this in a country where the government united in itself all forms of power, and was obliged to be incessantly active and to make itself felt at every point.

Of all the thirty-two great districts in which the authority of the Intendant stood between the common people and the authority of the minister at Versailles, the Generality of Limoges was the poorest, the rudest, the most backward, and the most miserable. To the eye of the traveller with a mind for the picturesque, there were parts of this central region of France whose smiling undulations, delicious water-scenes, deep glens extending into amphitheatres, and slopes hung with woods of chestnut, all seemed to make a lovelier picture

than the cheerful beauty of prosperous Normandy, or the olive-groves and orange-gardens of Provence. Arthur Young thought the Limousin the most beautiful part of France. Unhappily for the cultivator, these gracious conformations belonged to a harsh and churlish soil. For him the roll of the chalk and the massing of the granite would have been well exchanged for the fat loams of level Picardy. The soil of Limousin was declared by its inhabitants to be the most ungrateful in the whole kingdom, returning no more than four net for one of seed sown, while there was land in the vale of the Garonne that returned thirtyfold. The two conditions for raising tolerable crops were abundance of labour and abundance of manure. But misery drove the men away, and the stock were sold to pay the taxes. So the land lacked both the arms of the tiller, and the dressing whose generous chemistry would have transmuted the dull earth into fruitfulness and plenty.

The common food of the people was the chestnut, and to the great majority of them even the coarsest rye-bread was a luxury that they had never tasted. Maize and buckwheat were their chief cereals, and these, together with a coarse radish, took up hundreds of acres that might under a happier system have produced fine wheat and nourished fruit-trees. There had once been a certain export of cattle, but that had now come to an end, partly because the general decline of the district had impaired the quality of the beasts, and partly because the Parisian butchers, who were by much the greatest customers, had found the markets of Normandy more convenient. The more the trade went down, the heavier was the burden of the cattle-tax on the stock that remained. The stock-dealer was thus ruined from both sides at once. In the same way, the Limousin horses, whose breed had been famous all over France, had ceased to be an object of commerce, and the progressive increase of taxation had gradually extinguished the trade. Angoumois, which formed part of the Generality of Limoges, had previously boasted of producing the best and finest paper in the world, and it had found a market not only throughout France, but all over Europe. There had been a time when this manufacture supported sixty mills; at the death of Lewis XIV. their number had fallen from sixty to sixteen. An excise duty at the mill, a duty on exportation at the provincial frontier, a duty on the importation of rags over the provincial frontier,—all these vexations had succeeded in reducing the trade with Holland, one of France's best customers, to one-fourth of its previous dimensions. Nor were paper and cattle the only branches of trade that had been blighted by fiscal perversity. The same burden arrested the transport of saffron across the borders of the province, on its way to Hungary and Prussia and the other cold lands where saffron was the favourite condiment. Salt which came

up the Charente from the marshes by the coast, was stripped of all its profit, first by the duty paid on crossing from Limousin to Périgord and Auvergne, and next by the right possessed by certain of the great lords on the banks of the Charente to help themselves at one point and another to portions of the cargo. Iron was subject to a harassing excise in all those parts of the country that were beyond the jurisdiction of the parlement of Bordeaux. The effect of such positive hindrances as these to the transit of goods was further aided, to the destruction of trade, by the absence of roads. There were four roads in the province, but all of them so bad that the traveller knew not whether to curse more lustily the rocks or the swamps that interrupted his journey alternately. There were two rivers, the Vienne and the Vézère, and these might seem to an enthusiast for the famous argument from Design, as if Nature had intended them for the transport of timber from the immense forests that crowned the Limousin hills. Unluckily, their beds were so thickly bestrewn with rock that neither of them was navigable for any considerable part of its long course through the ill-starred province.

The inhabitants were as cheerless as the land on which they lived. They had none of the fiery energy, the eloquence, the mobility of the people of the south. Still less were they endowed with the apt intelligence, the ease, the social amiability, the openness, of their neighbours on the north. "The dwellers in Upper Limousin," said one who knew them, "are coarse and heavy, jealous, distrustful, avaricious." The dwellers in Lower Limousin had a less repulsive address, but they were at least as narrowly self-interested at heart, and they added a capacity for tenacious and vindictive hatred. The Limousins had the superstitious doctrines of other semi-barbarous populations, and they had their vices. They passed abruptly and without remorse from a penitential procession to the tavern and the brothel. Their Christianity was as superficial as that of the peasant of the Eifel in our own day, or of the Finnish converts of whom we are told that they are even now not beyond sacrificing a foal in honour of the Virgin Mary. Saint Martial and Saint Leonard were the patron saints of the country, and were the objects of an adoration in comparison with which the other saints, and even God himself, were thrust into a secondary place.

In short, the people of the Generality of Limoges represented the most unattractive type of peasantry. They were deeply superstitious, violent in their prejudices, obstinate withstanders of all novelty, rude, dull, stupid, perverse, and hardly redeeming a narrow and blinding covetousness by a stubborn and mechanical industry. Their country has been fixed upon as the cradle of Celtic nationality in France, and there are some who believe that here the old Gaulish blood kept itself purer from external admixture than was the case

anywhere else in the land. In our own day when an orator has occasion to pay a compliment to the townsmen of Limoges, he says that the genius of the people of the district has ever been faithful to its source; it has ever held the balance true between the Frank tradition of the north, and the Roman tradition of the south. This makes an excellent period for a rhetorician, but the fact which it conveys made Limousin all the severer a task for an administrator. Almost immediately after his appointment, Turgot had the chance of being removed to Rouen, and after that to Lyons. Either of these promotions would have had the advantages of a considerable increase of income, less laborious duties, and a much more agreeable residence. Turgot, with a high sense of duty that probably seemed quixotic enough to the Controller-General, declined the preferment, on the very ground of the difficulty and importance of the task that he had already undertaken. "*Poor peasants, poor kingdom!*" had been Quesnai's constant exclamation, and it had sunk deep into the spirit of his disciple. He could have little thought of high salary or personal ease, when he discerned an opportunity of improving the hard lot of the peasant and softening the misfortunes of the realm.

Turgot was one of the men to whom good government is a religion. It might be said to be the religion of all the best men of that century, and it was natural that it should be so. The decay of a theology that places our deepest solicitudes in a sphere beyond this, is naturally accompanied by a transfer of these high solicitudes to a nearer scene. But though the desire for good government, and a right sense of its cardinal importance, were common ideas of the time in all the best heads from Voltaire downwards, yet Turgot had a patience which in them was universally wanting. There are two sorts of mistaken people in the world: those who always think that something could and ought to have been done to prevent disaster, and those who always think that nothing could have been done. Turgot was very far removed indeed from the latter class, but, on the other side, he was too sagacious not to know that there are some evils of which we do well to bear a part, as the best means of mitigating the other part. Though he respected the writings of Rousseau and confessed his obligations to them, Turgot abhorred declamation. He had no hope of clearing government of the débris of ages at a stroke. Nor had he abstract standards of human bliss. The keyword to his political theory was not Pity nor Benevolence, but Justice. "We are sure to go wrong," he said once, when pressed to confer some advantage on the poor at the cost of the rich, "the moment we forget that *justice alone can keep the balance true among all rights and all interests.*" Let us proceed to watch this admirable principle actively applied in a field where it was grievously needed.

The introduction of the Corvée, in the sense in which we have to speak of it, dates no further back than the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was an encroachment and an innovation on the part of the bureaucracy, and the odd circumstance has been remarked that the first mention of the road corvées in any royal Act is the famous edict of 1776, which suppressed them. Until the Regency this famous word had described only the services owed by dependents to their lords. It meant so many days labour on the lord's lands, and so many offices of domestic duty. When, in the early part of the century, the advantages of a good system of high roads began to be perceived by the government, the convenient idea came into the heads of the more ingenious among the intendants of imposing, for the construction of the roads, a royal or public corvée analogous to that of private feudalism. Few more mischievous imposts have ever been devised. That undying class who are contented with the shallow presumptions of *à priori* reasoning in economic matters, did, it is true, find specious pleas even for the road corvée. There has never been an abuse in the history of the world, for which something good could not be said. If men earned money by labour and the use of their time, why not require from them time and labour instead of money? By the latter device, are we not assured against malversation of the funds? Those who substitute words for things, and verbal plausibilities for the observation of experience, could prolong these arguments indefinitely. The evils of the road corvée meanwhile remained patent and indisputable. In England at the same period, it is true, the country people were obliged to give six days in the year to the repair of the highways, under the management of the justices of the peace. And in England the business was performed without oppression. But then this only illustrates the unwisdom of arguing about economic arrangements in the abstract. All depends on the conditions by which the arrangement is surrounded, and a practice that in England was merely clumsy, was in France not only clumsy but a gross cruelty. There the burden united almost all the follies and iniquities with which a public service could be loaded. The French peasant had to give, not six, but twelve or fifteen days of labour every year for the construction and repair of the roads of his neighbourhood. If he had a horse and a cart, they too were pressed into the service. He could not choose the time, and he was constantly carried away at the moment when his own poor harvest needed his right arm and his supervision. He received no pay, and his days on the roads were days of hunger to himself and his family. He had the bitterness of knowing that the advantage of the high road was slight, indirect, and sometimes null to himself, while it was direct and great to the town merchants and the country gentlemen, who contributed not an hour nor a sou

to the work. It was exactly the most indigent upon whose backs this slavish load was placed. There were a hundred abuses of spite or partiality, of favouritism or vengeance, in the allotment of the work. The wretch was sent to the part of the road most distant from his own house; or he was forced to work for a longer time than fell fairly to his share; or he saw a neighbour allowed to escape on payment of a sum of money. And at the end of all, the roads were vile. The labourers, having little heart in work for which they had no wage, and weakened by want of food, did badly what they had to do. There was no scientific superintendence, no skilled direction, no system in the construction, no watchfulness as to the maintenance. The rains of winter and the storms of summer did damage that one man could have repaired by careful industry from day to day, and that for lack of this one man went on increasing, until the road fell into holes, the ditches got filled up, and deep pools of water stood permanently in the middle of the highway. The rich disdained to put a hand to the work; the poor, aware that they would be forced to the hated task in the following autumn or spring, naturally attended to their own fields, and left the roads to fall to ruin.

It need not be said that this barbarous slovenliness and disorder meant an incredible waste of resources. It was calculated that a contractor would have provided and maintained fine roads for little more than one third of the cost at which the corvée furnished roads that were execrable. Condorcet was right in comparing the government in this matter to a senseless fellow, who indulges in all the more lavish riot, because by paying for nothing, and getting everything at a higher price on credit, he is never frightened into sense by being confronted with a budget of his prodigalities.

It takes fewer words to describe Turgot's way of dealing with this oriental mixture of extravagançe, injustice, and squalor. The Intendant of Caen had already proposed to the inhabitants of that district the alternative plan of commuting the corvée into a money payment. Turgot adopted and perfected this great transformation. He substituted for personal service on the roads a yearly rate, proportional in amount to the *taille*. He instituted a systematic survey and direction of the roads, existing or required in the Generality, and he committed the execution of the approved plans to contractors on exact and business-like principles. The result of this change was not merely an immense relief to the unfortunate men who had been every year harassed to death and half-ruined by the old method of forced labour, but so remarkable an improvement both in the goodness and the extension of the roads that when Arthur Young went over them five and twenty years afterwards, he pronounced them by far the noblest public ways to be found anywhere in France.

Two very instructive facts may be mentioned in connection with the suppression of the corvées in Limousin. The first is that the central government assented to the changes proposed by the young Intendant, as promptly as if it had been a committee of the Convention, instead of being the nominee of an absolute king. The other is that the people in the country, when Turgot had his plans laid before them in their parish meetings held after mass on Sundays, listened with the keenest distrust and suspicion to what they insisted on regarding as a sinister design for exacting more money from them. Well might Condorcet say that very often it needs little courage to do men harm, for they constantly suffer harm tranquilly enough; but when you take it into your head to do them some service, then they revolt and accuse you of being an innovator. It is fair, however, to remember how many good grounds the French countryman had for distrusting the professions of any agent of the government. For even in the case of this very reform, though Turgot was able to make an addition to the *taille* in commutation of the work on the roads, he was not able to force a contribution either to the *taille* or any other impost from the privileged classes, the very persons who were best able to pay. This is only an illustration of what is now a well-understood fact, the revolution was made necessary less by despotism, than by privilege on the one side, and by intense political distrust on the other side.

Turgot was thoroughly awake to the necessity of penetrating public opinion. The first principle of the school of Economists was "an enlightened people." Nothing was to be done by them; everything was to be done for them, but they were to be trained to understand the grounds of the measures which a central authority conceived, shaped, and carried into practice. Rousseau was the only writer of the revolutionary school who had the modern democratic faith in the virtue and wisdom of the common people. Voltaire habitually spoke of their bigotry and prejudice with the natural bitterness of a cultivated man towards the incurable vices of ignorance. The Economists admitted Voltaire's view as true of an existing state of things, but they looked to education, meaning by that something more than primary instruction, to lead gradually to the development of sound political intelligence. Hence when Turgot came into full power as the minister of Lewis XVI., twelve years after he first went to his obscure duties in the Limousin, he introduced the method of prefacing his edicts by an elaborate statement of the reasons on which their policy rested. And on the same principle he now adopted the only means at his disposal for instructing and directing opinion. The book-press was at that moment doing tremendous work among the classes with education and leisure. But the newspaper press hardly existed, and even if it had existed, however many

official journals Turgot might have had under his inspiration, the people whose minds he wished to affect were unable to read. There was only one way of reaching them, and that was through the priests. Religious life among the Limousins was, as we have seen, not very pure, but it is a significant law of human nature that the less pure a religion is, the more important in it the place of the priest and his office. Turgot pressed the curés into friendly service. It is a remarkable fact, not without a parallel in other parts of modern history, that of the two great conservative corporations of society, the lawyers did all they could to thwart his projects, and the priests did all they could to advance them. In truth the priests are usually more or less sympathetic towards any form of centralized authority; it is only when the people take their own government into their own hands, that the clergy are sure to turn cold or antipathetic towards improvement. There is one other reservation, as Turgot found out in 1775, when he had been transferred to a greater post, and the clergy had joined his bitterest enemies. Then he touched the corporate spirit, and perceived that for authority to lay a hand on ecclesiastical privilege is to metamorphose goodwill into the most rancorous malignity. Meanwhile, the letters in which Turgot explained his views and wishes to the curés, by them to be imparted to their parishes, are masterpieces of the care, the patience, the interest, of a good ruler. Those impetuous and peremptory spirits who see in Frederick or Napoleon the only born rulers of men, might find in these letters, and in the acts to which they refer, the memorials of a far more admirable and beneficent type.

The corvée, vexatious as it was, yet excited less violent heats and inflicted less misery than the abuses of military service. There had been a militia in the country as far back as the time of the Merovingians, but the militia-service with which Turgot had to deal, only dated from 1726. Each parish was bound to supply its quota of men to this service, and the obligation was perhaps the most odious grievance, though not the most really mischievous, of all that then afflicted the realm. The hatred which it raised was due to no failure of the military spirit in the people. From Frederick the Great downwards, everybody was well aware that the disasters to France which had begun with the shameful defeat of Rossbach and ended with the loss of Canada in the west and the Indies in the east (1757—1763), were due to no want of valour in the common soldier. It was the generals, as Napoleon said fifty years afterwards, who were incapable and inept. And it was the ineptitude of the administrative chiefs that made the militia at once ineffective and abhorred. First, they allowed a great number of classified exemptions from the ballot. The noble, the tonsured clerk, the counsellor, the domestic

of noble, tonsured clerk, and counsellor, the eldest son of the lawyer and the farmer, the tax-collector, the schoolmaster, were all exempt. Hence the curse of service was embittered by a sense of injustice. This was one of the many springs in the old régime that fed the swelling and vehement stream of passion for social equality until, at length, when the day came, it made such short and furious work with the structure of envious partition between citizen and citizen.

Again, by a curious perversity of official pedantry, the government insisted on each man who drew the black ticket in the abhorred lottery, performing his service in person. It forbade substitution. Under a modern system of universal military service, this is perfectly intelligible and just. But, as we have seen, military service was only made obligatory on those who were already ground down by hardships. As a consequence of this prohibition, those who were liable to be drawn lived in despair, and as no worse thing than the black ticket could possibly befall them, they had every inducement to run away from their own homes and villages. At the approach of the commissary of the government they fled into the woods and marshes, as if they had been pursued by the plague. This was a signal for a civil war on a small scale. Those who were left behind, and whose chance of being drawn was thus increased, hastened to pursue the fugitives with such weapons as came to their hands. In Limousin the country was constantly the scene of murderous disorders of this kind. What was worse, was not only that the land was infested by vagabonds and bad characters, but that villages became half depopulated, and the soil lost its cultivators. Finally, as is uniformly the case in the history of bad government, an unjust method produced a worthless machine. The *milice* supplied as bad troops as the *corvée* supplied bad roads. The force was recruited from the lowest class of the population, and as soon as its members had learned a little drill, they were discharged and their places taken by raw batches sent at random by blind lot.

Turgot proposed that a character both of permanence and locality should be given to the provincial force; that each parish or union of parishes should be required to raise a number of men; that these men should be left at home and in their own districts, and only called out for exercise for a certain time each year; and that they should be retained as a reserve force by a small payment. In this way, he argued that the government would secure a competent force, and by stimulating local pride and point of honour would make service popular instead of hateful. As the government was too weak and distracted to take up so important a scheme as this, Turgot was obliged to content himself by evading the existing regulations; and it is a curious illustration of the pliancy of Versailles, that he should have been allowed to do so openly and without official remonstrance. He permitted the victim of the ballot

to provide a voluntary substitute, and he permitted the parish to tempt substitutes by payment of a sum of money on enrolment. This may seem a very obvious course to follow; but no one who has tried to realise the strength and obstinacy of routine, will measure the service of a reformer by the originality of his ideas. In affairs of government, the priceless qualities are not merely originality of resource, but a sense for things that are going wrong and a sufficiently vigorous will to set them right.

One general expression serves to describe this most important group of Turgot's undertakings. The reader has probably already observed that what Turgot was doing, was to take that step which is one of the most decisive in the advance of a society to a highly organized industrial stage. He displaced imposts in kind, that rudest and most wasteful form of contribution to the public service, and established in their stead a system of money payments, and of having the work of the government done on commercial principles. Thus, as if it were not enough to tear the peasant away from the soil to serve in the militia, as if it were not enough to drag away the farmer and his cattle to the public highways, the reigning system struck a third blow at agriculture by requiring the people of the localities that happened to be traversed by a regiment on the march, to supply their waggons and horses and oxen for the purposes of military transport. In this case, it is true, a certain compensation in money was allowed, but how inadequate was this insignificant allowance, we may easily understand. The payment was only for one day, but the day's march was often of many miles, and the oxen, which in Limousin mostly did the work of horses, were constantly seen to drop down dead in the roads. There was not only the day's work. Often two, three, or five days were needed to reach the place of appointment, and for these days not even the paltry twenty sous were granted. Nor could any payment of this kind recompense the peasant for the absence of his beasts of burden on the great days when he wanted to plough his fields, to carry the grain to the barns, or to take his produce to market. The obvious remedy here, as in the corvées, was to have the transport effected by a contractor, and to pay him out of a rate levied on the persons liable. This was what Turgot ordered to be done.

Of one other burden of the same species he relieved the cultivator. This unfortuuate being was liable to be called upon to collect, as well as to pay, the taxes. Once nominated, he became responsible for the amount at which his commune was assessed. If he did not produce the sum, he lost his liberty. If he advanced it from his own pocket, he lost at least the interest on the money. In collecting the money from his fellow taxpayers, he not only incurred bitter and incessant animosities, but, what was harder to bear, he lost the priceless time

of which his own land was only too sorely in need. In Limousin the luckless creature had a special disadvantage, for here the collector of the taille had also to collect the twentieths, and the twentieths were a tax for which even the privileged classes were liable. They, as might be supposed, cavilled, disputed, and appealed. The appeal lay to a sort of county board, which was composed of people of their own kind, and before which they too easily made out a plausible case against a clumsy collector, who more often than not knew neither how to read nor to write. Turgot's reform of a system which was always harassing and often ruinous to an innocent individual, consisted in the creation of the task of collection into a distinct and permanent office, exercised over districts sufficiently large to make the poundage, out of which the collectors were paid, an inducement to persons of intelligence and spirit to undertake the office as a profession. However moderate and easy each of these reforms may seem by itself, yet anyone may see how the sum of them added to the prosperity of the land, increased the efficiency of the public service, and tended to lessen the grinding sense of injustice among the common people.

Before proceeding to the most difficult of all Turgot's administrative reforms, we may notice in passing his assiduity in watching for the smaller opportunities of making life easier to the people of his province. His private benevolence was incessant and marked. One case of its exercise carries our minds at a word into the very midst of the storm of fire which purified France of the evil and sordid elements, that now and for his life lay like a mountain of lead on all Turgot's aims and efforts. A certain forage contractor at Limoges was ruined by the famine of 1770. He had a clever son, whom Turgot charitably sent to school, and afterwards to college, in Paris. The youth grew up to be the most eloquent and dazzling of the Girondins, the high-souled Vergniaud. It was not, however, in good works of merely private distinction that Turgot mostly exercised himself. In 1767 the district was infested by wolves. The Intendant imposed a small tax for the purpose of providing rewards for the destruction of these tormentors, and in reading the minutes on the subject we are reminded of the fact, which was not without its significance when the peasants rose in vengeance on their lords two and twenty years later, that the dispersion of the hamlets and the solitude of the farms had made it customary for the people to go about with fire-arms. Besides encouraging the destruction of noxious beasts, Turgot did something for the preservation of beasts not noxious. The first veterinary school in France had been founded at Lyons in 1762. To this he sent pupils from his province, and eventually he founded a similar school at Limoges. He suppressed a tax on cattle, which acted

prejudicially on breeding and grazing; and he introduced clover into the grass-lands. The potato had been unknown in Limousin. It was not common in any part of France; and perhaps this is not astonishing when we remember that the first field crop even in agricultural Scotland is supposed only to have been sown in the fourth decade of that century. People would not touch it, though the experiment of persuading them to cultivate this root had been frequently tried. In Limousin the people were even more obstinate in their prejudice than elsewhere. But Turgot persevered, knowing how useful potatoes would be in a land where scarcity of grain was so common. The ordinary view was that they were hardly fit for pigs, and that in human beings they would certainly cause leprosy. Some of the English Puritans would not eat potatoes because they are not mentioned in the Bible, and that is perhaps no better a reason than the other. When, however, it was seen that the Intendant had the hated vegetable served every day at his own table, the opposition grew more faint; men were at last brought to consent to use potatoes for their cattle, and after a time even for themselves.

It need scarcely be said that among Turgot's efforts for agricultural improvement, was the foundation of an agricultural society. This was the time when the passion for provincial academies of all sorts was at its height. When we consider that Turgot's society was not practical but deliberative, and what themes he proposed for discussion by it, we may believe that it was one of the less useful of his works. What the farmers needed was something much more directly instructive in the methods of their business, than could come of discussions as to the effects of indirect taxation on the revenues of landowners, or the right manner of valuing the income of land in the different kinds of cultivation. "In that most unlucky path of French exertion," says Arthur Young, "this distinguished patriot was able to do nothing. This society does like other societies; they meet, converse, offer premiums, and publish nonsense. This is not of much consequence, for the people instead of reading their memoirs are not able to read at all. They can, however, *see*, and if a farm was established in that good cultivation which they ought to copy, something would be presented from which they *might* learn. I asked particularly if the members of this society had land in their own hands, and was assured that they had; but the conversation presently explained it. They had *métayers* round their country seats, and this was considered as farming their own lands, so that they assume something of a merit from the identical circumstance, which is the curse and ruin of the whole country."

The record of what Turgot did for manufacturing industry and commerce is naturally shorter than that of his efforts for the relief of the land and its cultivators. In the eyes of the modern economist,

with his horror of government encouragement to industry, no matter in what time, place, or circumstance, some of Turgot's actions will seem of doubtful wisdom. At Brives, for example, with all the authority of an Intendant, he urged the citizens to provide buildings for carrying on a certain manufacture which he and others thought would be profitable to the town; and as the money for the buildings did not come in very readily, he levied a rate both on the town and on the inhabitants of the suburbs. His argument was that the new works would prove indirectly beneficial to the whole neighbourhood. He was not long, however, in finding out, as the authors of such a policy generally find out, how difficult it is to reconcile the interests of aided manufacturers with those of the taxpayers. It is characteristic, by the way, of the want of public spirit in the great nobles, that one of Turgot's first difficulties in the affair was to defeat an unjust claim made by no less a personage than the Marshal de Noailles, to a piece of public land on which the proposed works were to be built. A more important industry in the history of Limoges sprang from the discovery, during Turgot's tenure of office, of the china clay which has now made the porcelain of Limoges only second among the French potteries to that of Sèvres itself. The modern pottery has been developed since the close of the Revolution, which checked the establishments and processes that had been directed, encouraged, and supervised by Turgot. To his superior enlightenment in another part of the commercial field we owe one of the most excellent of Turgot's pieces, his Memorial on Loans of Money. This plea for free trade in money has all the sense and liberality of the brightest side of the eighteenth century illumination. It was suggested by the following circumstance. At Angoulême four or five rogues associated together, and drew bills on one another. On these bills they borrowed money, the average rate of interest being from eight to ten per cent. When the bills fell due, instead of paying them, they laid informations against the lenders for taking more than the legal rate of interest. The lenders were ruined, persons who had money were afraid to make advances, bills were protested, commercial credit was broken, and the trade of the district was paralysed. Turgot prevailed upon the Council of State to withdraw the cases from the local jurisdiction; the proceedings against the lenders were annulled, and the institution of similar proceedings forbidden. This was a characteristic course. The royal government was generally willing in the latter half of the eighteenth century to redress a given case of abuse, but it never felt itself strong enough, or had leisure enough, to deal with the general source from which the particular grievance sprang. Turgot's Memorial is as cogent an exposure of the mischief of Usury Laws to the public prosperity, as the more renowned pages either of Bentham or J. B. Say

on the same subject, and it has the merit of containing an explanation at once singularly patient and singularly intelligent, of the origin of the popular feeling about usury and its adoption by the legislator.

After he had been eight years at his post, Turgot was called upon to deal with the harassing problems of a scarcity of food. In 1770 even the maize and black grain and the chestnuts on which the people supported life failed almost completely, and the failure extended over two years. The scarcity very speedily threatened to become a famine, and all its conditions were exasperated by the unwisdom of the authorities, and the selfish rapacity of the landlords. It needed all the firmness and all the circumspection of which Turgot was capable, to overcome the difficulties which the strong forces of ignorance, prejudice, and greediness raised up against him.

His first battle was on an issue which is painfully familiar to our own Indian administrators at the present time. In 1764, an edict had been promulgated decreeing free trade in grain, not with foreign countries, but among the different provinces of the kingdom. This edict had not made much way in the minds either of the local officials or of the people at large, and the presence of famine made the free and unregulated export of food seem no better than a cruel and outrageous paradox. The parlement of Bordeaux at once suspended the edict of 1764. They ordered that all dealers in grain, farmers of land, owners of land, of whatever rank, quality, or condition, should forthwith convey to the markets of their district "*a sufficient quantity*" of grain to provision the said markets. The same persons were forbidden to sell either by wholesale or retail any portion of the said grain at their own granaries. Turgot at once procured from the Council at Versailles the proper instrument for checking this impolitic interference with the free circulation of grain, and he contrived this instrument in such conciliatory terms as to avoid any breach with the parlement, whose motives, for that matter, were respectable enough. In spite, however, of the action of the government, popular feeling ran high against free markets. Tumultuous gatherings of famishing men and women menaced the unfortunate grain-dealers. Waggoners engaged in carrying grain away from a place where it was cheaper, to another place where it was dearer, were violently arrested in their business, and terrified from proceeding. Hunger prevented people from discerning the unanswerable force of the argument that if the grain commanded a higher price somewhere else, that was a sure sign of the need there being more dire. The local officials were as hostile as their humbler neighbours. At the town of Turenne, they forbade grain to be taken away, and forced the owners of it to sell it on the spot at the market rate. At the town of Angoulême the lieutenant of police took upon

himself to order that all the grain destined for Limousin should be unloaded and stored at Angoulême. Turgot brought a heavy hand to bear on those breakers of administrative discipline, and readily procured such sanction as his authority needed from the Council.

One of the most interesting of the measures to which Turgot resorted in meeting the destitution of the country was the establishment of the Charitable Workshops. Some of the advocates of the famous National Workshops of 1848 have appealed to this example of the austere patriot for a sanction to their own economic policy. It is not clear that the logic of the Socialist is here more remorseless than usual: if the State may set up workshops to aid people who are short of food because the harvest has failed, why should it not do the same when people are short of food because trade is bad, work scarce, and wages intolerably low? Of course Turgot's answer would have been that remorseless logic is the most improper instrument in the world for a business of rough expedients, such as government is. There is a vital difference in practice between opening a public workshop in the exceptional emergency of a famine, and keeping public workshops open as a normal interference with the free course of industrial activity. For the moment the principle may appear to be the same, but in reality the application of the principle means in the latter case the total disorganization of industry; in the former it means no more than a temporary breach of the existing principles of organization, with a view to its speedier revival. To invoke Turgot as a dabbler in Socialism because he opened *ateliers de charité*, is as unreasonable as it would be to make an English minister who should suspend the Bank Charter Act in a crisis, into the champion of an inconvertible paper currency. Turgot always regarded the sums paid in his works, not as wages, but as alms. All that he urged was that "the best and most useful kind of alms consists in providing means for earning them." To prevent the workers from earning aid with as little trouble to themselves as possible, he recommended payment by the piece and not by the day. To check workers from flocking in from their regular employments, he insisted on the wages being kept below the ordinary rate, and he urged the propriety of driving as sharp bargains as possible in fixing the price of the piece of work. To prevent the dissipation of earnings at the tavern, he paid not in money, but in leathern tokens, that were only current in exchange for provisions. All these regulations mark a wide gulf between the economist of 1770 and the Socialist of 1848. Nobody was sterner than Turgot against beggars, the inevitable scourge of every country where the evils of vicious economic arrangements are aggravated by the mischievous views of the Catholic clergy, first, as to the duties of promiscuous almsgiving, and second, as to the

virtue of improvident marriages. In 1614 the States General had been for hanging all mendicants, and Colbert had sent them to the galleys. Turgot was less rigorous than that, but he would not suffer his efforts for the economic restoration of his province to be thwarted by the influx of these devouring parasites, and he sent every beggar on whom hands could be laid to prison.

The story of the famine in Limousin brings to light some instructive facts as to the temper of the lords and rich proprietors on the eve of the changes that were to destroy them. Turgot had been specially anxious that as much as possible of what was necessary for the relief of distress should be done by private persons. He knew the straits of the government. He knew how hard it would be to extract from it the means of repairing a deficit in his own finances. Accordingly he invited the landowners, not merely to contribute sums of money in return for the public works carried on in their neighbourhood, but also by way of providing employment to their indigent neighbours, to undertake such works as they should find convenient on their own estates. The response was disappointing. "The districts," he wrote in 1772, "where I have works on foot, do not give me reason to hope for much help on the side of the generosity of the nobles and the rich landowners. The Prince de Soubise is so far the only person who has given anything for the works that have been executed in his duchy." Nor was abstinence from generosity the worst part of this failure in public spirit. The same nobles and landowners who refused to give, did not refuse to take away. Most of them proceeded at once to dismiss their *métayers*, the people who farmed their lands in consideration of a fixed proportion of the produce. Turgot, in an ordinance of admirable gravity, remonstrated against this harsh and impolitic proceeding. He pointed out that the unfortunate wretches thus stripped of every resource, would have to leave the district, abandoning their wives and children to the charity of villages that were already overburdened with the charge of their own people. To cast this additional load on the villages was all the more unjust, because the owners of land had been exempted from one-half of the taxes levied on the owners of other property, exactly because the former were expected to provide for their own peasants. It was a claim less of humanity than of bare justice, that the landowners should do something for men with whom their relations had been so close as to be almost domestic, and to whose hard toil their masters owed all that they possessed. As a mere matter of self-interest, moreover, apart alike from both justice and humanity, the death or flight of the labourers would leave the proprietors helpless when the next good season came, and for want of hands the land would be doomed to barrenness for years to come, to the grievous detriment no less of

the landowners than of the whole people of the realm. Accordingly, Turgot ordered all those who had dismissed their *métayers* to take them back again, and he enacted generally that all proprietors, of whatever quality or condition, and whether privileged or not, should be bound to keep and support until the next harvest all the labourers who had been on their land in the previous October, as well women and children as men.

Turgot's policy in this matter is more instructive as to the social state of France, than it may at first sight appear. At first sight we are astonished to find the austere economist travelling so far from the orthodox path of free contract as to order a landowner to furnish at his own cost subsistence for his impoverished tenants. But the truth is that the *métayer* was not a free tenant in the sense which we attach to the word. "*In Limousin*," says Arthur Young, "*the métayers are considered as little better than menial servants.*" And it is not going beyond the evidence to say that they were even something lower than menial servants; they were really a kind of serf-caste. They lived in the lowest misery. More than half of them were computed to be deeply in debt to the proprietors. In many cases they were even reduced every year to borrow from their landlord before the harvest came round such coarse bread of mixed rye and barley as he might choose to lend them. What Turgot therefore had in his mind was no relation of free contract, though it was that legally, but a relation which partly resembled that of a feudal lord to his retainers, and partly—as Sir Henry Maine has hinted—that of a planter to his negroes. It is less surprising, then, that he should have enforced some of the responsibilities of the lord and the planter.

The nobles had resort to a still more indefensible measure than the expulsion of their *métayers*. Most of the lands in the Generality of Limoges were charged with dues in kind payable to the lords. As the cultivators had for the most part no grain even for their own bread, they naturally had no grain for the lord's dues. The lords then insisted on payment in cash, and they insisted on estimating this payment at the famine price of the grain. Most of them were really as needy as they were idle and proud, and nothing is so inordinately grasping as the indigence of class-pride. The effect of their proceedings now was to increase their revenue fourfold and fivefold, out of public calamity and universal misery. And unfortunately the liability of the cultivators in a given manor was *solidaire;* they were jointly and severally responsible, and the effect of this was that even those who were in circumstances to pay the quadrupled dues, were ruined and destroyed without mercy in consequence of having also to pay the quadrupled dues of their beggared neighbours. Turgot arrested this odious process by means of an old and forgotten

decree, which he prevailed upon the parlement of Bordeaux to revive in good and due form, to the effect that the arrears of dues in kind for 1769 should be paid at the market price of grain when the dues were payable: that is, before the scarcity had declared itself.

When we consider the grinding and extortionate spirit thus shown in face of a common calamity, we may cease to wonder at the ferocity with which, when the hour struck, the people tore away privilege, distinction, and property itself from classes that had used all three only to ruin the land and crush its inhabitants into the dust. And the moment that the lord had thus transformed himself into a mere creditor, and a creditor for goods delivered centuries ago, and long since consumed and forgotten, then it was certain that, if political circumstances favoured the growing economic sentiment, there would be heard again the old cry of the Roman plebs for an agrarian law and *novæ tabulæ*. Nay, something was heard that is amazingly like the cry of the modern Irish peasant. In 1774 Turgot was promoted to be a minister at Versailles. In 1776 he had become hateful to the clergy, to the parlement of Paris, to the nobles, and to the Queen. He was displaced by a court intrigue, in which Marie Antoinette was the most active instrument. Just before his fall two noteworthy incidents happened. A certain Marquis de Vibraye threw into prison a peasant who refused to pay the *droit de cens*. Immediately between thirty and forty peasants came to the rescue, armed themselves, besieged the chateau, took it and sacked it, and drove the Marquis de Vibraye away in terror. Still more significant is the second incident, which happened shortly after. A relative of the Duke of Mortemart, shooting on his property, was attacked by peasants who insisted that he should cease his sport. They treated him with much brutality, and even threatened to fire at him and his attendants, "*claiming to be free masters of their lands.*" Here was the main root of the great French Revolution. A fair consideration of the details of such an undertaking as Turgot's administration of Limousin helps us to understand two things: first, that all the ideas necessary for the pacific transformation of French society were there in the midst of it; second, that the system of privilege had fostered such a spirit in one class, and the reaction against the inconsiderate manifestation of that spirit was so violent in the other class, that good political ideas were vain and inapplicable.

EDITOR.

## THE CHURCH CRISIS: A PARALLEL AND CONTRAST.

In the year 1877 the Rev. Arthur Tooth, a clergyman of the Established Church of England, refused to obey the order of the Court of Arches with reference to religious services in his church at Hatcham, and was imprisoned in Horsemonger Lane Gaol.

In and before the year 1843, Dr. Candlish, Dr. Guthrie, and many other less known ministers and members of the Established Church of Scotland, repeatedly and publicly refused to obey the order of the Supreme Law Court in Scotland with reference to Church regulations in their own and other presbyteries; and, besides so becoming liable to imprisonment, they took what they confessed and proclaimed to be the first step to disestablishment of their Church.

Wherein are the two cases alike? And in what do they differ?

1. They were both cases of disobedience to the law, and we must throw aside in dealing with this the specialty that the Hatcham case and others arose upon a question of public worship and church services—postures, ceremonies, and symbols. Questions of this sort arose between Church and State in Scotland in the seventeenth century; but no such case occurred in the conflict before 1843. What happened then resulted almost exclusively from the right and alleged duty of the Church to choose and ordain its own ministers. No doubt this involved a religious service, but the service was perfectly valid with "maimed rites," and elsewhere than in church. To Churchmen in Scotland the church in each parish was "the congregation of faithful men," and if the orders of the civil court could have been confined to the ecclesiastical building they would willingly have abandoned that to its regulation. They would no doubt have considered the action of the court, even with regard to the church edifice, an outrage, but they would have held themselves as good citizens bound to submit to it. Great prominence is given to this in the Claim of Rights of the General Assembly laid before Parliament in 1842, but it was brought out, perhaps, even more effectively in a celebrated speech of Dr. Guthrie with reference to the Strathbogie interdict. In that case seven ministers who had avowed their intention to disregard the Act of Assembly of 1834, and to "intrude" a minister upon a protesting congregation, were suspended by the Assembly from their functions—not, of course, from their stipends. Such an extreme step made it necessary that provision should be made in the meantime for the exercise of spiritual functions in the

parishes by others, and ministers were authorised by the Church to preach and "dispense ordinances" there. In the usual case such a duty would have fallen to the other members of that remote presbytery, and to such assistants as they might procure. But it was known that the service might involve a danger to which it would be ungenerous to expose young and unknown men, and the Commission of Assembly deputed some of the foremost men in the Church to take the post of honour. When Mr. Guthrie went down to Strathbogie in February, 1840, he was met by an "extended interdict," forbidding the ministers sent down by the Commission from preaching, not merely, as had already been intimated to them, in the churches or churchyards, but in any building whatever, or even in the open air, within these parishes. "To that interdict," said Guthrie, "as regards civil matters, I gave implicit obedience;" but he did so by hurrying from one parish to another and preaching everywhere in the face of it.

"The interdict forbade me, under penalty of the Calton Hill Jail, to preach the gospel in the parish churches of Strathbogie. I said, the parish churches are stone and lime, and belong to the State; I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach the gospel in the school-houses. I said, the school-houses are stone and lime, and belong to the State; I will not intrude there. It forbade me to preach in the churchyard; and I said, the dust of the dead is the State's, and I will not intrude there.[1] But when these lords of Session forbade me to preach my Master's blessed gospel and offer salvation to sinners anywhere in that district under the arch of heaven, I put the interdict under my feet, and I preached the gospel."[2]

Preaching the gospel in Strathbogie, however, was no part of Dr. Guthrie's duty, unless he had been specially appointed to it; but interdicts were launched also in abundance against the ordinary ordination and induction of ministers—some called from other Presbyterian communions, and some elected by the people, but not chosen by the patron—whose right as such had been sustained by the Church courts, but denied by the law. These orders were, as a rule, simply disobeyed. But an interdict is an order *not* to do a thing. Was the Scotch Church, like Mr. Tooth, held bound to do anything positively? The courts beyond the Tweed do not use the English *mandamus*, but in the most important of these cases they not only found the Church courts bound to admit to the holy ministry a patron's nominee, but they "decerned and ordained" them to do it. And these orders, too, were disobeyed. In both cases it was disobedience of the civil law, as uttered by its recognised interpreters. Sometimes it was statute law. In Mr Tooth's case the ecclesiastical details even of worship are

(1) Another distinction here. There never has been any Guibord case or Burial's Bill question in Scotland.

(2) "Autobiography and Memoir of Thomas Guthrie, D.D.," vol. ii. p. 18.

regulated by the Act of Uniformity and the amending Acts, explained now by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the Scotch Patronage cases, as the Lord Justice-Clerk put it, the matters of rule and discipline regulated by Parliament were "strictly ecclesiastical, and to be exercised by the Presbytery in their ecclesiastical capacity. Yet the obligation to perform the duty is statutory. Statute imposes the duty on the Church courts of the Establishment. Their refusal to perform the ecclesiastical duty is a violation of a statute—therefore a civil wrong to the parties injured—therefore cognisable by courts of law—therefore a wrong for which the ecclesiastical persons are answerable to law." In others the question, equally ecclesiastical, was held to be regulated by no particular statute, but by ancient and consuetudinary laws, or by the statutes establishing the Church. How far the Church consented to such statutes or law, and how far without its consent statute or civil law could be enforced in the Church region, came soon to be the great question which swallowed up every other. But in the meantime the orders of court proceeded upon the law declared to exist.

2. And in both cases the parties, by disobeying the orders of court, made themselves liable to the same punishment. It is true that in Scotland no one got actually into gaol. But that was owing to the leniency or prudence of the court. The leading case of enforcement is known as that of Lethendy. Here a presbytery had ordained a man according to the rule recently laid down by the Church, because he was the choice of the people, but contrary to the law as to patrons, still more recently affirmed by the Supreme Court. On the 14th of June, 1839, the eight members of presbytery were ordered to appear at the bar of the court. They did so, and attempted to explain that they had strictly limited themselves to matters spiritual or ecclesiastical. The court deliberated. Five of the judges, it is understood, voted for a sentence of imprisonment; six for the more lenient measure of a rebuke[1]—the rebuke, of course, being recorded as a real though a merciful punishment. It was accordingly delivered to the eight culprits by the Lord President with great dignity and energy, but with no effect whatever upon the Church or the country; and as the ministers accused had borne themselves previously with much modesty and simplicity, and were confessedly supported by the superior Church courts, it was felt that the court could not wisely take a stronger step. Again, in the case of Strathbogie, formerly mentioned, Dr. Candlish, then a brilliant young preacher, had been among the delegates appointed

(1) Some of the six could scarcely do otherwise; they probably held that the clergymen before them were in the right and the court in the wrong. Lords Cockburn, Jeffrey, Moncrieff, Fullerton, and Glenlee were on that side. See Cockburn's racy "Journal" (Edinburgh, 1874) on this subject, *passim*.

by the Church to preach, notwithstanding the interdict. Shortly after, the chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh having become vacant, he was nominated to it by the Government of Lord Melbourne. Lord Aberdeen, then in opposition, saw his opportunity, and rising in the House of Lords before the commission was issued, he pointed out that this honour was bestowed on one who was actually a violator of the law. Lord Normanby, on the part of the Government, yielded, and the appointment was quashed. No further penalty followed, Lord Aberdeen explaining that it was his own influence with the incumbents suspended by the Church, but protected by the court, that had prevented their applying for the enforcement of actual imprisonment. But the legal position was exactly expressed by Lord Aberdeen, when he said, in words which had an unfortunate effect in Edinburgh when the report came down there, but which were strictly true, "This reverend gentleman, this Professor of Biblical Criticism, if dealt with by the court in the same way as any other person, would be immediately sent to prison, and in the Calton Jail he would have leisure to compose his first syllabus of lectures!" But in a third case actual punishment was inflicted, and that in very peculiar circumstances. It was on the 26th May, 1843. The Disruption had already occurred. Nearly five hundred ministers had thrown up their benefices or positions, and were preparing with their families to "leave the manse." But before this happened several of them had been ordered to attend the court as interdict-breakers, and on this day they did so. Some of them were "*quoad sacra* ministers," charged with having sat in the previous General Assembly of 1842, against the orders of court, but in obedience to the ruling of that assembly itself; for the Scottish Assembly or Convocation (like the House of Commons) claimed the right of regulating its own membership. Against these ministers no complaint was insisted on. They had given up all the status and the hopes of establishment, and it was thought cruel to add even a small infliction to the loss of their worldly all. But another party did not so escape. These were some ministers and elders who had carried out the theory of popular election and the new Church orders in the parish of Marnoch, by settling a minister whom the people had called. They were now ordered to the bar, the nominee of the patron refusing, even at the desire of the court, to withdraw the complaint. Their explanation, Lord Cockburn says,[1] was that their ordination vows bound them in such matters to prefer obedience to the Church to obedience to the civil power, "but that in order to avoid the claims of inconsistent duties hereafter, they had withdrawn from the Establishment." Most of them were poor men; and the ministers were now utterly destitute; but the act they had

(1) "Journal," vol. ii. p. 29.

done was one conspicuously against the now victorious law. Lord Jeffrey was for a mere rebuke, and Lord Fullerton, a still greater lawyer than the brilliant Edinburgh Reviewer, agreed with him. But this was what had been sufficient on the first occasion of disobedience, and these judges had always favoured the Church view. The opinion of the chief of the court prevailed, and each of the culprits was fined £5, and ordered, with a "not unkind rebuke," to pay the expenses of the other side as well as their own.

3. But the great point of resemblance between the two cases lies in the fact that the parties disobeying the law founded alike upon the alleged independence of the Church on the State in spiritual matters, and claimed a right to be free from the orders of the secular courts not in extreme, but in all, "spiritual" cases. The question in Mr. Tooth's case became admittedly not one of ritual, or æsthetics, or symbols, or mere rites and ceremonies. The resolutions of the Church Union, published the day after Lord Penzance had pronounced the incumbent of St. James to be contumacious, founded upon the "constitutional independence of the Church of England in things spiritual;" the increasing encroachments upon that independence since 1849 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council being narrated rather as the occasion of falling back upon the constitutional ground, which is done in the following terms:—

"1. That the English Church Union, while it distinctly and expressly acknowledges the authority of all courts legally constituted in regard to all matters temporal, denies that the secular power has authority in matters purely spiritual.

"2. That any court which is bound to frame its decisions in accordance with the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or any other secular court, does not possess any spiritual authority with respect to such decisions. That suspension *a sacris* being a purely spiritual act, the English Church Union is prepared to support any priest not guilty of a moral or canonical offence who refuses to recognise a suspension issued by such a court."

The first of these propositions is very much that maintained by the Church of Scotland before 1843, though it defined the "temporal" things abandoned to the civil court more explicitly, and probably enlarged their sphere. "As to all temporalities conferred by the State upon the Church, and as to all civil consequences attached by law to the decisions of Church courts in matters spiritual," says the Claim of Right of 1842, the great historical document on this subject,[1] "this Church hath ever admitted and doth admit the determinations of the secular tribunals to be exclusive and ultimate, as she hath ever given and inculcated implicit obedience

(1) It will be found published not only in the "Standards of the Free Church," but in the "Memoir of Dr. Chalmers," by Dr. Hanna (vol. iv.), and in the "Ten Years' Conflict," by Dr. Buchanan (vol. ii.).

thereto." But in matters purely spiritual, or even properly ecclesiastical, as distinguished from the above, the Scotch Church "claimed as of right" to be free from the "secular power." As to the second resolution of the Church Union, Scotland had of course nothing to do with the question whether the Privy Council or the Court of Arches is a secular court. In Scotland there were no ambiguities as to the nature of the courts. This matter therefore came up there far more simply. The question whether a confessedly purely ecclesiastical court, such as the General Assembly, was "bound to frame its decisions in accordance" with the judgments of a confessedly civil court—the Court of Session or the House of Lords—was the real cause of the disruption of 1843. But it was only in a certain class of cases that this claim either arose on the one hand, or was rejected on the other, in Scotland. The law courts in Scotland never perform spiritual acts themselves, and do not ordinarily interfere with the administration of Church matters. What the classes of cases were in which at that time they did exceptionally interfere is not very easy to state. They sometimes claimed a right to do so in all cases in which the civil rights of individuals were injured by the ecclesiastical procedure, and this was the line to which the party favourable to them within the Church committed themselves. But this would have warranted interference with every Church act whatever of which any one complained. They sometimes restricted it to cases where the law, whether statutory or consuetudinary, had regulated or restricted Church action. But to the last it was doubtful how far the Scotch civil courts would claim to interfere. What was not left doubtful—what they did unquestionably claim and enforce—was the general principle, that whenever they chose to take the unusual course of interfering, the ecclesiastical courts should be bound, even contrary to their own judgment as to what was right, to "frame their decisions in accordance" with the civil order or reversal, and to carry that out *in spiritualibus*. And this the Church point-blank refused to do. It was therefore in Scotland a constitutional rather than an administrative question, turning upon the right of the State to be obeyed by the Church when it chooses to interfere with Church matters, rather than on the amount of actual interference. But this is precisely the way in which it has been dealt with by Mr. Tooth, and in which it has been formulated by the Church Union.

So far the position of Mr. Tooth and his sympathizers is the same with that of the representatives of the Church of Scotland before 1843. Now for the differences.

The differences in detail, local, legal, historical, and ecclesiastical, are innumerable. It may be wise, therefore, to confine ourselves to

three, which, though not the most obvious or picturesque, are constitutionally and practically the most important.

1. The argument for the legal independence of the Church of England (in the sense claimed by the Church Union) is very much harder to maintain than was that for the independence in the same sense of the Church of Scotland. I do not say it is absolutely impossible or hopeless. But the difficulty, in comparison with the other, is enormous. Take only the question of the supremacy of the Crown over the Church. In Scotland, when Presbytery was abolished by Charles II., an act was passed asserting the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes. But in 1690, the first of the acts by which the Kirk was restored especially repealed it as inconsistent with the new arrangements. I need not recall the English statutes, Church articles, and resolutions of Convocation on the other side. But the distinction between the two countries plainly gave an immense advantage to those who, in Scotland, complained of encroachments by the civil courts. In a country where the sovereign has solemnly repudiated a claim to supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, it was not easy to see how any of his courts could possess it. In a country where such a claim is solemnly made by the sovereign and admitted by the Church, the difficulty rather is to see how any court in which the sovereign is supposed to preside, may not become the court in which he chooses to exercise his jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastical. The selection or creation of such a court may be an act of folly, or even of oppression. But it is hard to see how it can be outside the civil power, or fundamentally unconstitutional. In Scotland, again, such a court as the Court of Arches, with its mixture of powers, would be held to be at best a monster. There the courts of the Crown are purely civil and secular, though in 1843 it was decided that they have a certain authority over the courts of the Church, which, again, have no coercive power whatever. But they never enforced their judgments by supplanting the Church courts, or putting themselves into their place. They ordered the Church courts to obey, and enforced it partly by issuing interdicts guarded by fine and imprisonment, and by granting civil actions of damages; and partly by refusing to recognise them, so long as they disobeyed, as courts ecclesiastical at all. Of course this was, in a very important sense, an assertion and exercise of supremacy. But the word was avoided by the majority of the bench, except in the final necessities of argument. And a powerful minority of judges maintained to the last that, by the statutory constitution of the Kirk, the spiritual courts, elected by the Church, were equally judges in such matters with the civil courts, appointed by the Crown; that when they differed, neither was bound to obey the other, but while the judgments of the one controlled the

*spiritualia*, those of the other regulated all temporalities, until the dead-lock should be terminated by arrangement between Church and State. The High Church party in England is not likely to maintain a position like this—at least not in the courts of law. The view of Dr. Pusey and his friends seems rather to be that, while the Church did, rightly or wrongly, give in early days a certain supreme or supereminent authority to the king and his courts, it did so in different circumstances from the present. It received, or thought it received, guarantees that the supreme power, though perhaps a secular power in itself, should always be connected loyally with the Church. These guarantees, under the modern rule of Parliament, have come to nothing, and the alleged duty of the Church now is to strive for the independence which it has unfortunately lost. The position of the Kirk in Scotland was that its original independence, as guaranteed by ancient statutes, had never been lost. The position may have been right or wrong, but it made an enormous difference in the demerit of individual resistance and disobedience to the new (or newly declared) law.

2. A second equally important distinction is this. Mr. Tooth and the Scotch divines equally disobeyed the law. But in Scotland the refusal to obey was with the approval, and indeed under the express authority, of the Church. When the Perthshire Presbytery were threatened with imprisonment at the bar of the Edinburgh Court, their answer was, "We acted in obedience to the superior Church judicatories, to which, in matters spiritual, we are subordinate, and to which, at ordination, we vowed obedience." When Dr. Candlish and Dr. Guthrie broke the Strathbogie interdict, they did it under the direct orders of the Commission of the General Assembly. And when the Claim of Right of 1842 was laid before Parliament and the Crown, it was issued on behalf of the Church of Scotland by the General Assembly of that Church, gathering up the principles which, during a ten years' struggle, it had affirmed and inculcated upon its whole presbyteries and ministers, in response to those which were laid down for it by a majority of the court. The relation of the General Assembly of the Scotch Kirk to its ministers is not at all *more* authoritative, to say the least, than that of the bishop (especially on a High Church view of Episcopalianism) to the clergyman in his diocese. But Mr. Tooth is in this matter against his bishop, and therefore against his Church in so far as a bishop may represent it to a clergyman. And it is not supposed that the Bishop of Rochester occupies in this matter any exceptional position, or that the bishops in general are much more favourable than he to the claim made to be independent of the courts which at present adjudicate for the Church of England. Now this point of difference between Scotland and England is by no means to be confounded with the last. The original

constitution of the Church is one thing: its present and active authority another. Some High Churchmen maintain, with great courage and ability, that the Church of England never, at the Reformation or at any other time, gave up its independence into the hand of the State, or consented to the supremacy of statute or of secular tribunals. It is hard enough to maintain that as a matter of history and of antiquarianism. But it would be another and a more hopeless position to maintain at present that the Church, whether or not in 1530 it formally abandoned such rights, now positively claims them on behalf of its clergy, and interposes its authority between its ministers and the courts of law. The history of the Scottish Church has been such as to illustrate both positions. In the last century, while never formally abandoning its ancient Claim of Right, it practically lent itself to the usurpations of civil statute, and forced its own members to submit also. Many refused, and seceded not only from the State, but from the majority of the Church, protesting that they were really the party who adhered to its principles. In the year 1833 the case had wholly changed. The initiative in this case was taken by the General Assembly. The collision with the law followed directly upon regulations which it passed for carrying out what it held to be a "fundamental law" of the Church; and the actings of particular ministers and judicatories were not only founded upon this precedent, but were sustained and approved by general proclamations and particular orders issued from time to time by the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court. On the whole matter of Church authority the English case and the Scotch cases present not only a difference, but a contrast.

3. The third great point of difference is perhaps the most interesting, for it deals with the future policy as well as the present facts. Disobedience to the law in certain cases was preached as a right and duty of conscience. But it was never asserted as a permanent right on the part of an Established Church of Scotland. It was presented as an unfortunate temporary or intermediate necessity, justified by the fact that matters were in a revolutionary state and approaching a crisis. Some of Mr. Tooth's sympathizers and supporters seem rather to regard refusal to obey as the proper and regular means of remedying wrongs of administration which trench on Church rights. They contemplate a relation of the State to the Church which may almost be defined as despotism tempered by martyrdoms. The Kirk has also had its martyrdoms, but it has never allowed itself to regard despotism, even thus tempered, as a constitution under which it was admissible for it to exist. On the other hand, the Church's claim to independence of the State implied a capacity to exist in separation from the State, and that capacity of course carried with it a duty to separate from the State if a necessity in conscience should

arise. Disestablishment thus became for a Church the test in the last resort of spiritual independence. It was bound to be independent, if it could, even as an Established Church, and in connection with the State: but if that was impossible, it was bound to separate. And plainly, such a theory and constitution involved a duty on the part of the Church to its members. It could not suffer them to be brought one after another into collision with the law while it took no responsibility—least of all when the collision and suffering were produced by their individually asserting the rights of the Church as a whole. Matters must be brought to a point, and the whole question of independence in establishment finally decided. Accordingly, as early as 1838, the General Assembly, in response to declarations from the Bench that Parliament was the temporal Head of the Church, issued a "Declaration of Independence," in which it pledged itself to its members to maintain its endangered rights. Now this was before any individual case of conflict or collision had occurred—before any interdict and any disobedience. Consequently every particular case as it came up afterwards was viewed as a branch of an already declared conflict between the Church and State (if the State should adopt the view laid down in its courts), and as an incident in a rapidly converging crisis. And in consequence of this no one thought of seceding from the Church, as in the previous century, or of the conflict terminating otherwise than by a settlement of the whole constitutional question. And that constitutional question was fast ripened by both parties. The Bench devoted themselves to it in a series of broadening judgments, prepared with the greatest deliberation and delivered with the greatest solemnity. The Church and its assemblies pleaded before them till the House of Lords, the Supreme Court of Appeal, rejected and violently resented their persistence. But when this was done, were they not bound to leave the Establishment? By no means, on Scotch principles. The question was a question between the Church and the State, not simply between the Church and the courts. The latter indeed did a great deal to precipitate the inevitable conclusion. President Hope, the head of the Supreme Court, had already said from the bench:—

"I wish to speak with all respect of the General Assembly, of which body I was for so long a period a member; but if any other body of men, or if any individuals had done what they have done, I should feel constrained to designate their conduct as profligate. The Presbytery of Auchterarder came to this court and pleaded here. Judgment went against them. The General Assembly sanctioned and directed an appeal to the House of Lords. . . . But the decision of the House of Lords affirmed the decision of this court, and then these same Church courts absolutely refuse to give obedience to the judgment. To conduct like this I have already given its appropriate designation. In point of candour and fairness it is no better than the old shuffle, 'Odds I win, evens you lose.'"

The lash of these words fell upon some men who were making preparations to lose their benefices rather than comply with them, and upon others who were preparing to submit. But from the first the former class had contemplated that this was a question which could not be settled merely by the House of Lords or the Law Courts. These organs of the State had indeed pronounced decisions which both they and the Church recognised as founded upon a denial of its independence. But the State itself — the Legislature and the Crown — might choose to reverse these decisions. It might affirm that independence of the Church which its courts had denied—might do so, either by a declaratory statute as to the past, or by an enacting statute as to the future. In any case the Scotch Church held that in such a matter it could only transact with the supreme power of the State: accordingly the claim, declaration, and protest of the Church of Scotland, moved by Dr. Chalmers, was adopted by the Assembly. After an historical and argumentative preamble, it makes the following "Claim of Right:"—

"Therefore the General Assembly, while, as above set forth, they fully recognise the absolute jurisdiction of the civil courts in relation to all matters whatsoever of a civil nature, and especially in relation to all the temporalities conferred by the State upon the Church, and the civil consequences attached by law to the decisions, in matters spiritual, of the Church courts, do, in name and on behalf of this Church and of the nation and people of Scotland, and under the sanction of the several statutes and the Treaty of Union hereinbefore recited, claim, as of right, that she shall freely possess and enjoy her liberties, government, discipline, rights, and privileges according to law, especially for the defence of the spiritual liberties of her people; and that she shall be protected therein from the foresaid unconstitutional and illegal encroachments of the said Court of Session, and her people secured in their Christian and constitutional rights and liberties.

"And they declare that they cannot, in accordance with the Word of God, the authorized and ratified standards of this Church, and the dictates of their consciences, intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations, or carry on the government of Christ's Church subject to the coercion attempted by the Court of Session as before set forth; and that, at the risk and hazard of suffering the loss of the secular benefits conferred by the State and the public advantages of an Establishment, they must, as by God's grace they will, refuse so to do; for, highly as they estimate these, they cannot put them in competition with the inalienable liberties of a church of Christ."

This document was at once laid before the Crown, through her Majesty's ministers, and brought under the consideration of both Houses of Parliament. A shower of interdicts was in the meantime issued, but the duty of refusal to obey them, while the question of remaining in establishment was being decided, was of course plainer than before. But all hope of relief rapidly passed away. Sir Robert Peel had been placed in power by a Conservative reaction, and when pressed for some measure of immediate relief, he intimated that this

was precisely what must not be granted, and that all measures of relief must be postponed until the Church had first submitted, and so settled the constitutional question. The House of Lords and House of Commons took the same view. A letter from the Secretary of State confirmed it on the part of the Crown. The Assembly of 1843 drew on. Dr. Chalmers commenced his great sustentation-fund enterprise. All over Scotland, Church organization succeeded to polemics. The crisis came on the 18th May. The Royal Commissioner on that day had taken his seat on the throne. The Moderator of the last assembly turned to the Queen's representative, and protesting that no free assembly could, under present circumstances, be held (many ministers recognised by the Church having been forbidden by the court to take their seats), departed, with Scotland looking on. The central paragraph of the document thus left in his Grace's hands brings out more clearly than anything else the interim character of the disobedience of the Church :—

"Considering that, while heretofore, as members of church judicatories ratified by law and recognised by the constitution of the kingdom, we held ourselves entitled and bound to exercise and maintain the jurisdiction vested in those judicatories with the sanction of the constitution, notwithstanding the decrees as to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical of the civil courts, because we could not see that the State had required submission thereto as a condition of the Establishment, but on the contrary, were satisfied that the State by the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, for ever and unalterably secured to this nation by the Treaty of Union, had repudiated any power in the civil courts to pronounce such decrees,

"We are now constrained to acknowledge it to be the mind and will of the State, as recently declared, that such submission should and does form a condition of the Establishment and of the possession of the benefits thereof; and that as we cannot, without committing what we believe to be sin—in opposition to God's law—in disregard of the honour and authority of Christ's crown, and in violation of our own solemn vows, comply with this condition, we cannot in conscience continue connected with it and retain the benefits of an establishment to which such condition is attached," &c.

Here, then, is a third and very striking characteristic of the disobedience of the Scottish Churchmen—its relation to the question of Establishment.

What, then, would the party of independence in the Church of England have to do, in order to put themselves in the same position as the Scottish Kirk of 1843 ?

1. They would have to show that in the establishment of the Church of England there was a repudiation by the Crown of supremacy in ecclesiastical causes; and that (following upon this) there had been an exercise of jurisdiction by purely spiritual courts elected by the Church, such as to convince nearly half of Westminster Hall that these authorities were equal to and independent

of the courts of the Crown, each being conclusive in its own sphere. All this as a matter of history and constitutionalism.[1]

2. They would have to get Convocation (probably both Houses of it), or some other ecclesiastical body acknowledged authoritatively to represent the Church of England, to affirm the independent government of the Church by itself or by its bishops, or other purely ecclesiastical functionaries, and to call upon all the clergy and lay members of the Church to maintain that independent government against any encroachment by the courts of the Crown.

3. They would then have, like Mr. Tooth, to disobey the mandates of the court—not merely of the Court of Arches, but of the Queen in Council, or the Supreme Court of Judicature—and that upon the ground of distinct enactments, passed by Convocation or issued by the bishop, professing in these things ecclesiastical to supersede all orders of a secular court.

4. After the question of jurisdiction had been settled against them in all the courts (upon a far more elaborate discussion of the fundamental conditions of establishment than has yet taken place in England), the Church, or Convocation for it, would have to make a final claim and protest to the Crown and the Legislature, demanding that its independence be respected, and otherwise pledging its members to abandon the Establishment.

5. At this and every stage of the contest, the Church of England would have to proclaim loudly a distinction between its benefices, emoluments, and temporalities of all kinds on the one hand, and its internal self-government on the other—admitting that the former, in Hatcham or throughout England, fell rightfully to be disposed of (justly or unjustly) by the State, while the latter pertained, with equally exclusive right, to the Church and its organs. The former they would still claim as their own, but would be ready to yield to the control of the civil court as a court of competent authority. Any attempt to interfere with the latter they would resist as incompetent, and would avoid by self-disestablishment.

It is a tremendous programme; and of course some things in it are in England historically impossible or now past praying for. Still, *mutatis mutandis*, there is upon its surface nothing with which organized courage and heroism might not cope. The difficulties lie below, between the lines and under the words which both religious

(1) Readers are entitled to put the question to a lawyer who reports such views:—Do *you* believe that the Church of Scotland was originally established on this footing? I remain of the opinion I expressed ten years ago, that it is a very doubtful question. The Scottish State never clearly committed itself to the Church's independence, and until the extraordinarily exhaustive discussion of 1843, the decision of the question so left open had been for centuries avoided.—("Law of Creeds in Scotland," Edinburgh, 1867.) What the view of the Church, on the other hand, was, and was authoritatively, from the earliest times, seems to me to admit of no doubt.

communities use to express their ideas. These ideas are not always the same. The "spirituality" of the English law has no exact counterpart in Scotland. The *spiritualia* of a Scotch Church, meaning the whole world of its functions as a religious society, is strange to English ears. But the great underlying difference between the two parties is in their use of the word and idea, Church. The independence of the Church in England has often been asserted, and has sometimes been claimed, as meaning the independence of the clergy as an order. But in Scotland the *Church* consists of all its members—a whole nation of laymen, governed in each congregation by a court composed of half-a-dozen laymen and one minister, and governed as a religious whole by Presbyteries and a General Assembly containing an equal number of both classes. And according to the complete practice of the party whose claim to independence we have considered, both the lay governors, or "elders," and the "ministers" are chosen by the mass of the Christian people. Theoretically therefore it is a self-governed lay society, claiming no doubt to be divinely instituted; while practically an enormous share of the power resides in the order, also held to be divinely instituted, of the ministry. But the whole organization forms a popular machine of extraordinary elasticity and energy. Can the Church Union fall back upon any similar organization or theory? No doubt Anglo-Catholicism claims the aid of the laity in various ways, and it specially affects the working man; while Catholicism in the West of Europe has been a marvel of organization. But our cold, slow, enthusiastic Northern race has not yet been tried from that side. We, too, are capable of Church enthusiasm, and of Church independence. Scotland is the proof of both. But these attainments have hitherto existed only on a basis of religious individuality strongly opposed to sacerdotalism. It is just possible that the attempt to transfer the passion for Church independence from Puritan Scotland to Ritualistic England may fail, not so much from difference of race as from some secret incompatibility of principle.

In any case, *fas est et ab hoste*. High Churchmen have of late frequently quoted the Scottish precedent of 1843, and it is well to understand what it is founded upon. It may be discouraging, or it may be inspiring, but it is at all events not uninstructive.

ALEXANDER TAYLOR INNES.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

THE movement of the Russian forces into the Principalities, accompanying the Imperial Manifesto and the Chancellor's Circular, though for so long seen to be inevitable, has sent a curious thrill through the country, now that it has at last really taken place. For a moment it was a sense of relief from the suspense of so many months; but we already find that the suspense of a straining peace is replaced by a direr suspense in actual war. If it had happened in August or September last, the feeling in England would have been one of very general, if not universal satisfaction. Unfortunately intense passion is as little to be trusted in masses of men, as it is in the average individual. The mood of the autumn was thoroughly right in its direction, but it was not sufficiently supported, as it is well capable of being, by a deliberate survey of the whole range of facts, of which the barbarities in Bulgaria were only an illustration. It is of little avail now to waste time in useless recriminations, or else we might perhaps ask how it is that the Liberal leaders in the Commons have not made an opportunity since the session began, of placing the whole case against Turkey in all its strength and breadth before the country. It was surely their business to find an expression in reason and policy for the attitude which was at first due to humane emotion. However, the time has gone by, and the chance is lost. The return of a ministerial candidate at Salford has frightened out of the front bench of the Opposition whatever inclination might have remained there, to place on the fullest and widest record an intelligible justification for the final abandonment of the old policy of Turkish aid and defence. As it is, no one can look at the prospect without the gravest anxiety. For the moment we have no doubt that the acquiescence of the country in the policy of the ministry is due to an assumption, that that policy means peace and non-intervention on the part of England. For the moment, the ideas of the time of the Crimean War are discredited. One or two journalists and public men, whose bias and rancour are too evident for their judgment to carry any weight, venture boldly to talk about repeating at once the Crimean policy. But it is impossible not to see the danger. The Ministry is strong in the country by the very virtue of its containing two semi-antagonistic sections. The presence of Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon gives a certain confidence to those who think only of better government in the Turkish provinces. The tenacity of Lord Beaconsfield and the language of Mr. Hardy give a certain confidence to those who are sincerely and honestly alarmed at the alleged designs of Russia, as well as to those who have simply worked themselves up into a blind malignant frenzy in favour of Turkey. But the strength of the ministry as a whole turns to the profit of the anti-Russian part of it, because the latter are likely to have in their favour the vague pugnacity which is always stirred in this country by the spectacle of combat. The government is not at all likely to plunge us into war openly and immediately. The popular

feeling must be nearly unanimous to embolden any ministry in England to take such a course. But there are indirect ways of bringing us, before we have had time to know it, into antagonism to Russia. It is easy to see how readily the situation lends itself to the aims of those who are bent upon once more dragging us, by-and-by if not to-day, into a conflict on behalf of the same government for which we sacrificed men and money twenty years ago. Mr. Bright's position that the destiny of Turkey is no affair of ours, has again—it is not too much to say—been rejected by the nation almost as decisively in 1877 as it was in 1854, though as yet less emphatically. Mr. Gladstone's position is capable of easy misrepresentation, and it is commonly misrepresented. He has never avowed himself really any more a partisan of Russia than of Turkey; his censure of the ministry has turned, and justly, on the persistency with which they played the Russian game, and made it impossible for Russia to do otherwise than figure and act as the champion of humanity in South-Eastern Europe. But such a position now no longer hits the centre of public interest. The question for the immediate time is how the shifts and turns of the war will affect English sentiment. Mr. Hardy's vociferously applauded appeals to British interests point to where the dangerous point of the situation lies. If we could only be sure that no action would take place, except in accordance with British interests measured by calm and instructed sense, we should willingly admit that they may be taken in practical politics as the criterion of what we ought to do in presence of a distracting struggle. The peril is lest it should be taken for granted that British interests necessarily demand the continued maintenance of inevitably bad government in Turkey; and that they require that we should take up arms against the Power, that has undertaken a duty to civilisation in which we might have been her colleague, and even her director. There is no folly nor wrong in the history of our foreign policy from the French wars of the Edwards and Henries downwards, for which the cry of British interests was not raised, in one dialect or another. And it is the same in the history of other countries. British interests may mean something in the highest degree substantial and momentous, or they may mean the mere phantom of distinct prejudice. But phantoms are unfortunately real in their power and influences over men's minds, and nothing stirs the bugbears of international jealousy so effectually as the clash of arms.

Here, however, we have to deal with what has happened, rather than with what is to come, and we have to turn to the vain efforts of the past month to avert the catastrophe which has broken out within ten days of these efforts being consummated.

Scarcely had the journals begun to ascribe a "considerable diplomatic success" to Lord Derby, when it was found that the Protocol was an ultimatum, and not a door of retreat. Disappointment has naturally given rise to irritation, and the pro-Turkish newspapers have been quick to denounce the Protocol as an elaborate piece of Russian insincerity. Even Lord Derby, who is nothing if not passionless, has discovered by the querulous tone of his speech in the Lords the extent and bitterness of his

vexation. Lord Derby does well to be angry, but he ought to be angry with himself, not with Russia. Although the whole story of the negotiations has not yet been published, it is clear from the evidence already produced, that Russia played an open hand, and acted in perfect consistency with the views she has all along maintained. The Protocol reduces the irreducible minimum of the Conference, and marks the extreme limit of forbearance. It is only by forgetting the course of events and ignoring the diplomatic steps that led to the Protocol that it becomes possible to put upon it a construction unfavourable to Russian fairness.

The history of the negotiations has been one of deepening shadows, and of ever-widening possibilities of evil. Two years have scarcely elapsed since the first shot was fired in the Herzegovina. When the insurrection spread to Bosnia, and the Christians by thousands passed over into Austria and Servia, it was evident that a crisis had come that would try to the utmost the capacity of our statesmen. From the first unhappily, our Government was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation. The consuls of the Powers were sent to the insurgent chiefs to tell them that Europe could give them no help, and thereby "to make them understand the hopelessness of engaging in a contest with the imperial troops." The irony of events is now stamped on the caution given to the consuls to "take the greatest pains to avoid everything that might have the appearance of united action." The advice of the consuls was not taken, and some of them narrowly escaped being murdered through the treachery of the Turks. Then came the Andrassy Note, which established the European concert. But this also failed to induce the insurgents to give up their arms; they refused to "trust to the mere promise of the Porte, which he has never been known to keep." "Unless Europe would guarantee their safety from the Agas and the authorities, and that the reforms promised would really be carried out, they dared not and would not lay down their arms." These fears the Porte hastened to justify. A few Christians returned, and were murdered by the Turks. Sir H. Elliot called upon the Porte to bring the murderers to justice, but, of course, nothing was done.

The failure of the Andrassy Note led to the Berlin Memorandum. It proposed "efficacious measures" to protect the Christians, but it destroyed the European concert. It was too strong for Lord Derby. He was quite ready to administer sermons or homilies to the Porte, but he would take no step that might lead to a practical application of his precepts. It required the Servian war and the imminence of a war between Turkey and Russia to revive the activity of the foreign secretary. The Conference assembled, and a step forward was taken. The European concert and the principle of external guarantees were combined. The Sultan repudiated both. The secret of his courage is not far to seek. He did not believe in the European concert, he believed the Powers were more afraid of each other than desirous of punishing him; in a word, he thought that the same jealousies and divisions among the Christian Powers which first allowed the crescent to be planted in Europe, still existed and promised him a long lease of power. Mr. Layard is at this moment reported to be

repeating the old counsels and remonstrances with new severity, but behind the words the Sultan still discerns what he has always discerned.

The failure of the Conference did not settle the Eastern Question. The refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina did not return, peace was not made with Montenegro, the memory of Turkish crime in Bulgaria was still fresh. It was, therefore, expected on all hands that Russia would take the initiative in calling the attention of the European Cabinets to the situation. On the 5th of February the Russian Circular reached England. The foreign secretary characteristically decided not to answer the Circular "until events should have developed themselves." But on the 13th of March he received from the Russian Ambassador, in the form of a Protocol, the answer that Russia wished to obtain, and so moderate were its terms, that the English Cabinet at once accepted it in principle. It was hoped by means of the Protocol, to keep alive the European concert, and to prevent the Eastern Question from degenerating into a duel between Russia and Turkey. Nor did Russia for a moment conceal the advantages she proposed to gain by the Protocol. On the same day on which the suggestion of a Protocol was first communicated, Lord Derby was put in possession of the object of Russia. "After the sacrifices which Russia had imposed upon herself, the stagnation of her industry and of her commerce, and the enormous expenditure incurred by the mobilization of five hundred thousand men, she could not retire nor send back her troops without having obtained some tangible results in regard to the improvement of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey. The Emperor was sincerely desirous of peace, but not of peace at any price." We cannot but think that Lord Derby in the debate in the Lords forgot this statement, and was thus led to misrepresent the attitude of the Russian Government, when he said that they "came and told us that they wanted an *excuse* for disarmament." It is quite clear from Lord Derby's memory of his conversation with the Russian Ambassador, written at the time, that he confounded the attitude of Russia with his own. Russia from the first insisted upon some "tangible results in the better government of the Christians," as the condition of her demobilization; there is nothing to show that she went to the Courts of Europe for a form of sound words, as a pretext to betray the cause which, at so heavy a cost to herself, she had espoused.

The Protocol in its final shape certainly exhibits the demands of Russia reduced to the extreme point of tenuity. It recites that the Signatory Powers "have undertaken in common the pacification of the East," and affirms afresh "the common interest which they take in the improvement of the condition of the Christian population of Turkey." It informs Turkey that "as regards Montenegro, the Powers consider the rectification of the frontiers and the free navigation of the Borana to be desirable." It invites the Porte to replace its armies on a peace footing, and to put in hand, with the least possible delay, the reforms necessary for the tranquillity and well-being of the Provinces. The only practical step proposed to be taken was to watch carefully by the ambassadors at Constantinople and the local agents the manner in which the Porte carried out its promises.

Finally, if the old disturbances should recur, the Protocol declares that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with the interests of Europe. This is in effect to say that Turkey is a common danger in Europe, but that she is to have one more chance, subject to consular supervision. It asserts a present right of inspection, and it holds over the Porte a vague threat of future interference. This vagueness, as might be expected, constituted the charm of the Protocol in Lord Derby's eyes. The Protocol, he assures us, was a mere nothing; all it means is "that if certain things were not done by the Turkish government—we being the judges of whether they were done or not, then at some time which was not fixed, we being the judges as to when that time had arrived—we should consider with certain other powers and say what we should then do.' But though Lord Derby exults in thinking that the Protocol binds us to nothing, and elaborately exhausts the possibilities of emptiness, still lest perchance there should be something in it, he takes care to provide against the shadow of such a danger by annexing to the Protocol a condition that has made it void. It is to be binding only if Turkey and Russia agree to demobilize. Lord Derby states "that effective improvement in the condition of the Christian population is unanimously called for as indispensable to the tranquillity of Europe;" but he adds that he must not be held committed to that proposition unless Turkey is pleased to demobilize. There is a masterly inconsequence in the English declaration appended to the Protocol.

In truth, however, the Protocol is hardly so inane as Lord Derby appears to consider it. It was signed with full knowledge of the Russian Declaration. It gives another day of grace to Turkey, but Russia declares that this must be dependent on two conditions. Turkey must make peace with Montenegro, and send a special envoy to St. Petersburg to treat of disarmament. This step is to be taken as an assurance that the Porte accepts the advice of Europe, and is ready seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol. Nothing but a fanatical antipathy to Russia could represent these conditions as hard. The Powers of Europe unite to urge the Porte to concede new territory to Montenegro. Even Consul Holmes—the man whom the Porte delights to honour—long ago advised the Porte to concede the seaport of Spitz and certain districts on the frontier, on the express ground that "the cession of these districts would certainly be no real loss to Turkey." The other condition—the sending a special envoy—is as light as the circumstances of the case allow. The naked promise of the Porte is admitted to be worthless as a guarantee of reform. Without some guarantee the refugees will not return, and the pacification of Bosnia and the Herzegovina thus becomes impossible. Russia, however, does not insist upon the external guarantees recommended by the Conference; but she will be content with an act unequivocally attesting the sincerity of the Porte in its acceptance of the Protocol. The presence of a Turkish envoy at St. Petersburg would scarcely have been such "a tangible result in the improvement of the Christian population" as the Russian government desiderated, to justify it in scattering the vast army which after so many sacrifices it had assembled on the

frontiers of the Empire; but it would have been an earnest of better days for the provinces desolated by the Turks. Of course it would have been a humiliation for Turkey. It would have been a plea of guilty to the indictment brought by the European Conference against Turkey. It would have been a sign of repentance and a pledge of reform. It would, moreover, have shown that the Porte comprehends the conditions upon which alone the Ottoman power can be prolonged in Europe; and it would have enabled the Czar to disband his armies without betraying his people, and to give peace without surrendering the Christian subjects of the Porte to ruin and despair.

Too much attention has been given to the movements of Russia, and too little to the manner in which the Porte received not merely the conditions specified by Russia, but the vacuous Protocol, which, Lord Derby says, contained nothing "to which the Porte could reasonably object." Lord Derby repeated the old error, which has vitiated the entire course of the negotiations. He was thinking only how to thwart Russia, and he was checkmated by Turkey. Turkey has thrown back the Protocol in the teeth of the Powers. The document which Lord Derby flattered himself he had reduced to utter emptiness, is repelled by the Porte as an insolent aggression. Surely this ought to be a lesson to all who are not incapable of learning by experience. Europe has met in solemn conclave, and has heard the cry of the wronged peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina; even England, the old friend of Turkey, has been moved to demand the punishment of the ruffians who desolated Bulgaria; the world is sick of the cruelties and misgovernment of the Turkish power. But of all this Turkey admits nothing. She absolutely refuses to confess that anything has been wrong in Bosnia, Herzegovina, or even in Bulgaria; she has the coolness to say that "Europe is convinced that the disturbances which have troubled the peace of the Provinces were due to foreign instigation," and "that the Imperial Government would not be held responsible for them." She ingenuously affirms that "the Imperial Government, in fact, is not aware how it can have deserved so ill of justice and civilisation;" and, therefore, "Turkey, in its quality as an independent state, could not acknowledge herself as being placed under any supervision, collective or otherwise." So far from sitting on the stool of repentance, the Porte mounts the pulpit and rates the Powers in a style which we hope they appreciate. "What indeed cannot be sufficiently regretted, is the small regard in which the Powers seem to hold both the great principles of equality and justice—the sway of which the Imperial Government has endeavoured to assure in its internal administration—and its right of independence and sovereignty." This is a specimen of "the indomitable pluck" which has won the heart of the first Lord of the Admiralty, and of that courage which "is one of the highest qualities a man could possibly show." The reply of the Porte comes at an opportune moment. People were beginning to think that the terrible experience of the last two years could not have gone for nothing, and that the golden promise of a new constitution might ripen into the fruit of decently good government. But the reply of the Porte shows that the Turks are now, as of old, inaccessible to evidence and the teachings of

experience. If the declaration of Russia attached to the Protocol required a justification, Turkey has been swift to supply it.

To complete the discomfiture of the Powers, the Turkish government makes free use of some very respectable phrases of international law. This is scarcely surprising when we remember the strange doctrines that are advocated by the sympathisers of the Porte in this country. Thus we are told by one authority that for any State to attempt to succour the Christian subjects of the Porte in Europe from the hordes of marauding Asiatics brought across to crush them, is "a contempt for international law and morality." Another lays down the axiom that "a State has no right to go to war unless its own interests are positively and directly injured." In this view the war of France against Austria for the liberation of Italy was most wicked, unless perhaps it may have been redeemed by the appropriation of Savoy and Nice. It is an odd travesty of the maxims of international morality to hold a war to be wicked if undertaken from a generous and disinterested motive, but to be sanctified by a purely selfish purpose. And surely of all cases in which to apply such a notion the strangest is that where the power attacked is, by the common consent of Europe, excluded from the rank of truly independent sovereign States. It is too systematically forgotten that Turkey does not possess independent sovereignty in the same sense as England, or France, or Russia, or any other civilised State in Europe or America. Turkey belongs to the same class as China, Japan, and the other semi-civilised States in which the right of internationality is rigorously maintained for Europeans. The essence of independent sovereignty is complete power over all the persons found within the territories of the sovereign. A Frenchman in England is subject to English law and to English tribunals. In like manner an Englishman leaving his own country to travel in Europe, comes under the law of each country through which he passes, until he comes to the Ottoman dominions. But the moment he enters Turkish territory he relapses under the law of his own country, and not under Turkish law. The feeblest State in Europe does not permit the meanest of her subjects to be exposed to the scourge which in Turkey takes the place of law and justice. Every Englishman, Frenchman, American, or Italian in Turkey carries with him the law of his own country, is subject to the jurisdiction only of his own consul, and owes not even a temporary allegiance to the Sultan. But for this how could a civilised European venture with his family into Turkish territory, or have the courage to entrust even himself to the impartiality of Turkish judges and the hired perjury of Mahometan witnesses? Why is it that the journals who resent any interference with the Sultan's prerogatives of abusing his Christian subjects, as a violation of his sovereign independence, do not prove their sincerity by asking their own government to abandon the capitulations and treaties which put Turkey on a level with the Chinese? It is evident that Turkey is not, and cannot be, an independent sovereign State in the same sense as the other European Powers, and to pretend that it is what it can never be, is to foster a mischievous delusion. The Turks have shown themselves apt pupils in taking the benefit of doctrines, which apply only to civilised States

capable of performing the duties that justify the exertion of sovereign rights.

The Protocol, however, belongs to the past, and our interest in it has already given way to anxiety as to the future. What will Russia do? How will she use the victory, which, it seems certain, is within her grasp? The uncertainty that must exist on this point shows us what we have lost by the destruction of the European concert. England agreed to a concert of words, but not of action. Every step that Russia takes will be watched by severe and jealous critics. But there is no occasion for alarm. Russia starts well. She moves forward in obedience to a profound national sympathy with the oppressed Slavs of Turkey. It is incredible that the Czar should have made up his mind to seize Constantinople. That would be to weaken his empire, and place Russia at the mercy of Germany, which as Fadéeff showed long ago could at any moment cut her in two. Meanwhile it is well to recall that Russia has been in Roumelia before. In 1829 she dictated a treaty from Adrianople; and her interference there is remembered by the emancipation of Greece. It is instructive to compare the language of the fanatical anti-Russians of the present day, with the comments of the Duke of Wellington on the events of 1829. "There is no doubt," he says, "it would have been more fortunate and better for the world if the treaty of peace [at Adrianople] had not been signed, and if the Russians had entered Constantinople, and if the Turkish Empire had been dissolved." This was written at the time the events occurred; and yet the Duke of Wellington was far from thinking that the right heir to Constantinople was Russia. "My opinion is," he said, "that the power which has Constantinople, and the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles, ought to possess the mouth of the Danube; and that the sovereign of these two ought not to have the Crimea and the Russian Empire. We must reconstruct a Greek Empire . . . . and no Power in Europe ought to take anything for herself, excepting the Emperor of Russia a sum for his expenses." If Greece were capable of rising to the height of the occasion, and putting more faith in the sword than in diplomatic promises, all might be well. The wave of Russian invasion may retire, leaving behind it a Byzantine kingdom on the Bosphorus and a South Slavonian Confederation on the Danube.

Amid the intense excitement of diplomatic negotiations on which such tremendous issues seemed to hang, and which changed their aspect from day to day with the vividness of a kaleidoscope, the nation half forgot to take an interest in the annual statement of its own money affairs. People felt a moderate curiosity as to whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would increase the spirit duties, or raise the income-tax from threepence in the pound to fourpence. And when, after all, it appeared that the Chancellor was going to leave both spirit duties and income-tax where they were, the sigh of public gratitude and relief was hardly more than languid. There had been a rather general expectation of a deficit; it was therefore an agreeable surprise to find that we had really received nearly half a million (440,000*l.*) more than we spent in the financial year, 1876-7.

Assuming, then, that the outlay for the current year is not to be in excess of last year, and that the income of 1877 does not fall more than a certain small and measurable sum below the income of 1876, then we shall again find ourselves with a modest excess of receipts over expenditure. The Chancellor estimates that we shall receive in 1877-8 the sum of 79,020,000*l.*, and that we shall spend 78,794,000*l.*, and if this anticipation be realised, he will next spring have 226,000*l.* to the good. It is the business of an Opposition to oppose, and the line of criticism adopted by Mr. Goschen and others is that the estimates of revenue are too sanguine. They point out that trade is severely depressed in almost every branch, and that the rate of falling off in the last two quarters of the financial year has been greater than is assumed for next year, and that we ought to look forward to a progressively increasing decline. This is a perfectly fair warning so far as it goes, but, on the other hand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer seems justified in his reply:—"We have now found that, notwithstanding the same kind of apprehensive croaking last year, yet the estimates of the Revenue department have come true. It is quite reasonable, therefore, that we should again take the word of gentlemen of whose caution, accuracy, and foresight we have just had such good experience."

We have heard less this year than usual in the way of remonstrance against the amount of the annual expenditure. We have not heard repeated the memorable sentence of an illustrious statesman, that it is a scandal and a disgrace to any government not to be able to carry on the administration of the country for less than seventy millions a year. Yet we are now not only at nothing less than seventy millions, but at a figure which just falls short of eighty millions. The truth is that there is not, and cannot be, a fixed and eternal limit beyond which the national outlay ought never under any circumstances to go. For one thing, we cannot remember too steadily that of our seventy-eight millions and three quarters, nearly thirty-two and a half millions are not expenditure at all in the ordinary sense. That is to say, twenty-eight millions are interest on debt with which our forefathers encumbered the national estates, and four millions and a half are the outlay necessary for carrying on the business of postal and telegraphic service,—a business on which the gross return is something like seven millions and a half. What the administration of the country therefore really costs is no more than forty-six millions, and perhaps of this a million ought to be set down to Indian account. But apart from such considerations as these, we contend that the national outlay must necessarily be expected to go up, as our population increases, as our standards of popular well-being are gradually raised, and as the field of state co-operation in social improvement is gradually widened. Take education, for example. In days when Retrenchment was an element in the triple motto of the Liberal Party, the sum annually devoted to this great object did not exceed a few thousand pounds. Yet nobody, except a stubborn little remnant of veterans of the days of cries that are now worn out and issues that are now exhausted, believes that the educational charges on the Consolidated Fund represent anything but a most wise and beneficent investment of public money. In the old days Retrenchment was a most just demand, because it meant cutting down

a quantity of offices that were superfluous and jobbed. We do not mean that all has been done that can be done in this direction, or that every pound of Sir Stafford Northcote's seventy-eight millions and three quarters is put to the best imaginable use. It is not likely that in an account of this magnitude there is no element of waste. But then this is for the specialists in each branch of the public service to find out, and to insist upon having set right. What we contend is, that the total outlay is not likely to diminish and ought not to diminish. What the nation wants—and this is more true than ever since the governing portion of the nation was increased by the legislation of 1867—is not that the expenditure shall be grudging and churlish, but that it shall be devoted to good uses, and that we get money's worth for our money. Of this the defeat of the economising party at the last election of the London School Board was a remarkable illustration. We believe that there is a generally spreading conviction that—as Mr. Chamberlain said in his vigorous and well-considered speech on Local Loans (April 28)—public indebtedness is a matter of congratulation, because it is not a debt in the ordinary sense of the word, but an investment of the whole community, returning large dividends in the shape of the health, happiness, comfort, and intelligence of the whole population.

*April* 25, 1877.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

*Short Studies on Great Subjects.* Third Series. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Longmans.

Contains an historical sketch of the abbey of St. Albans, and an essay on "the revival of Romanism," reprinted from American periodicals; with a disquisition on the deification of the Roman emperors, and notes of travel in South Africa not hitherto published. The remainder of the contents have mostly appeared in English magazines.

*University Life in Ancient Athens, being the Substance of Four Oxford Lectures.* By W. W. CAPES. Longmans.

Chiefly relating to the Athenian schools from the second to the fourth centuries, A.D.

*Peru. Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas.* By E. G. SQUIER. Macmillan.

Principally ethnographical and archæological researches. The author holds Peruvian civilisation to be extremely ancient, and strictly indigenous.

*The Cradle of the Blue Nile: a Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia.* By E. A. DE COSSON. 2 vols. Murray.

Comprises the narrative of a journey from Masowah to Adina; a short residence at Kassa's court there; a sporting excursion to Lake Tsana; a visit to the ancient capital, Gondar; and a return across the desert and down the Nile.

*Africa and the Brussels Geographical Conference.* By EMILE BANNING. Translated by R. H. MAJOR. Low and Marston.

A résumé of recent geographical discoveries in Africa, and an exposition of the project of the King of the Belgians.

*The Eastern Question: its Facts and Fallacies.* By MALCOLM MACCOLL. Longmans.

Takes by the throat "the circumcised dog."

*History of Nepal.* Edited by D. WRIGHT. Cambridge University Press.

A translation of a native work, with an introductory sketch by the editor.

*The Connexion of the Physical Sciences.* By MARY SOMERVILLE. Tenth Edition, corrected and revised by ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. Murray.

Brought up to the present state of scientific knowledge, and thus substantially a new work.

*Lectures on Welsh Philology.* By JOHN RHYS. Trübner.

With an appendix on early Welsh inscriptions, "the study of which cannot fail to form an era in Welsh Philology."

*The Discourses of Epictetus, with the Enchoiridion and Fragments.* Translated, with notes, a life of Epictetus, and a view of his philosophy, by GEORGE LONG. George Bell and Sons.

*Lectures on Poetry.* Delivered at Oxford by SIR F. H. DOYLE, Bart. Smith, Elder & Co.

A selection from the author's discourses as Oxford Professor of Poetry, treating of Shakspeare, Scott, and Wordsworth.

*Glan Alarch: his Silence and his Song.* A Poem. By EMILY PFEIFFER. King & Co.

An epic on the conflict between the Saxons and the Ancient British.

*Histoire de Florence.* Par M. PERRENS. Tom. 1—3. Hachette; Barthès and Lowell.

Comes down to the time of Dante.

*Le Comte de Cavour.* Par M. CHARLES DE MAZADE. Plon; Barthès and Lowell.

Indirectly recommending Cavour as a model for French statesmen under present circumstances.

*Toussaint Louverture.* Par GRAGNOR-LACOSTE. Durand; Barthès and Lowell.

A new biography, founded on family and other unpublished papers.

*Correspondance du Comte de Serre* (1796—1824). Tom. 5, 6. Vaton; Barthès and Lowell.

A contribution to the political history of France under the Restoration, from a Legitimist point of view.

*Placards de Marat, l'Ami du Peuple.* Par F. CHEVREMONT. Chez l'auteur; Barthès and Lowell.

The first reprint of these exceedingly rare documents.

*L'Attentat de Fieschi.* Par MAXIME DU CAMP. Charpentier; Barthès and Lowell.

Considers Fieschi's plot in its connection with the secret societies of the period.

*L'Alsace avant* 1789. Par J. KRUG-BASSE. Sandoz and Fischbacher; Barthès and Lowell.

Treats especially of the period from the close of the Thirty Years' War to the Revolution.

*Lettres d'Auguste Comte à John Stuart Mill.* Leroux; Barthès and Lowell.

"For some years we were frequent correspondents, until our correspondence became controversial, and our zeal cooled."—*Mill's Autobiography*, p. 211. Forty-five letters, dating from 1841 to 1846.

*La Réforme en Europe et le Salut en France.* Par F. Le Play. Marne; Barthès and Lowell.

A manifesto of "L'Union de la Paix Sociale," a society formed in hostility to the principles of the revolution of 1789.

*Préface au Conclave.* Par Louis Teste. Vaton; Barthès and Lowell.

Speculations on the anticipated Papal election.

*La ville et l'acropole d'Athènes aux diverses époques.* Par Emile Burnouf, ancien directeur de l'école d' Athènes. Maisonneuve; Barthès and Lowell.

A full discussion of controverted topographical questions, accompanied by plans.

*Renaissance et Réforme.* Par D. Nisard. 2 tom. Calmann-Lévy; Barthès and Lowell.

Essays on Erasmus, Sir Thomas More, and Melanchthon, regarded as types of the fusion of religion and culture in their age.

*Essai sur la critique d'art.* Par A. Bougot. Hachette; Barthès and Lowell.

Essays on the history and method of art criticism, with a study on Raphael as representing the ideal of pictorial art.

*Die Romisch-Katholische Kirche im Königreich der Niederlande.* Von Frederich Nippold. Weigel; Williams and Norgate.

The complement of the author's history of the Dutch Jansenist Church. Nearly half the volume consists of statistics and illustrations of contemporary Catholic sentiment in Holland.

*Die Kirche der Thomaschristen.* Von Dr. W. Germann. Bertelsmann; Williams and Norgate.

An exhaustive history of the Syro-Indian church, by a retired missionary long resident in Malabar.

*Franz Déak. Von* Anton Csengery. *Autorisirte Deutsche Uebersetzung* von Gustav Heinrich. Duncker and Humblot; Nutt.

Restricted to an account of Déak's political career.

*Friedrich Chopin, sein Leben, seine Werke und Briefe.* Von Moritz Karasowski. 2 Bde. Ries; Nutt.

Copious in details respecting the early part of Chopin's life, but, owing to the destruction of documents, very meagre as concerns his later and more interesting period.

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THE

# FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

No. CXXVI. NEW SERIES.—JUNE 1, 1877.

## GEORGE SAND.

THE months go round, and anniversaries return; on the ninth of June George Sand will have been dead just one year. She was born in 1804; she was almost seventy-two years old when she died. She came to Paris after the revolution of 1830, with her *Indiana* written, and began her life of independence, her life of authorship, her life as *George Sand*. She continued at work till she died. For forty-five years she was writing and publishing, and filled Europe with her name.

It seems to me but the other day that I saw her; yet it was in the August of 1846, more than thirty years ago. I saw her in her own Berry, at Nohant, where her childhood and youth were passed, where she returned to live after she became famous, where she died and has now her grave. There must be many who, after reading her books, have felt the same desire which in those days of my youth, in 1846, took me to Nohant—the desire to see the country and the places of which the books that so charmed us were full. Those old provinces of the centre of France, primitive and slumbering—Berry, La Marche, Bourbonnais; those sites and streams in them, of name once so indifferent to us, but to which George Sand gave such a music for our ear—La Châtre, Ste. Sévère, the *Vallée-Noire*, the Indre, the Creuse; how many a reader of George Sand must have desired, as I did, after frequenting them so much in thought, fairly to set eyes upon them. I had been reading *Jeanne*. I made up my mind to go and see Toulx Ste. Croix and Boussac, and the Druidical stones on Mont Barlot, the *Pierres Jaumâtres*. I remember looking out Toulx in Cassini's great map at the Bodleian Library. The railway through the centre of France went in those days no farther than Vierzon. From Vierzon to Châteauroux one travelled by an ordinary diligence, from Châteauroux to La Châtre by a humbler diligence, from La Châtre to Boussac by the humblest diligence of all. At Boussac diligence ended, and *patache* began. Between Château-

roux and La Châtre, a mile or two before reaching the latter place, the road passes by the village of Nohant. The Château of Nohant, in which Madame Sand lived, is a plain house by the road-side, with a walled garden. Down in the meadows, not far off, flows the Indre, bordered by trees. I passed Nohant without stopping, at La Châtre I dined and changed diligence, and went on by night up the valley of the Indre, the *Vallée-Noire*, past Ste. Sévère to Boussac. At Ste. Sévère the Indre is quite a small stream. In the darkness we quitted its valley, and when day broke we were in the wilder and barer country of La Marche, with Boussac before us and its high castle on a precipitous rock over the Little Creuse. That day and the next I wandered through a silent country of heathy and ferny *landes*, a region of granite-stones, holly, and broom, of copsewood and great chestnut-trees; a region of broad light, and fresh breezes, and wide horizons. I visited the *Pierres Jaumâtres*. I stood at sunset on the platform of Toulx Ste. Croix, by the scrawled and almost effaced stone lions—a relic, it is said, of the English rule—and gazed on the blue mountains of Auvergne filling the distance, and, south-eastward of them, in a still further and fainter distance, on what seemed to be the mountains over Le Puy and the high valley of the Loire.

From Boussac I addressed to Madame Sand the sort of letter of which she must in her lifetime have had scores, a letter conveying to her, in bad French, the homage of a youthful and enthusiastic foreigner who had read her works with delight. She received the infliction good-naturedly, for on my return to La Châtre I found a message left at the inn by a servant from Nohant that Madame Sand would be glad to see me if I called. The midday breakfast at Nohant was not yet over when I reached the house, and I found a large party assembled. I entered with some trepidation, as well I might, considering how I had got there; but the simplicity of Madame Sand's manner put me at ease in a moment. She named some of those present; amongst them were her son and daughter, the Maurice and Solange so familiar to us from her books, and Chopin with his wonderful eyes. There was at that time nothing astonishing in Madame Sand's appearance. She was not in man's clothes, she wore a sort of costume not impossible, I should think (although on these matters I speak with hesitation), to members of the fair sex at this hour amongst ourselves, as an out-door dress for the country or for Scotland. She made me sit by her and poured out for me the insipid and depressing beverage, *boisson fade et mélancolique*, as Balzac called it, for which English people are thought abroad to be always thirsting—tea. She conversed of the country through which I had been wandering, of the Berry peasants and their mode of life, of Switzerland whither I was going; she touched politely, by a few questions and remarks, upon England and things and persons English—upon Oxford and Cambridge, Byron, Bulwer. As she

spoke, her eyes, head, bearing, were all of them striking; but the main impression she made was an impression of what I have already mentioned—an impression of *simplicity*, frank, cordial simplicity. After breakfast she led the way into the garden, asked me a few kind questions about myself and my plans, gathered a flower or two and gave them to me, shook hands heartily at the gate, and I saw her no more. In 1859 M. Michelet gave me a letter to her, which would have enabled me to present myself in more regular fashion. Madame Sand was then in Paris. But a day or two passed before I could call, and when I called, Madame Sand had left Paris and gone back to Nohant. The impression of 1846 has remained my single impression of her.

Of her gaze, form, and speech, that one impression is enough; better perhaps than a mixed impression from seeing her at sundry times and after successive changes. But as the first anniversary of her death draws near there arises again a desire which I felt when she died, the desire, not indeed to take a critical survey of her—very far from it. I feel no inclination at all to go regularly through her productions, to classify and value them one by one, to pick out from them what the English public may most like, or to present to that public, for the most part ignorant of George Sand and for the most part indifferent to her, a full history and a judicial estimate of the woman and of her writings. But I desire to recall to my own mind, before the occasion offered by her death passes quite away—to recall and collect the elements of that powerful total impression which, as a writer, she made upon me; to recall and collect them, to bring them distinctly into view, to feel them in all their depth and power once more. What I here attempt is not for the benefit of the indifferent; it is for my own satisfaction, it is for myself. But perhaps those for whom George Sand has been a friend and a power will find an interest in following me.

Yes; and it is *here* that one should speak of her, in this Review, not dominated by the past, not devoted to things established, not over-occupied with theology, but in search of some more free and wide conceptions of human life, and turned towards the future and the unrealised. George Sand felt the poetry of the past, she had no hatreds; the furies, the follies, the self-deceptions of secularist and revolutionist fanatics filled her in her latter years with pity, sometimes with dismay; but still her place is with the party and propaganda of organic change. For any party tied to the past, for any party, even, tied to the present, she is too new, too bold, too uncompromisingly sincere.

*Le sentiment de la vie idéale, qui n'est autre que la vie normale telle que nous sommes appelés à la connaître*—"the sentiment of the ideal

life, which is none other than man's normal life as we shall one day know it"—those words from one of her last publications give the ruling thought of George Sand, the ground-*motive*, as they say in music, of all her strain. It is as a personage inspired by this motive that she interests us. The English public conceives of her as of a novel-writer who wrote stories more or less interesting; the earlier ones objectionable and dangerous, the later ones, some of them, unexceptionable and fit to be put into the hands of the youth of both sexes. With such a conception of George Sand, a story of hers like *Consuelo* comes to be elevated in England into quite an undue relative importance, and to pass with very many people for her typical work, displaying all that is really valuable and significant in the author. *Consuelo* is a charming story. But George Sand is something more than a maker of charming stories, and only a portion of her is shown in *Consuelo*. She is more, likewise, than a creator of characters. She has created, with admirable truth to nature, characters most attractive and attaching, such as Edmée, Geneviève, Germain. But she is not adequately expressed by them. We do not know her unless we feel the spirit which goes through her work as a whole. In order to feel this spirit it is not, indeed, necessary to read all that she ever produced. Even three or four only out of her many books might suffice to show her to us, if they were well chosen; let us say, the *Lettres d'un Voyageur*, *Mauprat*, *François le Champi*, and a story which I was glad to see Mr. Myers, in his appreciative notice of Madame Sand, single out for praise—*Valvèdre*. In these may be found all the principal elements of their author's strain: the cry of agony and revolt, the trust in nature and beauty, the aspiration towards a purged and renewed human society. Of George Sand's strain, during forty years, these are the grand elements. Now it is one of them which appears most prominently, now it is another. The cry of agony and revolt is in her earlier work, and passes away in her later. But in the evolution of these three elements—the passion of agony and revolt, the consolation from nature and from beauty, the ideas of social renewal—in the evolution of these is George Sand and George Sand's life and power. Through their evolution her constant motive declares and unfolds itself, that motive which we set forth above: "the sentiment of the ideal life, which is none other than man's normal life as we shall one day know it." This is the motive and through these elements is its evolution; an evolution pursued, moreover, with the most unfailing resolve, the most absolute sincerity.

The hour of agony and revolt passed away for George Sand, as it passed away for Goethe, as it passes away for their readers likewise. It passes away and does not return; yet those who, amid the agitations, more or less stormy, of their youth, betook themselves to

the early works of George Sand, may in later life cease to read them, indeed, but they can no more forget them than they can forget *Werther*. George Sand speaks somewhere of her "days of *Corinne*." Days of *Valentine*, many of us may in like manner say—days of *Valentine*, days of *Lélia*, days never to return! They are gone, we shall read the books no more, and yet how ineffaceable is their impression! How the sentences from George Sand's works of that period still linger in our memory and haunt the ear with their cadences! Grandiose and moving, they come, those cadences, like the sighing of the wind through the forest, like the breaking of the waves on the sea shore. Lélia in her cell on the mountain of the Camaldoli—

"Sibyl, Sibyl forsaken; spirit of the days of old, joined to a brain that rebels against the divine inspiration; broken lyre, mute instrument, whose tones the world of to-day, if it heard them, could not understand, but yet in whose depth the eternal harmony murmurs imprisoned; priestess of death, I, I who feel and know that before now I have been Pythia, have wept before now, before now have spoken, but who cannot recollect, alas, cannot utter the word of healing! Yes, yes; I remember the cavern of truth and the access of revelation; but the word of human destiny, I have forgotten it; but the talisman of deliverance, it is lost from my hand. And yet, indeed, much, much have I seen; and when suffering presses me sore, when indignation takes hold of me, when I feel Prometheus wake up in my heart and beat his puissant wings against the stone which confines him—oh! then, in prey to a frenzy without a name, to a despair without bounds; I invoke the unknown master and friend who might illumine my spirit and set free my tongue; but I grope in darkness, and my tired arms grasp nothing save delusive shadows. And for ten thousand years, as the sole answer to my cries, as the sole comfort in my agony, I hear astir, over this earth accurst, the despairing sob of impotent agony. For ten thousand years I have cried in infinite space, *Truth! Truth!* For ten thousand years infinite space keeps answering me, *Desire, desire.* O Sibyl forsaken! O mute Pythia! dash then thy head against the rocks of thy cavern, and mingle thy raging blood with the foam of the sea! for thou deemest thyself to have possessed the almighty Word, and these ten thousand years thou art seeking him in vain."

Or Sylvia's cry over Jacques by his glacier in the Tyrol—

"When such a man as thou art is born into a world where he can do no true service, when, with the soul of an apostle and the courage of a martyr, he has simply to push his way among the heartless and aimless crowds which vegetate without living, the atmosphere suffocates him and he dies. Hated by sinners, the mock of fools, disliked by the envious, abandoned by the weak, what can he do but return to God, weary with having laboured in vain, in sorrow at having accomplished nothing? The world remains in all its vileness and in all its hatefulness; this is what men call, 'the triumph of good sense over enthusiasm.'"

Or Jacques himself, and his doctrine—

"Life is arid and terrible, repose is a dream, prudence is useless; mere reason alone serves simply to dry up the heart; there is but one virtue, the eternal sacrifice of one's self."

Or George Sand speaking in her own person, in the *Lettres d'un Voyageur*—

"Ah no, I was not born to be a poet, I was born to love. It is the misfortune of my destiny, it is the enmity of others, which have made me a wanderer and

an artist. What I wanted was to live a human life; I had a heart, it has been torn violently from my breast. All that has been left me is a head, a head full of noise and pain, of horrible memories, of images of woe, of scenes of outrage. And because in writing stories to earn my bread I could not help remembering my sorrows, because I had the audacity to say that in married life there were to be found miserable beings, by reason of the weakness which is enjoined upon the woman, by reason of the brutality which is permitted to the man, by reason of the turpitudes which society covers and protects with a veil, I am pronounced immoral, I am treated as if I were the enemy of the human race.

And if only, alas, together with her honesty and her courage, she could feel that she had also light and hope and power; that she was able to lead those whom she loved and who looked to her for guidance! But no; her own very children, witnesses of her suffering, her uncertainty, her struggles, her evil report, may come to doubt her:—

"My poor children, my own flesh and blood, will perhaps turn upon me and say: 'You are leading us wrong, you mean to ruin us as well as yourself. Are you not unhappy, reprobated, evil spoken of? What have you gained by these unequal struggles, by these much trumpeted duels of yours with Custom and Belief? Let us do as others do; let us get what is to be got from this easy and tolerant world.'

"This is what they will say to me. Or at best, if, out of tenderness for me, or from their own natural disposition, they give ear to my words and believe me, whither shall I guide them? Into what abysses shall we go and plunge ourselves, we three?—for we shall be our own three upon earth, and not one soul with us. What shall I reply to them if they come and say to me, 'Yes, life is unbearable in a world like this. Let us die together. Show us the path of Bernica, or the lake of Sténio, or the glaciers of Jacques.'"

But the failure of the impassioned seekers of a new and better world proves nothing for the world as it is. Ineffectual they may be, but the world is still more ineffectual, and it is the world's course which is doomed to ruin, not theirs. "What has it done," exclaims George Sand in her preface to Guérin's *Centaure*, "what has it done for our moral education, and what is it doing for our children, this society shielded with such care?" Nothing. Those whom it calls vain complainers and rebels and madmen, may reply:—

"Suffer us to bewail our martyrs, poets without a country that we are, forlorn singers, well versed in the causes of their misery and of our own. You do not comprehend the malady which killed them; they themselves did not comprehend it. If one or two of us at the present day open our eyes to a new light, is it not by a strange and unaccountable good providence, and have we not to seek our grain of faith in storm and darkness, combated by doubt, irony, the absence of all sympathy, all example, all brotherly aid, all protection and countenance in high places? Try yourselves to speak to your brethren heart to heart, conscience to conscience! Try it!—but you cannot, busied as you are with watching and patching up in all directions your dykes which the flood is invading; the material existence of this society of yours absorbs all your care and requires more than all your efforts. Meanwhile the powers of human thought are growing into strength and rise on all sides around you. Amongst these threatening apparitions, there are some which fade away and re-enter the darkness, because the hour of life has not yet struck, and the fiery

spirit which quickened them could strive no longer with the horrors of this present chaos; but there are others that can wait, and you will find them confronting you, up and alive, to say, 'You have allowed the death of our brethren, and we, we do not mean to die.'"

She did not, indeed. How should she faint and fail before her time because of a world out of joint, because of the reign of stupidity, because of the passions of youth, because of the difficulties and disgusts of married life in the native seats of the *homme sensuel moyen*, the average sensual man, she who could feel so well the power of those eternal consolers, Nature and Beauty? From the very first they introduce a note of suavity in her strain of grief and passion. Who can forget the lanes and meadows of *Valentine?* George Sand is one of the few French writers who keep us closely, truly, intimate with rural nature. She gives us the wild-flowers by their actual names—snow-drop, primrose, columbine, iris, scabious. Nowhere has she touched her native Berry and its little-known landscape, its *campagnes ignorées*, with a lovelier charm than in *Valentine*. The winding and deep lanes running out of the high road on either side, the fresh and calm spots they take us to, "meadows of a tender green, plaintive brooks, clumps of alder and mountain ash, a whole world of suave and pastoral nature,"—how delicious it all is! The grave and silent peasant whose very dog will hardly deign to bark at you, the great white ox, "the inevitable dean of these pastures," staring solemnly at you from the thicket; the farmhouse "with its avenue of maples, and the Indre, here hardly more than a bright rivulet, stealing along through rushes and yellow iris in the field below"—who, I say, can forget them? And that one lane in especial, the lane where Athénais puts her arm out of the side window of the rustic carriage and gathers May from the over-arching hedge—that lane with its startled blackbirds, and humming insects, and limpid water, and swaying water-plants, and shelving gravel, and yellow wagtails hopping half-pert, half-frightened, on the sand—that lane with rushes, cresses, and mint below, honeysuckle and traveller's-joy above—how gladly might one give all that strangely English picture in English, if the charm of Madame Sand's language did not here defy translation! Let us try something less difficult, and yet something where we may still have her in this her beloved world of "simplicity, and sky, and fields and trees, and peasant life, peasant life looked at, by preference, on its good and sound side." *Voyez donc la simplicité, vous autres, voyez le ciel et les champs, et les arbres, et les paysans, surtout dans ce qu'ils ont de bon et de vrai.*

The introduction to *La Mare au Diable* will give us what we want. George Sand has been looking at an engraving of Holbein's *Labourer*. An old thick-set peasant, in rags, is driving his plough in the

midst of a field. All around spreads a wild landscape, dotted with a few poor huts. The sun is setting behind a hill; the day of toil is nearly over. It has been hard; the ground is rugged and stony, the labourer's horses are but skin and bone, weak and exhausted. There is but one alert figure, the skeleton Death, who with a whip skips nimbly along at the horses' side and urges the team. Under the picture is a quotation in old French, to the effect that after the labourer's life of travail and service, in which he has to gain his bread by the sweat of his brow, here comes Death to fetch him away. And from so rude a life does Death take him, says George Sand, that Death is hardly unwelcome; and in another composition by Holbein, where men of almost every condition—popes, sovereigns, lovers, gamblers, monks, soldiers—are taunted with their fear of Death and do indeed see his approach with terror, Lazarus alone is easy and composed, and sitting on his dunghill at the rich man's door, tells Death that he does not mind him.

With her thoughts full of Holbein's mournful picture, George Sand goes out into the fields of her own Berry.

"My walk was by the border of a field which some peasants were getting ready for being sown presently. The space to be ploughed was wide, as in Holbein's picture. The landscape was vast also; the great lines of green which it contained were just touched with russet by the approach of autumn; on the rich brown soil recent rain had left, in a good many furrows, lines of water, which shone in the sun like silver threads. The day was clear and soft, and the earth gave out a light smoke where it had been freshly laid open by the plough-share. At the top of the field an old man, whose broad back and severe face were like those of the old peasant of Holbein, but whose clothes told no tale of poverty, was gravely driving his plough of an antique shape, drawn by two tranquil oxen, with coats of a pale buff, real patriarchs of the fallow, tall of make, somewhat thin, with long and blunt horns, the kind of old workmen who by long habit have got to be *brothers* to one another, as in our country-side they are called, and who, if one loses the other, refuse to work with a new comrade, and fret themselves to death. People unacquainted with the country will not believe in this affection of the ox for his yoke-fellow. They should come and see one of the poor beasts in a corner of his stable, thin, wasted, lashing with his restless tail his lean flanks, sniffing with uneasiness and disdain at the provender offered to him, his eyes for ever turned towards the stable door, scratching with his foot the empty place left at his side, smelling the yokes and bands which his companion has worn, and incessantly calling for him with piteous lowings. The ox-herd will tell you: There is a pair of oxen gone! his *brother* is dead, and this one will work no more. He ought to be fattened for killing; but one cannot get him to eat, and in a short time he will have starved himself to death."

How faithful and close it is, this contact of George Sand with country things, with the life of nature in its vast plenitude and pathos! And always in the end the human interest, as is right, emerges and predominates. What is the central figure in the fresh and calm rural world of George Sand? It is the peasant. And what is the peasant? He is France, life, the future. And this is the strength

of George Sand, and of her second movement, after the first movement of energy and revolt was over, towards nature and beauty, towards the country, primitive life, the peasant. She regarded not with the selfish and solitary joy of the artist who but seeks to appropriate them for his own purposes, she regarded them as a treasure of immense and hitherto unknown application, as a vast power of healing and delight for all, and for the peasant first and foremost. Yes, she cries, the simple life is the true one! but the peasant, the great organ of that life, "the minister in that vast temple which only the sky is vast enough to embrace," the peasant is not doomed to toil and moil in it for ever, overdone and unawakened, like Holbein's labourer, and to have for his best comfort the thought that death will set him free. *Non, nous n'avons plus affaire à la mort, mais à la vie.* "Our business henceforth is not with death but with life." And joy is the great lifter of men, the great unfolder. *Il faut que la vie soit bonne afin qu'elle soit féconde.* "For life to be fruitful, life must be felt as a blessing."

"Nature is eternally young, beautiful, bountiful. She pours out beauty and poetry for all that live, she pours it out on all plants, and the plants are permitted to expand in it freely. She possesses the secret of happiness, and no man has been able to take it away from her. The happiest of men would be he, who, possessing the science of his labour and working with his hands, earning his comfort and his freedom by the exercise of his intelligent force, found time to live by the heart and by the brain, to understand his own work and to love the work of God. The artist has satisfactions of this kind in the contemplation and reproduction of nature's beauty; but when he sees the affliction of those who people this paradise of earth, the upright and human-hearted artist feels a trouble in the midst of his enjoyment. The happy day will be when mind, heart, and hands shall be alive together, shall work in concert; when there shall be a harmony between God's munificence and man's delight in it. Then, instead of the piteous and frightful figure of Death, skipping whip in hand by the peasant's side in the field, the allegorical painter will place there a radiant angel, sowing with full hands the blessed grain in the smoking furrow.

"And the dream of a kindly, free, poetic, laborious, simple existence for the tiller of the field is not so hard to realise that it must be sent away into the world of chimæras. Virgil's sweet and sad cry: 'O happy peasants, if they but knew their own blessings!' is a regret; but like all regrets, it is at the same time a prediction. The day will come when the labourer may be also an artist—not in the sense of rendering nature's beauty, a matter which will be then of much less importance, but in the sense of feeling it. Does not this mysterious intuition of poetic beauty exist in him already in the form of instinct and of vague reverie?"

It exists in him, too, adds Madame Sand, in the form of that *nostalgia*, that home-sickness, which for ever pursues the genuine French peasant if you transplant him. The peasant has, then, the elements of the poetic sense and of its high and pure satisfactions.

"But one part of the enjoyment which we possess is wanting to him, a pure and lofty pleasure which is surely his due, minister that he is in that vast temple

which only the sky is vast enough to embrace. He has not the conscious knowledge of his sentiment. Those who have sentenced him to servitude from his mother's womb, not being able to debar him from reverie, have debarred him from reflexion.

"Well, for all that, taking the peasant as he is, incomplete and seemingly condemned to an eternal childhood, I yet find him a more beautiful object than the man in whom his acquisition of knowledge has stifled sentiment. Do not rate yourselves so high above him, many of you who imagine that you have an imprescriptible right to his obedience, for you yourselves are the most incomplete and the least seeing of men. That simplicity of his soul is more to be loved than the false lights of yours."

In all this we are passing from the second element in George Sand to the third—her aspiration for a social new-birth, a *renaissance sociale*. It is eminently the ideal of France; it was hers. Her religion connected itself with this ideal. In the convent where she was brought up she had in youth had an awakening of fervent mystical piety in the Catholic form. That form she could not keep. Popular religion of all kinds, with its deep internal impossibilities, its "heaven and hell serving to cover the illogical manifestations of the Divinity's apparent designs respecting us," its "God made in our image, silly and malicious, vain and puerile, irritable or tender, after our fashion," lost all sort of hold upon her.

"Communion with such a God is impossible to me, I confess it. He is wiped out from my memory; there is no corner where I can find him any more. Nor do I find him out of doors either; he is not in the fields and waters, he is not in the starry sky. No, nor yet in the churches where men bow themselves; it is an extinct message, a dead letter, a thought that has done its day. Nothing of this belief, nothing of this God, subsists in me any longer."

She refused to lament over the loss, to esteem it other than a benefit:—

"It is an addition to our stock of light, this detachment from the idolatrous conception of religion. It is no loss of the religious sense, as the persisters in idolatry maintain. It is quite the contrary, it is a restitution of allegiance to the true Divinity. It is a step made in the direction of this Divinity, it is an abjuration of the dogmas which did him dishonour."

She does not attempt to give of this Divinity an account much more precise than that which we have in Wordsworth—"*a presence that disturbs me with the joy of animating thoughts.*"

"Everything is divine," she says, "even matter; everything is superhuman, even man. God is everywhere; he is in me in a measure proportioned to the little that I am. My present life separates me from him just in the degree determined by the actual state of childhood of our race. Let me content myself, in all my seeking to feel after him and to possess of him as much as this imperfect soul can take in, with the intellectual sense I have."

And she concludes—

"The day will come when we shall no more talk about God idly, nay, when we shall talk about him as little as possible. We shall cease to set him forth dogmatically, to dispute about his nature. We shall put compulsion on no one to pray to him, we shall leave the whole business of worship within the

sanctuary of each man's conscience. And this will happen when we are really religious."

Meanwhile the sense of this spirit or presence which animates us, the sense of the divine, is our stronghold and our consolation. A man may say of it, "It comes not by my desert, but the atom of divine sense given to me nothing can rob me of." *Divine sense*—the phrase is a vague one; but it stands to Madame Sand for that to which are to be referred "all the best thoughts and the best actions of life, suffering endured, duty achieved, whatever purifies our existence, whatever vivifies our love."

Madame Sand is a Frenchwoman, and her religion is therefore, as I have said, with peculiar fervency social. Always she has before her mind "the natural law which *will have it* (the italics are her own) that the species *man* cannot subsist and prosper but by *association*." Whatever else we may be in creation, we are, first and foremost, "at the head of the species which are called by instinct and led by necessity to the life of *association*." The word *love*, the great word, as she justly says, of the New Testament, acquires from her social enthusiasm a peculiar significance to her:—

"The word is a great one, because it involves infinite consequences. To love means to help one another, to have joint aspirations, to act in concert, to labour for the same end, to develope to its ideal consummation the fraternal instinct, thanks to which mankind have brought the earth under their dominion. Every time that he has been false to this instinct which is his law of life, his natural destiny, man has seen his temples crumble, his societies dissolve, his intellectual sense go wrong, his moral sense die out. The future is founded on love."

So long as love is thus spoken of in the general, the ordinary serious Englishman will have no difficulty in inclining himself with respect at what Madame Sand says of it. But when he finds that love implies, with her, social equality, he will begin to be staggered. And in truth for almost every Englishman Madame Sand's strong language about equality, and about France as the chosen vessel for exhibiting it, will sound exaggerated. "The human ideal," she says, "as well as the social ideal, is to achieve equality." France, which has made equality its rallying cry, is therefore "the nation which loves and is loved," *la nation qui aime et qu'on aime*. The republic of equality is in her eyes "an ideal, a philosophy, a religion." She invokes the "holy doctrine of social liberty and fraternal equality, ever reappearing as a ray of love and truth amidst the storm." She calls it "the goal of man and the law of the future." She thinks it the secret of the civilisation of France, the most civilised of nations. Amid the disasters of the late war she cannot forbear a cry of astonishment at the neutral nations, *insensibles à l'égorgement d'une civilisation comme la nôtre*, "looking on with insensibility while a civilisation such as ours has its throat cut." Germany, with its stupid ideal of corporalism and *Kruppism*, is contrasted with France,

full of social dreams, too civilised for war, incapable of planning and preparing war for twenty years, she is so incapable of hatred—*nous sommes si incapables de haïr*. We seem to be listening, not to George Sand, but to M. Victor Hugo, half genius half charlatan; to M. Victor Hugo, or even to one of those French declaimers in whom we come down to no genius and all charlatan.

The forms of such outbursts as we have quoted will always be distasteful to an Englishman. It is to be remembered that they came from Madame Sand under the pressure and anguish of the terrible calamities of 1870. But what we are most concerned with, and what Englishmen in general regard too little, is the degree of truth contained in these allegations that France is the most civilised of nations, and that she is so, above all, by her "holy doctrine of equality." How comes the idea to be so current, and to be passionately believed in, as we have seen, by such a woman as George Sand? It was so passionately believed in by her, that when one seeks, as I am now seeking, to recall her image, the image is incomplete if the passionate belief is kept hidden.

I will not, with my scanty space, now discuss the belief, but I will seek to indicate how it must have commended itself, I think, to George Sand. I have somewhere called France "the country of Europe where *the people* is most alive." *The people* is what interested George Sand. And in France *the people* is, above all, the peasant. The workman in Paris or in other great towns of France may afford material for such pictures as those which M. Zola has lately given us in *L'Assommoir*, pictures of a kind long ago labelled by Madame Sand as "the *literature of mysteries of iniquity*, which men of talent and imagination try to bring into fashion." But the real people in France, the foundation of things there, both in George Sand's eyes and in reality, is the peasant. The peasant was the object of Madame Sand's fondest predilections in the present, and happiest hopes in the future. The Revolution and its doctrine of equality had made the French peasant. What wonder, then, if she saluted the doctrine as a holy and paramount one?

And the French peasant is really, so far as I can see, the largest and strongest element of soundness which the body social of any European nation possesses. To him is due that astonishing recovery which France has made since her defeat, and which George Sand predicted in the very hour of ruin. Yes, in 1870 she predicted *ce réveil général qui va suivre, à la grande surprise des autres nations, l'espèce d'agonie où elles nous voient tombés*, "the general arising which, to the astonishment of the other nations, is about to follow the sort of agony in which they now see us lying." To the condition, character, and qualities of the French peasant this recovery is in the main due. His material well-being is generally known. M. de Laveleye, the

well-known economist, a Belgian and a Protestant, says that France, being the country of Europe where the soil is more divided than anywhere except in Switzerland and Norway, is at the same time the country where well-being is most widely spread, where wealth has of late years increased most, and where population is least outrunning the limits which, for the comfort and progress of the working classes themselves, seem necessary. George Sand could see, of course, the well-being of the French peasant, for we can all see it.

But there is more. George Sand was a woman, with a woman's ideal of gentleness, of "the charm of good manners," as essential to civilisation. She has somewhere spoken admirably of the variety and balance of forces which go to make up true civilisation; "certain forces of weakness, docility, attractiveness, suavity, are here just as real forces as forces of vigour, encroachment, violence, or brutality." Yes, as real *forces;* because human nature requires them, and, often as they may be baffled, and slow as may be the process of their asserting themselves, mankind is not satisfied with its own civilisation, and keeps fidgeting at it and altering it again and again, until room is made for them. George Sand thought the French people—meaning principally, again, by the French people the *people* properly so called, the peasant—she thought it "the most kindly, the most amiable, of all peoples." Nothing is more touching than to read in her *Journal,* written in 1870, while she was witnessing what seemed to be "the agony of the Latin races," and undergoing what seemed to be the process of "dying in a general death of one's family, one's country, and one's nation," how constant is her defence of the people, the peasant, against her Republican friends. Her Republican friends were furious with the peasant; accused him of stolidity, cowardice, want of patriotism; accused him of having given them the Empire, with all its vileness; wanted to take away from him the suffrage. Again and again does George Sand take up his defence, and warn her friends of the folly and danger of their false estimate of him. "The contempt of the masses, there," she cries, "is the misfortune and crime of the present moment!"

"To execrate the people," she exclaims again, "is real blasphemy; the people is worth more than we are." If the peasant gave us the Empire, says Madame Sand, it was because he saw the parties of liberals disputing, gesticulating, and threatening to tear one another asunder and France too; he was told *The Empire is peace,* and he accepted the Empire. The peasant was deceived, he is uninstructed, he moves slowly; but he moves, he has admirable virtues, and in him is our life.

"Poor Jacques Bonhomme! accuse thee and despise thee who will; for my part I pity thee, and in spite of thy faults I shall always love thee. Never will I forget how, a child, I was carried asleep on thy shoulders, how I was given over to thy care and followed thee everywhere, to the field, the stall, the cottage.

They are all dead, those good old people who have borne me in their arms, but I remember them well, and I appreciate at this hour, to the minutest detail, the pureness, the kindness, the patience, the good humour, the poetry, which presided over that rustic education amidst disasters of like kind with those which we are undergoing now. Why should I quarrel with the peasant because on certain points he feels and thinks differently from what I do? There are other essential points on which we may feel eternally at one with him—probity and charity."

Another generation of peasants had grown up since that first revolutionary generation of her youth, and equality, as its reign proceeded, had not deteriorated but improved them:—

"They have advanced greatly in self-respect and well-being, these peasants from twenty years old to forty; they never ask for anything. When one meets them they no longer take off their hat. If they know you they come up to you and hold out their hand. All foreigners who stay with us are struck with their good bearing, with their amenity, and the simple, friendly, and polite ease of their behaviour. In presence of people whom they esteem they are, like their fathers, models of tact; but they have more than that mere sentiment of equality which was all that their fathers had—they have the *idea* of equality, and the determination to maintain it. This step upwards they owe to their having the suffrage. Those who would fain treat them as creatures of a lower order dare not now show this disposition to their face; it would not be pleasant."

Mr. Hamerton's interesting book about French life has much, I think, to confirm this account of the French peasant. What I have seen of France myself (and I have seen something) is fully in agreement with it. Of a civilisation and an equality which make the peasant thus *human*, gives to the bulk of the people well-being, probity, charity, self-respect, tact, and good manners, let us pardon Madame Sand if she feels and speaks enthusiastically. Some little variation on our own eternal trio of Barbarians, Philistines, Populace, or on the eternal solo of Philistinism among our brethren of the United States and the Colonies, is surely permissible.

Where one is more inclined to differ from Madame Sand is in her estimate of her Republican friends of the educated classes. They may stand, she says, for the genius and the soul of France, they represent its "exalted imagination and profound sensibility," while the peasant represents its humble, sound, indispensable body. Her *protégé*, the peasant, is much ruder with those eloquent gentlemen, and has his own name for one and all of them, *l'avocat*, by which he means to convey his belief that words are more to be looked for from that quarter than seriousness and profit. It seems to me by no means certain but that the peasant is in the right. George Sand herself has said admirable things of these friends of hers; of their want of patience, temper, wisdom; of their "vague and violent way of talking;" of their interminable flow of "stimulating phrases, cold as death." If the educated and speaking classes in France were as sound in their way as the peasant is in his, France would present a

different spectacle. Not "imagination and sensibility" are so much required from the educated classes of France, as simpler, more serious views of life; a knowledge how great a part conduct (if M. Challemel-Lacour will allow me to say so) fills in it; a better example. The few who see this, such as Madame Sand among the dead, and M. Renan among the living, perhaps awaken on that account, amongst quiet observers at a distance, all the more sympathy; but in France they are isolated. All the later work of George Sand, however, all her hope of genuine social renovation, take the simple and serious ground so necessary. "The cure for us is far more simple than we will believe. All the better natures amongst us see it and feel it. It is a good direction given by ourselves to our hearts and consciences" —*une bonne direction donnée par nous-mêmes à nos cœurs et à nos consciences.* These are among the last words of her *Journal* of 1870.

Whether or not the number of George Sand's works—always fresh, always attractive, but poured out too lavishly and rapidly—is likely to prove a hindrance to her fame, I do not care to consider. Posterity, alarmed at the way in which its literary baggage grows upon it, always seeks to leave behind it as much as it can, as much as it dares—everything but masterpieces. But the immense vibration of George Sand's voice upon the ear of Europe will not soon die away. Her passions and her errors have been abundantly talked of. She left them behind her, and men's memory of her will leave them behind also. There will remain of her the sense of benefit and stimulus from the passage upon earth of that large and frank nature, that large and pure utterance—the *large utterance of the early gods.* There will remain an admiring and ever widening report of that great soul, simple, affectionate, without vanity, without pedantry, human, equitable, patient, kind. She believed herself, she said, "to be in sympathy, across time and space, with a multitude of honest wills which interrogate their conscience and try to put themselves in accord with it." This chain of sympathy will extend more and more.

It is silent, that eloquent voice; it is sunk, that noble, that speaking head; we sum up, as we best can, what she said to us, and we bid her adieu. From many hearts in many lands a troop of tender and grateful regrets converge towards her humble churchyard in Berry. Let them be joined by these words of sad homage from one of a nation which she esteemed, and which knew her very little and very ill. Her guiding thought, the guiding thought which she did her best to make ours too, "the sentiment of the ideal life, which is none other than man's normal life as we shall one day know it," is in harmony with words and promises familiar to that sacred place where she lies. *Exspectat resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi sæculi.*

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

# MAORIS AND KANAKAS.

In the quarter of the globe commonly known as Polynesia the various influences, natural and artificial, which are everywhere at work, tending to diminish the variety of existing organic types and to establish a general uniformity in the aspect of nature and of human society, appear to operate at present with peculiar rapidity. We find there the remains of a submerged continent, planed down beneath the sea-level, above which are visible only a few volcanic summits and a number of coral islets and reefs. The vast Pacific Ocean covers nearly half the earth's surface, and that portion of it called Polynesia, over which the "Many Islands" are scattered, may be styled one of the four quarters of the globe, to which in area it is approximately equal. Throughout this watery waste the only considerable tract of land is the insular group of New Zealand, exceeding somewhat in area the island of Great Britain. The next largest group is the Hawaiian, at the opposite extremity of Polynesia, containing eight inhabited islands, whose aggregate area is not much greater than that of Yorkshire. The remaining groups of Polynesia proper consist of islets so insignificant in size, that the total aggregate of land in this ocean expanse is smaller than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. All these fragments of a continent are inhabited by a kindred people; they are known generally as "Kanakas" (meaning simply "men"); but in New Zealand the natives style themselves the "Maori," or pure race, in contradistinction to the "Pakeha," or stranger. Apart from the general attractions of their character and history, a special and tragic interest attaches to these Polynesians in all their branches, for their annihilation, as a distinct race, appears to be inevitable within a very few years. Nowhere has the destructive effect even of a peaceable European invasion been so marked as in Polynesia; nowhere have the robust invaders so rapidly established themselves to the extinction of feebler, if not inferior, breeds. The unequal nature of the struggle between the highly organized types familiar to us here and those which have been developed under a less severe competition, is most clearly exhibited in New Zealand, whose climate resembles that of Western Europe. The fauna and flora of a small insulated land-surface have in this case been brought into direct collision with those of the great northern province, evolved as the survivors of many competing types.

The ultimate result might have been anticipated, but the rapidity with which it has been brought about is somewhat startling. In

certain districts, settled a good many years ago, the native plants and animals have, with a few exceptions, already disappeared, and are replaced by those of Europe. In particular, the only conspicuous flowers and birds are those which make gay our own fields and hedgerows, while indigenous specimens must be sought for carefully if they are to be found at all. Around Christchurch and Nelson the air rings with the song of skylarks and blackbirds, and is redolent with the scent of hawthorn and sweetbriar. A few years ago Dr. Haast, curator of the Canterbury Museum, visited a remote district in the Middle Island, where he found some three hundred different species of indigenous plants, about one-third of them being new to science. Quite recently he paid a second visit to the same district, and could only discover about ten per cent. of the species formerly seen; the rest had vanished before the face of European settlers. The only gallinaceous bird indigenous in New Zealand is a species of quail, which was in many places very abundant a short time ago. It is now difficult to obtain a single living specimen, although the bird has undergone no severe persecution, and attempts have even been made to preserve it by an ex-premier of New Zealand. Meanwhile the Californian quail has been introduced and flourishes, and Chinese pheasants have overspread the country.

The native rat, the only terrestrial mammal found in New Zealand by European discoverers, has so completely disappeared, that many naturalists are sceptical as to its having ever existed, and the little island in Lake Taupo is said to be its only remaining habitat. On the other hand, the common brown rat, the faithful companion of the white man in all his wanderings, has taken complete possession of a country where its increase is restricted by no reptiles nor quadrupeds, and few birds of prey, and is encountered far beyond any settlements of its human fellow-colonists, close to the glaciers of the New Zealand Alps. The honey-bee of Europe has established itself as a very successful settler in the Southern Hemisphere, and has not merely suppressed the feeble insect rivals which it found there, but also in some parts appears to have caused a marked reduction in the number of honey-sucking birds. The destruction of timber is so universally the result of colonisation, that the denudation of New Zealand is exceptional only inasmuch as an exotic vegetation is already replacing the primaeval forest, which cattle and fire rather than the axe have annihilated. Near Christchurch, in the Middle Island, where extensive plantations of English trees and shrubs give to the country an aspect like that of an English midland county, there remains one small patch only of the virgin forest a few acres in extent. With the utmost care this interesting relic has been preserved by one of the earliest settlers, and, thanks to him, his younger fellow-citizens can still realise what sort of vege-

tation covered the Canterbury plains when he first landed in New Zealand.

Indeed, it may be said that the indigenous animals and plants of New Zealand succumb without a struggle, whether to the domesticated varieties imported by the white man for his own benefit, or to those noxious creatures and weeds of which he is the involuntary introducer. Of the human aboriginals, however, this does not hold true; in no sense are they a helpless or a feeble folk; to force they have never succumbed without a determined resistance, and they have readily adapted themselves to such peaceful changes as foreign civilisation demands.

Nevertheless, the Maori race, gallant, vigorous, and intelligent beyond any so-called savages with whom we have ever been brought into collision, seems doomed to the same fate which is overtaking the feeble, short-winged birds characteristic of the Polynesian fauna. Official statistics confirm the universal impression, among colonists and natives alike, that the Maoris are dying out. In 1849, Sir George Grey estimated their numbers at 120,000, and since then they have rapidly declined; in 1858 a native census resulted in a total of 56,000; and at the enumeration of 1874 there were 45,470 Maoris in the whole colony, all except a couple of thousand being inhabitants of the North Island. If this rate of reduction continues the "Maori difficulty" will soon solve itself, and there will be room in the North Island for many more cattle and sheep; but a brave, generous, intelligent race of men will disappear, and many, even of those who will inherit their territory, cannot regard this disappearance without regret.

When white men speak of those with dark skins whom they are subduing or supplanting, their language is not generally complimentary. It is therefore an agreeable surprise for a traveller in New Zealand to hear the tone of respect, even of admiration, in which the Maoris are habitually discussed by the colonists. Such sentiments redound indeed to the credit of both races, for they are mainly due to the military prowess of the Maoris, and prove that Englishmen bear no grudge against a gallant foe for stalwart blows taken in fair fight. Nay, our most formidable antagonists (the Sikhs for example) appear always to enjoy a certain popularity among our countrymen, and men who themselves took part in the struggle with such chiefs as Te Rauparaha or Te Kooti often have a good word to say for their indomitable foes. It is at least impossible to feel contempt, and difficult not to feel admiration, for men who held their own so long against us, when every material advantage was on our side. Ten thousand British troops, supported by a large contingent of colonial volunteers besides friendly natives, and supplied with powerful artillery and arms of precision, were opposed

to a few hundred Maoris armed with fowling-pieces. Notwithstanding such great odds, the contest was bloody and protracted, owing to the combined courage and judgment with which our "savage" enemies availed themselves of the natural defences of their country, and to the skill displayed by them in military engineering.

A Maori pah in peaceful times is simply an enclosure surrounded by a shallow ditch, in front of which is a light palisade interlaced with "supple-jack" vines. When prepared to stand a siege these lines of defence were strengthened, multiplied, and flanked with rifle-pits. Shot and shell passed harmlessly through the tough elastic palisade without effecting a breach, and when troops were led to the assault they were shot down at close quarters by invisible enemies, sheltered in the ditch and firing through interstices in the palisade. If the outer line of defence became untenable, the defenders were able to take refuge behind a second enclosure, and open a murderous fire upon any assailants who might have penetrated within the first. At so short a range double-barrelled smooth-bores, in the hands of cool determined men, proved to be most effective weapons, and the usual result of assaulting a pah was discomfiture with heavy loss. Sooner or later, from want of water or ammunition, the little fortress would be evacuated by the Maoris and occupied by our troops. When this occurred after the repulse from the gate pah, it was found that the enemy had succoured the British wounded and supplied them with water, an incident well attested, but certainly not characteristic of barbarous warfare.

The Maori is in truth as near an approach to the ideal of a "noble savage" as has ever existed in modern times, and is a worthy rival of the imaginary Delawares of romance:—

> "His valour, shown upon our crests,
> Hath taught us how to cherish such high deeds,
> Even in the bosom of our adversaries."

It would be easy to multiply authentic instances of daring and self-devotion on the part of the Maoris during the war, and difficult to give any of treachery or cowardice. Upon particular occasions they certainly were guilty of slaying non-combatants; but such acts were in accordance with their own laws of warfare, and were not regarded by them as wanton cruelty, any more than the burning of a defenceless village, or the bombardment of a city crowded with women and children, might be so regarded by certain kinds of civilised commanders. Their worst enemies have not accused them of acting like the Turks in Bulgaria, or even the Versaillais in Paris; and on the whole the Maoris can teach no less than they can learn as to chivalrous usages in war.

The punctiliousness with which they give due notice of an intended outbreak or attack is almost Quixotic, and tends greatly to the

comfort of those settlers who live on the borders of the "Kingite" territory, a large tract extending from the west coast into the centre of the North Island. Here the natives still maintain their independence under a king of their own, and exclude the Pakehas rigorously, prohibiting the construction of roads or telegraphs. Human trespassers are warned off with polite firmness, cattle are driven back to their owners once or twice, and finally are confiscated.

When I visited a friend settled upon the Upper Waikato, a somewhat uneasy feeling was prevalent throughout that border district, owing to the construction of a railroad near the limits of the King's territory. This undertaking was regarded by the Kingites as a menace to their independence, and not without reason; for they have observed that as roads, railways, and telegraphs advance, the Pakehas increase in numbers, while the Maoris diminish, and the land passes gradually out of the hands of its original possessors. It was apprehended that despair at the prospect of this peaceful conquest of their country might cause an outbreak of the independent natives, and international relations were in a state of considerable tension in the spring (October) of 1874. My friend's house is on the very edge of the confiscation boundary; and as the farthest outlying station in that direction was completely exposed in case of an attack, I asked him, as we looked across the rushing current of the Waikato into what might at any moment become a hostile country, whether he did not feel any uneasiness at the prospect.

His reply was, "None whatever as to my personal safety, for I shall be sure to receive two or three days' warning from the Maoris, if they mean to attack us. I only wish that I could feel equally easy about the safety of my farm." He knew the natives well, and doubtless his confidence in their chivalry was not misplaced, however strange it may appear to border men whose experience has been acquired in other lands. While wandering through the interior of the North Island, I met not a few colonists who had associated much with the Maoris, who understood their language, and had many stories to tell of their generosity and their intelligence, above all of their courage. Such stories, when told on the very scene of the events, and among the actors themselves, may be relied upon as expressing the genuine belief and tradition of the locality, even should there be inaccuracy or exaggeration as to details.

It must be recollected that it is not a Maori, but a Pakeha, who tells the story of Orakau, where three hundred warriors displayed the spirit of Leonidas, but experienced better luck. They were surrounded by an overwhelming force of British troops, and honourable terms of capitulation were offered, but the unanimous reply came back, "We will never surrender." A desperate sortie from the pah resulted, to the astonishment of all concerned, in the escape of

most of the Maoris, after cutting their way through the hostile ranks. One warrior, who carried a child in a basket strapped to his forehead, was shot dead during the fight. A comrade stooped down, coolly unfastened the basket amid a shower of bullets, and carried off the child in safety, not without a cheer from some of the soldiers who witnessed the gallant deed.

The same courage and skill which were so freely displayed against us during the Maori wars were also found among those natives who fought on our side, and the officers of the Maori contingent had good reason to be proud of their men. Without them indeed peace would have been hard to establish, and a hearty union of all the native tribes might have taxed the resources of the British empire. Fortunately for us certain tribes have always been our zealous allies, and the colony still employs the services of a fine body, well armed and disciplined, and known as the Native Constabulary. An officer of this force described to me, with just pride, how his men, at the siege of a formidable pah, went to work with a couple of spades and a few pointed sticks, fairly sapping their way into the place, without any assistance from engineers or artillery.

When the electric telegraph was in process of construction through the centre of the North Island, near Orakeikorako, the natives, who considered that the authorities had not kept faith with them, intimated that the telegraph could not be permitted to stand, and proceeded, after due notice, to cut down the posts. These were re-erected, and again cut down, after which an armed force was sent up to overawe the natives. An eye-witness described to me the interview which took place between the officer in command and the Maori envoy. On a very rainy day a naked warrior marched into the camp, and asked to see the officer commanding the troops. He was received with as great a display of force as possible, many "Queenite" natives being present; but he was equal to the occasion, and, standing alone among angry foes, he had an apt reply for every one in turn. He told the Queenites that he could estimate the exact value of their attachment to the British Queen: it was just equal to a salary of six shillings a day, the amount of pay which they were then receiving. To the officer, who asserted that the authorities had always kept faith, he politely replied, that such no doubt was the experience of the rangatira (chief or gentleman) who had just spoken, but that his own experience had hitherto been very different. In conclusion, he said, "I and my people desire no quarrel with the Government, but a certain payment has been promised to us for the ground on which the telegraph stands, and we insist on that payment being made. If this is not done we will cut down the telegraph posts, if we are attacked we will fight, and not a post shall be erected while one of us remains alive." They were paid.

It is true that the Colonial Government, as a rule, has treated the Maoris with remarkable fairness and consideration, but much of this has been due to their being so well able to take their own part if treated otherwise. The elements still exist in the country for one more Maori war, but there is every reason now to hope that this will be altogether averted by a just and conciliatory policy on the part of the New Zealand Government.

The "Queenite" natives, so-called as being loyal subjects of Queen Victoria, in contradistinction to the adherents of the Maori king, are steadily developing into useful citizens: they cultivate the soil, pay taxes, serve in the constabulary, and take their share in public affairs as electors and as representatives.[1] Many of those who are so peaceful and law-abiding fought desperately against our troops while the war lasted. A stout foe can be a firm friend, and a conspicuous example is the gallant chief Paurini of Tokanu. No Maori enjoys more thoroughly the confidence and friendship of his white fellow-citizens, and no Maori can give a warmer welcome to a white stranger; but the stalwart figure, which his sole garment, a tartan kilt, exhibits to no small advantage, is literally riddled with the bullets of the Pakeha.

As for the "Kingites," it will not be possible for them within their limited territory to maintain much longer their present policy of isolation, and the only doubt is whether the collapse of the little independent monarchy will come about in a peaceable or a warlike manner. Two years ago there seemed to be a risk of war, but it has not yet broken out, and the mere lapse of time is in every way favourable to peace. When in the neighbourhood I was very anxious to avail myself of a missive for a Kingite chief, in order to reach, if possible, Tokangamutu, the capital village of the Maori king. After consulting a number of friends who were well informed upon the question, and one of whom had married the daughter of a great Maori chief, I resolved to abandon the attempt, as they all agreed in dissuading me, although each adviser gave different reasons for his advice. Most of them considered that the risk of personal violence was small, except perhaps from the Hau-hau fanatics, the rise of which sect has introduced a new element into Maori affairs. Formerly, an unarmed stranger, trusting to Maori honour, was perfectly safe in any part of the country, but now there are individuals who believe that in slaying any Pakeha they would be doing a pious deed. All were at one in saying that if I went at all I must not carry arms of any sort. The most serious objections urged were to this effect:—

"Your visit, as the bearer of a letter from an ex-governor, will have an

(1) There are now two Maoris in the Legislative Council, and four in the House of Representatives.

apparent political significance altogether foreign to its real object, and may produce complications. Sir George Grey's introduction will of course secure the goodwill of the chief to whom it is addressed, and even of the authorities generally; but the railroad works are approaching the boundary, and matters are in a critical condition, while a number of persons in the King's country, including certain mean whites, are interested in getting up a disturbance. In particular the refugees from the Maori territory lately confiscated entertain the wild hope that in a general scrimmage they may regain their land, and feel that now or never is their chance. The King and his advisers probably do not share these feelings, but a European of any consequence runs the risk of being made the victim in some mode or other of these Adullamites, in order that the Kingites may be embroiled with the Pakehas. Under these circumstances, the better your introduction, the greater will be the risk."

The chance of seeing the last scene of independent Maori life was a great temptation, but these considerations satisfied me that I should exercise a wise discretion in letting the Kingites alone. Matters at Tokangamutu have undergone no very material change during the short interval which has elapsed since I left New Zealand, but peace has been hitherto maintained, and its future maintenance depends upon the action of the Colonial Government. The Maories are able to realise more fully from day to day the utterly hopeless character of an armed struggle, and will hardly provoke one unless goaded on by a sense of oppression and injustice. On the other hand, an aggressive policy finds little favour now with the colonists, who no longer have the imperial exchequer available for war expenses, and must in future bear all such burdens upon their own shoulders. There has, in fact, been no serious Maori difficulty since the imperial troops were withdrawn from the colony.

It may be fairly assumed that the colonists will continue to act towards the Maoris with justice and moderation, as they have usually done hitherto; but even with the best intentions it is often impossible to avoid arousing a genuine sense of wrong, owing to the radical differences of law and custom between the two races, especially with regard to land. When a transfer of land from a native to a white man takes place, it is usually quite fair and straightforward according to European notions, whether by sale, by gift, or by confiscation after war. The settler performs what he believes to be all the necessary legal formalities, and pays the purchase money agreed upon, but finds his possession of the land disputed, perhaps by an individual, perhaps by a whole tribe. The validity of the transaction is frequently denied upon the ground that the seller had no right to sell, and that tribal rights have been ignored. According to Maori usage the objections may be quite *bonâ fide*, and would probably receive effect from colonial judges if urged at the proper time and place. But the natives are unwilling to admit the jurisdiction of the colonial courts in such cases, and refuse to plead in them, regarding the entire legal procedure as an organization to

defraud them of their land. Thus the tenure of land is here, as elsewhere, the fruitful source of discord between invaders and invaded, even when the former are desirous of acting justly according to their own ideas of justice. Meanwhile the Maoris see only too clearly that the land is passing out of their hands, and they are daily becoming fewer and feebler as their white rivals increase in numbers, in riches, and in power. The majority accept this state of matters as inevitable, and try to make the best of it, having actually in some places settled down into the position of landlords, living upon the rents paid to them by their white tenants. Within the Kingite limits, however, there are still many intractable spirits, not the least generous and patriotic of their nation, who "long but for one battle more, the stain of their shame to efface."

Religious fanaticism stimulates this hostile spirit, and if there ever again are serious troubles with the natives in New Zealand, we shall hear more of the "Hau-haus," who have lapsed from Christianity back to their original heathenism, upon which they have engrafted some of the darker rites and tenets to be found in the pages of the Old Testament.

How far the missionaries have made any deep or lasting impression upon the life and character of the Polynesians, whom they so rapidly persuaded to accept the forms of Christianity, is a point very difficult to decide. A strong reaction from their influence and teaching has undoubtedly taken place in many parts of New Zealand, where deserted mission stations are pointed out embowered amid choice fruit-trees, in situations the amenity of which does the highest credit to the taste of the reverend founders. In a remote village of the interior there lies on the ground a very large bell, too heavy to be swung in any building of native construction. It is the only visible token of Christianity, and bears a Maori inscription to the effect that it is a gift, bestowed in 1853 upon the believers of Tokanu by "certain good women of Kotirana," the nearest approach to the name of Scotland which the Maori alphabet permits. A good woman of the locality, on our asking what it all meant, replied with a laugh and the Maori equivalent for "soft sawder!" The handsome gift is evidently not looked upon with the respect due to its intrinsic value, to the motives which actuated the donors, and to the difficulties overcome in conveying it into the heart of a country at that time entirely devoid of roads. During the twenty years that have elapsed since this great bell was rolled in a barrel over the fern-clad hills around Lake Taupo, many converts have either joined the Hau-haus or lapsed into utter indifference, and are pagans so far as any religious faith is concerned. But not the less on that account have the Christian missionaries deserved well of the natives. Throughout Polynesia it is entirely due to them that the natives are

an educated people in the strictest sense of the word, for it is difficult to find anywhere within reach of mission influence a Polynesian, old or young, who cannot read and write.

The missionaries began by creating a written language, simple as to orthography, and invariable as to pronunciation. Having reduced to writing dialects which existed formerly as mere sounds, they ere long succeeded in converting war-like and indolent savages into lettered scholars, although many of their pupils had already attained a mature age. An achievement such as this reflects credit upon teachers and pupils alike.

It must be admitted that the missionaries have been too severe in their condemnation of native customs and amusements, and have thereby overstrained their influence. The burdens laid upon recent converts have been too heavy for them to bear, and a certain amount of reaction has necessarily followed. The "haka" and the "hula-hula" are not, perhaps, the most elegant or decorous of dances, but it would have been wiser to reform than to prohibit, although some Christian denominations can fairly boast of their consistent opposition to dancing of any sort, and may assert with some show of reason that waltzes and reels are not greatly superior in decorum to the native dances of Polynesia. The joyous nature of the islanders is not easily suppressed, and they are more likely to become hypocrites than ascetics; but the outburst in New Zealand of the Pai Marire or Hau-hau religion, a few years ago, proved that the stern theology of the Old Testament is not without attraction for the fiercer spirits among them. In Hawaii the awe entertained by the natives for the missionaries is enhanced by their influence with the government, which has always been considerable. Even the presence of a man-of-war "Pelekani" (British), and the popularity of the officers, will not avail to produce a "hula-hula" on Sunday in a Hawaiian village. The answer to all persuasions is, "The missionaries and the police"—the latter being in this merely the agents of the former. Where missionaries have the ear of the authorities, as in Polynesia, they need not expect to be regarded as "protectors of the poor," a title freely conceded to them in India, where many of the unconverted natives regard them as their best friends, able and willing to plead their cause even in disputes with government officials. A distinct antagonism usually exists throughout Polynesia between the missionary and the casual white settler, and the opinions of a stranger are apt to be coloured according to the class among which he happens to be thrown. Speaking for myself, the good work of education appears to cover the other failures of the missionaries, and to compensate amply the islanders for all that they have given up, whether in land, in pecuniary contributions, or in amusement. Partly owing to a diminished population, partly also

to diminished religious zeal, church accommodation is now in excess of the requirements of the natives, more especially in Hawaii, and the staring white buildings which stud the coast are often little used, except as landmarks for vessels at sea.

In attempting to account for the depopulation of Polynesia, various causes are assigned by those who have considered the question: intemperance, immorality, infantile epidemics, and pulmonary diseases. Some persons lay stress upon one evil, some upon another, the most careful observers being the least ready with an answer. Some suggestions seem fanciful enough: the women ride too much upon horseback; wearing clothes produces susceptibility to sudden chills; and the peaceable habits of modern times cause more accessible but less healthy localities to be inhabited. Although these may all be true causes of diminished population, all combined appear inadequate to account for the result. Disease and intemperance of all sorts, combined with bad ventilation, insufficient food, and a severe climate, do not prevent the population of our large cities from increasing. Why, then, should the Polynesians succumb, whose climate is equable, whose food is abundant, and who breathe the fresh breezes from mountain and sea? They are not dispossessed of their lands or driven from their hunting-grounds like the Red Indians and Australian Blacks. They own large tracts of fertile soil, and foreigners are eager to pay good wages to those who will work, scarcity of labour being the main difficulty of sugar cultivation in the Sandwich Islands. The marked deficiency of women among the Polynesians does not seem to be due to female infanticide, and is of course unfavourable to population; but they are by no means sterile, and pretty little brown children usually swarm around the native dwellings, which occur at distant intervals on the coast, or in the interior. Why, then, is it that many of these dwellings have been deserted, and that luxuriant plantations of cocoa-nut palms, and bread-fruit trees, remain neglected? The means of subsistence are there, but those who should have gathered them have vanished. The climate and products are those of Ceylon, but where are the irrigated rice terraces, and populous villages hidden in a jungle of fruit-bearing trees? One is reminded rather of the barren glens of Sutherland, where bright green patches on the brown hill-sides mark the site of what are still called "towns."

Thus much is clear, however, that "civilisation" has introduced in Polynesia causes of destruction more than counterbalancing the advantages of education and good government so far as the natives are concerned. They are unable, even under the most favourable conditions, to resist evils which hardly affect the vitality and fecundity of the Indo-European or Mongolian, and those vices and diseases which merely scourge the individual of the stronger race annihilate the less prolific breed.

When they are all gone there will be additional space in the world for a few Caucasians and a good many Mongolians, of whom there seem to be quite enough already, and no doubt the Negro also would flourish and multiply in the tropical islands. On the whole, humanity will not profit greatly by the change. In frugality and industry the Kanaka is far inferior to the Chinaman, but not to the Negro; while courtesy, courage, docility, and generosity are not such common qualities that we can witness without regret the extinction of the Polynesians, who exhibit them in so marked a degree. Depopulation is not limited to Polynesia proper, but goes on all over the Southern Hemisphere as rapidly as in the kingdom of Hawaii, the only important insular group lying north of the equator in the Pacific Ocean. In the Fijis, since their annexation, the mortality has been appalling, but these islands are inhabited by Melanesians, a black race very different to the brown Kanakas. The Tasmanian "black-fellow" is gone already, and his Australian brother is rapidly following him. We may pity even such irreclaimable savages as these are, and regret the mode of their extermination, but we must admit that for them there is no room within the pale of a truly civilised community, and that they are interesting only as ethnological curiosities, exhibiting in recent times a very early stage of human development. It will not take long to write their epitaph, although in their keen love of sport and their invincible dislike of steady work they bear a certain resemblance to some of the most exalted and highly favoured classes of mankind.

With the polished Hawaiian and the chivalrous Maori it is different, and the loss caused to humanity by their disappearance is real. Of course they are not without failings, and contact with unworthy Europeans has not tended to diminish some of these, but they have learnt, on the other hand, from our people good lessons of industry and thrift. Naturally they have so little notion of saving as to give away, or even destroy, their surplus with reckless extravagance; but now a Maori capitalist is by no means unknown, and I have seen in the interior of Hawkes Bay and Wellington provinces Maori farms which would do credit to any white settler. Occasionally, however, the original nature asserts itself, and at one of these very farms the native agriculturist deliberately burnt the whole of his straw because he experienced some trouble in obtaining what he considered to be its proper price. Another distinguished chief had some turkeys to dispose of, and as the first person to whom they were offered for sale objected to the exorbitant sum asked, he gave them all away to a Pakeha friend. When the Polynesian is accused of being idle and thriftless, of having very lax notions as to female virtue, and a weakness for intoxicating liquors, the case against him has been pretty nearly summed up, and it

can only be added that his failings are injurious to himself rather than to others. That those who can speak the language of Maoris or Kanakas, and who are in constant association with them, either officially or socially, like them well enough to tell many stories in their favour and few to their discredit, is a fact with which a passing traveller can hardly fail to be impressed, and my own experience, as far as it went, confirmed the favourable views of those better qualified to speak upon the subject.

A ride of a few days through a district so little frequented by Europeans that we only met one white man—a trooper of the armed constabulary—afforded an opportunity of realising the kindly disposition and honesty of the more unsophisticated among the New Zealanders. They could not do much for us certainly, and one chief apologized for apparent remissness by asking, "How can I show you kindness when I have only potatoes and cabbage?" They did what they could, however, with a friendly politeness which was very gratifying. On one occasion I arrived with my guide at a Hau-hau village after dark, and found it deserted for the time being by all its inhabitants, except one very aged crone too feeble to travel. Following the custom in such cases we selected the most comfortable "wharé," and made ourselves at home. This wharé was a hut built of reeds, fern-stalks, and native flax, closely interwoven and perfectly weather-tight. Clean mats were the only furniture, but so great was the confidence reposed by the owner in his countrymen and visitors, that he had left in this open hut his most precious possession—a pair of double-barrelled guns, which had probably in their day done service against the British troops. It is illegal to sell firearms to the natives in New Zealand, and even a revolver and a few cartridges cannot be landed without purchasing a permit to introduce "arms, ammunition, and warlike stores," so that these two old fowling-pieces were of priceless value to the owner; yet he evidently entertained no fears for their safety. They were "tapu" (sacred), no doubt, to all good Hau-haus, and our absent host was justified in his apparent carelessness. We could make him no return for his hospitality, beyond fetching water for the poor old lady and giving her a few of our provisions. My guide was well known and popular with the natives, which ensured us a welcome anywhere; but an unlucky white pedestrian who preceded us paid the penalty of the misconduct of others. Arriving at a small village, weary and footsore, he asked for shelter; but the men were absent, and the women did not like his looks, so one of them advised him to push on a mile or two for an imaginary settlement. There are no habitations for the next twenty-five miles, and as my experienced guide lost his way upon the trackless plain, there was some reason to apprehend that the poor "sun-downer" never succeeded in making his way

across. If he really did come to an untimely end, his was a hard case; but the behaviour of mean whites under similar circumstances was the cause, if not the excuse, for the falsehood told by the unprotected "wahine" (woman) of Tirau. She evidently felt compunction in confessing to us this breach of hospitality, in order that we might look out for him, and the incident appeared to me at least as unfavourable to the character of white men in general as to that of this native woman in particular. Had the "rangatira" been at home nothing of the sort would have occurred.

In Polynesia, as is usually the case where women are in a minority, they are treated with some consideration, and take part in nearly all amusements and occupations along with men. They are very fond of riding, many Maori ladies using side-saddles and riding-habits, while those of Hawaii invariably ride *à la Duchesse de Berri* on Spanish saddles; and most picturesque objects they are on horseback, in their brilliant flowing robes, adorned with coronets and garlands of flowers. Tattooing is no longer in fashion with the youths and maidens; but in New Zealand the senior chiefs are decorated with most elaborate patterns of spirals and volutes, and the elder women have their lips and chins tattooed like the Maronites of the Lebanon. As usual among uncivilised races, the women are not so good-looking as the men, and in New Zealand they do not scorn a short clay pipe, even when dressed in complete European fashion—a practice not calculated to improve their appearance. A good many white men have married Maori wives, and are known as "Pakeha-Maoris;" the half-breeds appear to be a fine vigorous race.

There is an analogy between our present position in the North Island and that of the French in Algeria; the law is obeyed by all, roads and bridges are constructed, and an unarmed traveller can pass safely through the interior. The natives are treated with respect and consideration, which they have earned by their courage and good faith. No one affects to despise the Maoris any more than the Kabyles, and they enjoy, whenever they choose to claim it, complete social equality in hotels, public conveyances, and places of resort. At the same time there is, in certain districts of the island, a feeling of insecurity among the colonists similar to that which pervades Algeria, where religious fanaticism and love of independence may slumber indeed, but are by no means dead in the hearts of the "indigènes."

The social position accorded to the Maoris by the whites is altogether different from that of any other dark-skinned race throughout the British dominions, but is completely justified by the readiness and ease with which they adapt themselves to the manners of good society. "Is that person a gentleman? Has he never dined with the Governor before?" was the inquiry of a chief who was for the

first time a guest at Government House, and observed that one of his Pakeha companions, unlike himself, was ill at ease and puzzled how to behave. A Maori member of the Legislative Council, being asked whether he had had a pleasant dinner party, is said to have replied, "Oh yes, very much so. We were all gentlemen; no Lower House members present." This story, however, has somewhat the appearance of having been made up at the expense of the popular branch of the legislature.

At the opening of the Hawaiian Parliament in 1850, the King, in his address to the "nobles and representatives" of the people, assured them that the policy of the Government was "essentially protective to the Hawaiian or native race, to the intent that the question of their capability of civilisation may be fully solved." For a quarter of a century the attempt to carry out such a policy has been honestly made, under singularly favourable conditions and with very encouraging results, were it not for the well-grounded apprehension that the Hawaiian race, as it becomes civilised, is doomed to become extinct. No one who has passed any time among these happy lotos-eaters can contemplate without sincere regret this consummation of so promising a political experiment. The statistics are, however, only too conclusive; and, as in the case of the Maoris, the diminution in numbers is so steady, that a limit at no remote date may be calculated beyond which the Hawaiian race will not survive. Without taking into account the large estimate of the population given by Captain Cook, we find that the Sandwich Islands, in 1823, contained 142,000 inhabitants, and in 1832 only 130,000; four years later they were reduced to 108,500, and in 1849 to 80,600, their annual death rate being then about 8 per cent. In 1866 the native population was 58,765, and in 1872 (the date of the last census) 51,531, including half-castes. The excess of males over females was then no less than 3,216, and the annual decrease was estimated to be from 1,200 to 2,000. There was at the same time a small annual increase in the number of half-castes, as well as in that of the whites and Chinese.

The cause of this depopulation is certainly not political misgovernment. The independence of Hawaii has been recognised by all the great maritime nations, and the form of government is a constitutional monarchy. The legislature is composed of twenty chiefs or nobles nominated by the Crown, and a number (not exceeding forty) of representatives elected biennially. There is a considerable property qualification for representatives, and a smaller one for electors. The legislators are paid, and all sit and vote in one assembly. The King himself is of the ancient royal race, but his cabinet (composed of three ministers besides the attorney-general) contains no Hawaiian except the minister of the interior.

The leading foreign merchants, one of whom has married the King's sister, are members of the privy council, and a preponderating influence is exercised by the enlightened white community of Honolulu. The theoretical excellence of this constitution has not been belied by its practical working. Government schools have been everywhere established, 87 per cent. of the children of school age are actually receiving instruction, and a Hawaiian unable to read and write is rarely to be found. The sale of intoxicating liquors to natives is forbidden by law, and the legal penalties are strictly enforced. Indeed, so energetic and efficient are the magistrates, both native and foreign, that the number of criminal convictions assumes an alarming magnitude for a small community; but it is reassuring to find that some of the offences are not very heinous in their nature. In two years there were no less than sixty-one convictions for violating the Sabbath.

The political hardships of the Hawaiians, in fact, consist merely in being too much governed. Life and property are secure; the laws are just, and are well administered; the *quantity*, not the *quality*, of the government is in fault. The political machinery, with king, privy council, governors, judges, salaried ministers and legislators, is ludicrously in excess of the requirements of the dwindling population—less than sixty thousand, including all the foreigners.

The military outlay, indeed, is not great, except upon music and upon gunpowder for salutes. The last item consumes a most undue proportion of the national resources, as the principal foreign powers are represented by commissioners as well as by consuls, and the tariff of guns allotted to each is two in excess of what is customary elsewhere. Men-of-war of various nations, British and American in particular, are constantly visiting Honolulu; and the islanders flatter themselves that the United Kingdom and the United States are alike prepared to use any amount of force or fraud in order to effect annexation. The various commissioners, on their side, watch one another with as much jealous distrust as do the ambassadors to the Sublime Porte; each regards the success of his policy as essential to the welfare of his own country as well as that of Hawaii. At present no pretext could easily be found for foreign interference in the affairs of such a peaceable and well-conducted state, and Hawaii may hope for a season to enjoy the political independence which she owes partly to her geographical isolation, planted as she is far from any other land in the centre of the vast Pacific.

But what will be the fate of the Sandwich Islands when there are no more Hawaiians? Among foreign elements the American preponderates, especially as regards commercial interchanges, and these islands naturally gravitate towards the United States; but, oddly enough, that great maritime nation appears to despise insular possessions, even when, like St. Thomas, they constitute important American

tile entrepôts. On the other hand, Great Britain, the universal annexer of islands, has once already relinquished possession of the Sandwich group, where the French and the Russian colours have also been hoisted, only to be again hauled down. It seems, therefore, as if this little archipelago were destined to remain unannexed; and when the present royal race can no longer furnish it with a king, it may imitate its American neighbours and proclaim the republic.

A prosperous future is before it, situated in mid-ocean between America, Asia, and Australasia, with a productive soil, and an equable climate which would be perfection did it not render all exertion alike superfluous and distasteful. At Honolulu, in 21° 18′ north latitude and 158° west longitude, the barometer has been observed to vary during the year only from 30·24 inches to 29·70, while the range of the thermometer at the same time was between 86° and 62°, with a mean temperature of 75°. This agreeable but enervating climate prevails only at the sea-level; at a greater elevation a temperate region is found, and in the island of Hawaii the mountain summits, rising to more than thirteen thousand feet, are frequently capped with snow. The windward coast of Hawaii, ever verdant and well watered, thanks to the north-east trades, is admirably described by the Poet Laureate as the land of the lotos-eaters:—

> "A land of streams! some, like a downward smoke,
> Slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn, did go;
> And some thro' wavering lights and shadows broke,
> Rolling a slumbrous sheet of foam below.
> . . . . . Far off, three mountain-tops,
> Three silent pinnacles of aged snow,
> Stood sunset-flushed: and dewed with showery drops,
> Up-clomb the shadowy palm above the woven copse."

There is nothing melancholy about these mild-eyed lotos-eaters, except the knowledge that they will have no share in the future prosperity, which white capital and Chinese labour seem likely to produce in the Sandwich Islands. During the last quarter of a century, while these "Happy Isles" have enjoyed such political as well as natural advantages that the population ought to have doubled itself, it has diminished by nearly one-third. The Hawaiians have proved in a most remarkable instance their appreciation of a sanitary policy, which places the welfare of the community above the prejudices and even the affections of the individual. A considerable and apparently increasing proportion of the Hawaiians is afflicted with the terrible disease known as leprosy, which has defied all available medical science, and is regarded as absolutely incurable. How far it is contagious in the ordinary sense appears to be doubtful, for the natives have habitually neglected all precautions in associating with lepers, and yet the disease is not known to have affected above two per cent. of the population. On the other hand, it is clearly liable to be transmitted

from parent to offspring, and is regarded as infectious by competent authorities. To prevent all risk of infection, and to stamp out the hereditary taint, which threatened to spread through the whole community, the Hawaiian legislature about ten years ago took up the question in a spirit at once patriotic and scientific. Under the auspices of a Board of Health a leper settlement was established in a secluded valley on the small island of Molokai, to which all persons known to be affected with leprosy were transported by officials appointed for the purpose. Considerable difficulty was experienced at first in discovering the unfortunate creatures, who were concealed by their friends, and a more painful duty could hardly be imposed upon a kindly Kanaka than to surrender a companion to pass the remainder of his days a hopeless exile in a lazzaretto. But the sternness of the law did not prevent the Hawaiians from realising its expediency, and the necessity for its strict enforcement in the interest of the public. Examples of self-devotion were not wanting on the part of persons whose external symptoms of leprosy were so slight as to escape detection, but who surrendered themselves spontaneously in obedience to the law. Nothing can well be more touching than the story told by Miss Bird, in her book on the Hawaiian Archipelago, of poor "Bill Ragsdale," whose generous self-immolation savours rather of the antique Roman than of the Kanaka. This talented half-white, who had filled among other honourable offices that of interpreter to the Hawaiian legislature, avowed himself to be a leper before any visible symptom betrayed him, and passed amid universal lamentation from the joyous society of Hilo to a living death at Kalawao. In that dismal valley of Molokai he is now a ruler, by virtue of his abilities; but perhaps since the Odyssey was composed the well-known words have never been so applicable to any living mortal:—

> Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ,
> Ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,
> Ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

Certainly the hardest life that a slave can lead elsewhere seems preferable to that of Governor Ragsdale, who now rules with beneficent and almost absolute authority over seven hundred lepers in every stage of a lingering but fatal disease. The last effort of his eloquence, when bidding farewell to his weeping friends, was to urge submission to the stringent measures taken by the Government for the purpose of stamping out leprosy. The law for the seclusion of lepers has been enforced without distinction of rank or nationality, and in the course of eight years more than eleven hundred persons have been transported to Molokai; of these a large proportion died within a short time of their arrival, but in 1874 there remained alive more than seven hundred. Although all hope must be abandoned

by those who enter Kalawao, the natural cheerfulness of the Kanakas seems not to desert them even there, and a visit from the King and Queen caused no little rejoicing among the lepers. The support of these unfortunate exiles entails a heavy burden on a small community like Hawaii, with a diminishing revenue and an increasing expenditure. The burden, however, will soon be removed by the hand of death, and no item in an annual outlay of some $600,000 is less worthy of being expunged than the cost of the leper settlement. The courage and liberality displayed in grappling with this national curse are worthy of the emulation of advanced European governments.

In explanation of the disinclination to steady labour which characterises the Polynesian, and distinguishes him in so marked a manner from the Chinese, it must be borne in mind that the islands of the Pacific are very much under-peopled, and that almost all of them lie between the tropics, and enjoy a climate in which existence is happiness and exertion is pain. As for the natives of New Zealand, whose climate may be compared to that of Italy, they are indeed more energetic and warlike than the gentle Kanakas of the tropical islands, but their close resemblance in character, appearance, and language indicates a very recent separation from their northern cousins. The Maoris themselves affirm that their original home was a country named Hawaiiki in the far north, and at Roto Iti is still exhibited an elaborately carved canoe with fifteen benches, in which the ancestors of the Arawa tribe are said to have crossed the ocean. "Te Arawa" is the largest native craft which I saw in New Zealand, and it is about as seaworthy as a university eight-oar. On board European vessels the Maoris prove themselves to be bold and skilful seamen, but in naval architecture they are inferior even to the black islanders of Melanesia. The seas around New Zealand are swept by gales very different from the soft trade-winds of the tropical Pacific, and the transport of provisions and water sufficient for a long voyage in a canoe across these seas seems to be an impossibility. On the map the islands of Polynesia appear to be thickly sprinkled, but in reality they are so few and so small, as to occupy a space almost inappreciable upon the immense expanse of water. Most of them are coral islets, which are raised so little above the sea-surface as to be invisible at a short distance. During a voyage of three weeks through the heart of the galaxy we only sighted two coral islets, and a lofty volcanic island in the Navigators group. It may be said that the Pacific is an area of subsidence, and at a period geologically recent the land surface must have been very much larger than it now is, but all evidence seems to indicate that the Maoris have colonised New Zealand at a period which is *recent* in a very different sense of the word. Eminent naturalists are even

of opinion that the moa, a bird whose feathers are still found in perfect preservation, and whose remains are imbedded in the newest alluvial deposits, was extinct before the arrival of the Maoris. They hardly succeed in explaining, however, what agency, except that of man, could have destroyed a creature so powerful and so abundant, in a country without beasts of prey, and where no important geological change has occurred since the time when it flourished.

How and when the Maoris reached New Zealand will in all probability never be accurately determined, but their tropical origin is clear enough. They have never really peopled the South (or Middle) Island, the largest and most productive of the group, but have lingered in the balmy climate of the North, and have planted many of their most important settlements around the numerous hot springs of the volcanic districts. Thanks to these natural supplies of heat, they can dispense almost entirely with fuel, and in some villages the inhabitants, like those of a fashionable spa, spend a considerable portion of the twenty-four hours in bathing. From long habit they enjoy a temperature which would almost scald a European, and will tumble heels over head into natural cauldrons apparently at the boiling point, and into which I could not bear to dip my hand. At sunset, the whole population of a village, men, women and children, may be seen disporting themselves in the tepid depths, or seated, with the water up to their necks, on the smooth enamelled sides of these natural thermæ. Infants in arms bathe along with the rest, learning to swim before they are able to walk, and perched on the shoulders of their tattooed grandfathers, they regard with astonished black eyes the bleached Pakeha, whose bloodless appearance contrasts most unfavourably with the wholesome brown of the Maori. Laughing, talking, floundering, and splashing, the natives do not forget their good manners, and are as polite in the water as they are upon land, treating a stranger with marked consideration. It is needless to say that they are perfect swimmers, the women no less than the men; in the popular Maori legend it is Hero, not Leander, who performs the feat of swimming over to the island of Mokoia. In a country of lakes and rivers, where the only canoes are long cranky "dug-outs," fashioned of a wood almost equal in specific gravity to water, and propelled with short, feeble paddles, it is necessary to be a good swimmer. When two or three miles from the shore, with a stiff head breeze rendering it necessary that half the crew should use their paddles for baling, you know that your native companions, encumbered only with a light kilt, will probably reach the land in safety if the canoe is swamped or upset. This knowledge, however, affords only a modified degree of comfort to a Pakeha, clad probably in waterproof and riding-boots, and rouses his wrath against the conservatism displayed by the Maoris in boat-building. Occasionally fatal accidents occur even to natives,

and not long ago two canoes full of people were swamped in Lake Rotorua: two women only were saved, the men behaving with great self-devotion in endeavouring to assist the weaker and more helpless.

Even now, when steamers ply regularly between Auckland and Honolulu, there is little or no intercourse between the Polynesians of the southern temperate and the northern tropical latitudes; and it is astonishing, after passing over so many thousand miles of sea, to find one's self among people who in features and complexion, in frank and courteous bearing, and even in such small details as their mode of decoration with flowers or feathers, seem to be identical with those that one has quitted. It is, however, in language that the substantial identity shows itself most distinctly, as after allowing for certain differences of pronunciation it will be found that almost all the words in common use are the same in the Maori and Kanaka dialects. These are precisely the words which could not have been recently borrowed by one dialect from the other; and as neither possessed until quite recently any literature, or even an alphabet, it is remarkable that so very little divergence should have taken place.

Great as are the charms of scenery and climate—

"Where the golden Pacific round islands of paradise rolls—"

the chief interest and romance of these regions are due to their aboriginal inhabitants, and will pass away with them. A country newly occupied by white settlers is neither romantic nor picturesque when the primæval forest has been reduced to charred stumps, and a long interval must elapse before the undefaced glories of the wilderness can be replaced by the cultivated beauty of an old and prosperous land. In time the fernland and bush of New Zealand will be converted into a populous and productive country; but the people and the products will be English, and not Maori. Thus the world becomes more prosperous and wealthy, but less interesting and varied, and the inducements to travel diminish as the facilities increase. Even in older countries the variety of scenery, of architecture, of costume, of social and political institutions, of fauna and flora, so charming at the present moment, is tending to become a thing of the past, and will be vainly sought for by the travellers of another generation. An Eastern dragoman once said to me, while we were gazing in admiration at a crumbling Saracenic edifice, "We see these things, but our sons will not be able to see them." The feeling to which his words gave expression was constantly in my mind when among the Maoris and Kanakas, whose "tenakoe" and "aloha," their friendly greetings to the passing stranger, have all the pathos of an eternal adieu.

DAVID WEDDERBURN.

## THE FARTHER OUTLOOK IN THE EAST.

Of the immediate military prospects of the war which has at length broken out on the Danube and in Asia, I do not pretend to judge. It seems to be generally understood that the improvements in modern weapons give the defence a great advantage over the attack; and although the extreme inefficiency of the Turkish officers and the deficiency of their means make their army very poor indeed for aggressive or active warfare, it does seem that their Government has been very wise in its generation in spending the last of its resources in procuring a most abundant supply of the best weapons and ammunition, armed with which even the irregulars may be most formidable for defensive purposes, as the first considerable affair seems to have shown. We know very well by a good deal of experience in the East how often the best troops may be driven back by irregular soldiers fighting behind defences; and there is no change more marked in our dealings with savage and semi-civilised tribes all over the world than the increased difficulties caused by the supply of firearms which an active commerce now provides for these tribes almost everywhere. The Turkish irregulars defending good positions cannot be compared with barbarous tribes, but rather with the Affghans whose capacity we know so well. In our last serious contest with some of them in Umbeyla Pass, we know how strong a force they held in check without improved weapons. I should think that Affghans in their own hills, with an abundant supply of the best American breechloaders, would be most unpleasant to deal with. And so it may really be with the Turks. The Russian advance may not be so rapid or easy after all, unless strategy enables them to avoid defences and advance where they can. Still it is not a violent presumption to suppose that sooner or later the Russians may succeed in making a great advance, and we may consider the matter in view of that very probable contingency.

Suppose that a victorious advance of the Russians to Philippopolis or Adrianople, and the occupation of great part of Asiatic Turkey, shall have super-excited the susceptibilities and the fears of that great part of the nation which dislikes Russia, while our Government maintains a tone which gives colour and consistency to such feelings; suppose that Englishmen carrying on an unofficial war against Russia, and other causes of offence, have embittered the feelings of the Russians towards us; will there not be a state of tension in which one spark may light up a conflagration of war? May not we thus be drawn into a war with Russia just at the time when she has attained such

a position that we shall fight at a great disadvantage? Suppose that, under such circumstances, the Germans, counting as they have counted before on our readiness to assume the task which they avoid, leave us to follow our bent in stemming the Russian tide as much for their benefit as our own. May not our position then be very difficult? If the Turks may still furnish soldiers who would be very good in our hands, we should certainly have to pay for all, and the expenditure would be enormous. Probably with the feelings we have about Constantinople, we should think it necessary to make it our first point to secure that place. It would be no use attempting to hold the Bosphorus unless we held the Dardanelles also—so we must undertake at least two sets of land defences. Suppose that by an effort we are able to send 50,000 men or more to undertake that task in conjunction with the Turks, and that by an unstinted expenditure we may secure these points—shall we then also undertake a great Asiatic campaign to prevent Russia from permanently seizing the countries between the Black Sea and the Persian Gulf, dominating Persia, approaching Affghanistan, and, as many among us think, threatening India? It may be possible that, by raising great armies in India, and draining our population at home, we might fight the Russians in Mesopotamia; but if we did so, the conditions would be very different from the position if we waited for the Russians in our own borders. We should fight very far from our own bases, while the Russians, instead of being separated from their base by enormous tracts of desert and mountain, would be almost at home, with their Caucasian army a little in advance of their present position. The expense to us of such an undertaking would be prodigious—greater than that of any war of which the world has yet heard.

Lord Beaconsfield says that time is our advantage; that with our long purse we can sustain many campaigns when other countries would be exhausted. But suppose that under such circumstances as those described, the Russians quietly held Bulgaria on both sides the Balkan, Armenia, and all of Turkey in Asia that is worth their holding, while we, holding the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, either remain quietly in India or maintain an army in Mesopotamia. Suppose even we were able, at a vast expense, to make Turkistan too hot for the Russians, while they have so much else on their hands. What then? The Russians would lose their trade by sea; but they would draw the revenues of the best parts of Turkey. They would save all the expense of a fleet. They might also save the army and expenditure now so unprofitable in Turkistan. They would still have free commerce with Europe by land, and even by sea through the Baltic Provinces of Russia. We should either have to do without the flax and other Russian raw products so important to our manufactures,

or else pay much dearer for them, and might find that we had cut off our nose to spite our face. It strikes me that under such circumstances the Russians could afford to wait at least as long as we, and that we might find the game a very unprofitable one. In fact, unless we could persuade or bribe the Germans to help us out of it, I don't see how such a stale-mate position could be brought to an end. Even if we were more prudent in India than I can hope, and remained strictly on the defensive, while Russia occupies the valley of the Euphrates and the Turkoman villages bordering on Affghanistan, I cannot doubt that with all Asia excited, the Affghans intriguing, and the Persians siding with Russia, we should incur great expense for increased armaments in India as well as in Europe.

All this, I really do believe, may not improbably happen if we isolate ourselves from the European concert, and maintain an unfriendly position towards Russia. On the other hand, if we act with the other Powers as it may be agreed in concert to act, and if we treat Russia as acting as she professes to do in execution of the decision at which united Europe has arrived (though without our authority), we may well claim to step in with the other Powers at a fitting time to discuss and settle matters on the bases already laid down, and we may in an amicable way exercise a large influence on the settlement of the great questions involved. Whatever their ulterior designs, the Russians have always shown a great respect for English opinions and English susceptibilities, and if we treat them in a fair and friendly way, it is probable that for their own sake they will desire to conciliate us, and to make a settlement which shall satisfy their interests with as little offence as possible to ours.

I assume that, the war being now commenced, it is impossible to stop a great effusion of blood; that it must go on, till at least the first round has been fought out, and the parties are a little sobered. Then it will be that Europe may with advantage step in to give effect to the general plans of the Conference, modified and extended as no doubt they then must be, according to the circumstances. I do not doubt that if we only abstain from prematurely putting ourselves forward to bell the cat, as the jealous antagonist of Russia, Turkey in Europe is safe enough from permanent Russian dominion. The Germans will take care of that. We may hope and presume that they will agree to establish the Autonomies to which they have set their hand. Our part must chiefly be to see that those Autonomies are real and are not strangled and stifled, in deference to the susceptibilities of powers jealous of popular freedom. We must strive for a free Bulgaria, free Greek Provinces, and a free Bosnia (joined to or separate from Servia), while we maintain the free and thriving young States already existing, and promote a confederation which will make them all stronger. There are not wanting signs that the

free and democratic character of the Russo-Servian movement last year was disagreeable to the Russian Government, as well as to the Austro-Hungarian Government, and that this time it is proposed to stifle movement in that quarter, and to prefer more regular official action in other quarters. It would be a very great pity that our influence in favour of giving a popular form to the new Autonomies should be wanting, or should be weakened by our following a separate and isolated course. In every way it is to be wished that we should act with Europe and not get into an isolated position.

In one way or other Europe may then, I hope, be settled. But it is in Asia that our own difficulties will arise if we have not earned the good offices of the other Powers, and given Russia reason to conciliate and deal reasonably with us. In Asia undoubtedly very complicated and difficult questions must arise, the settlement of which may require much disposition on all sides to concord and forbearance. I propose, therefore, to examine that part of the subject more fully.

Mr. Laing quoted high authority of a not very recent date to show how groundless are the fears of a Russian invasion of India. I agree with him in the main in that, and still more in his wish that a good many members of Parliament and respectable people outside, who give way to this scare, could be put through a small course of physical geography. But I hardly think he sufficiently adverted to the advance that Russia has made since the date of the opinions which he quoted. She has since then conquered Turkistan. The very full knowledge we now have of her position there makes it clear that while she has annexed and incorporated in her own dominions the northern and north-eastern portions of Turkistan, she completely dominates over Bhokhara and Khiva, the native states of the Southern portion. She does not seem to keep residents at the native courts after our fashion; but with Sarmarcand and the valley of the Zer-Afshan in her possession she controls the water-supply on which Bhokhara wholly depends. And she maintains garrisons in annexed territory within easy reach of Khiva, with which she has established permanent communications and from whence she both controls the Khan and assists him to control the Turkomans over whom he had little control before. The Turkomans of the country near Khiva have been subjugated by the severe measures of which we have heard so much, as have also apparently those near the south-eastern shores of the Caspian. There remain those farther to the East, near the Persian frontier and extending to or beyond Merv. It is perhaps as much due to our susceptibilities as to anything else, that these last have not yet been taken in hand. Merv is, as has been stated, but a half-ruined village on the edge of the desert, and it is not on the best way to India, there being no break in the mountains there.

But a little farther to the East, near Meshed, there is such a break, where the Turkomans habitually invade the north-eastern corner of Persia, plundering the country and carrying the inhabitants off into slavery. Merv, though nothing in itself, may perhaps be taken as a type of a line of Turkoman communities occupying a considerable submontane tract or series of tracts from Kizil Arvat near the Russian frontier to Merv. These are the wretches who harry Persia, and perhaps the worst of the Turkomans. They seem to have owed some sort of intermittent allegiance and nominal tribute to Khiva; but they are separated from that territory by a great desert, and the Khan had no real authority over them. If it were not for question of offence to us, there can be no doubt that in ordinary course the next step would be for the Russians to bring these people under some sort of control. If they would avoid offence they need not place a permanent garrison on the immediate frontier towards Affghanistan, and placing it on the other side they need not make it stronger than suffices to control the Turkomans in concert with Persia. But if they wish to worry and annoy us, probably they would find in this country of the southern Turkomans, cultivated and watered as to some extent it is, places that would suit them well for cantonments controlling Turkistan, and these might occasion some intrigue and apprehensions on our Indian frontiers.

My view in brief is this, that in Asia the Russians and English are not near enough really to hurt one another, but are quite near enough to annoy and excite one another, to cause much expense if apprehensions are easily entertained, and in fact to play a game of 'beggar my neighbour' to a very great extent. The suggestion that we should shake hands with the Russians across the Himalayas was not originally mine. For my part I had rather not see them there, so far as our particular interests are concerned; but being there, and we having no ground to prevent their being there, I think the best we can do is to shake hands with them. It is something like the case of a rich man for whom you do not very much care, buying a property and coming to settle near you in the country. You had rather he did not come; you rather fear he may detract from your authority in the parish and country; but you feel that if you are on bad terms with him, he may make things unpleasant to you in many ways, and perhaps involve you in several contests and much expense; so you shake hands with him, ask him to dinner, and perhaps find him not such a bad fellow after all. I still believe that if we could bring ourselves to keep quite quiet, we might leave the Russians in Central Asia alone for a long time to come. But I much fear that we can't do that. Already the accounts from India show that an excitement is getting up, and, as I think, an imprudent activity. This time, for a change, it is the Anglo-Indian newspapers that are exciting them-

selves over the excitability of the Government, and taking the other line. There seems to be no doubt that Lord Lytton, besides the advance in Khelat, has attempted to enter into more intimate relations with the Ameer of Cabul, and has failed in the attempt. Also I hear of a design to extend our influence in another quarter in the same part of the world. The truth is that the time has arrived when the Ameer in natural course comes to do that which it is the function of every Affghan to do, that is to put himself up to the highest bidder. If we and the Russians both bid for him, he is certain to do that very persistently. Hence, all the stories of his receiving Russian agents, &c., &c., while he sulks towards us. The truth is that if we court him, he will certainly raise his price. Our only course with these people is to leave them entirely alone till they come to us for favours, and then they will be humble enough.

As, however, things are situated, there is no doubt some bad feeling and excitement which may be increased by war in Western Asia, and by every rumour of unfriendliness between us and the Russians. One of the last pieces of news is, that "the Emperor of Russia has finally sanctioned the Orenberg-Taskend Railway line," which, running east from Orenberg, is to branch off to Turkistan on one side and to Siberia on the other. There never was a time when financially this was more impossible. But may not the announcement be intended as a sort of counterblast—a suggestion to all whom it may concern, that if we push forward on our side the Russians may push forward on theirs?

Now let us go back to Turkey in Asia. That country as a whole is really, as a glance at the map will show, about equidistant between England and India, but its Eastern portion comes a good deal nearer the latter. What is usually called Asia Minor, that is the peninsula stretching towards Constantinople, is chiefly inhabited by Turks, or perhaps I should rather say by Mahommedans; but a large country to the east of this is marked "Armenia" in the maps, and contains a large Armenian population, mixed with Turks, Koords, and others. I have not been able to form any real estimate of the number of the Armenians, but they claim to be several millions, partly settled in Armenia, and partly scattered over much wider countries. Already a good many of them are under Russian rule, and I am told that the Russian rule in this part of Asia has been specially conciliatory, probably with a view to future eventualities. There are, also, I believe, a good many Armenians in Persia. But the bulk of them are in Turkey; and, isolated from other Christian peoples, of a supple and clever character, large classes of them have become a sort of parasitic growth on the Turkish Empire, doing many things for the Turks which they cannot do for themselves, and profiting much by the connection. Yet the

Armenian peasantry of Armenia are, by all accounts, as much oppressed and plundered as the people of any part of the Empire; partly owing to the usual Turkish misgovernment, and partly on account of want of protection from the marauding practices of their Koord neighbours.

Then we come to the Koords occupying all the hilly country east of the Euphrates, from Armenia far into Persia. The number of the Koords seems to be large both in Turkey and Persia; about a million I have seen them put at in the former, besides some Kizzlebash Koords allied to the Persian division of the race. They are an arms-bearing people, of much energy, predatory and otherwise. Speaking generally, they are Mahommedans, but I see an allusion in Consul Taylor's report to "Christian Koords,"—so apparently some of them are Christians. From the context I should suppose that the people he calls Christian Koords are the Nestorians, of whom we have heard much, and who are stated to be found in the Koord country near the borders of Persia in numbers considerably exceeding a hundred thousand. But there is another fact regarding the Koords prominently brought out by Consul Taylor, viz., that there are many Koords (and those among the most important and influential of the race) in the Russian territory. They are, it seems, freely employed by the Russians, and much petted and conciliated by them; lightly taxed and liberally governed, in pursuance of the general Russian policy of conciliation in Asia. The Koords on either side of the border seem very freely to move backwards and forwards, with the general result that, according to our Consul, though, like most such races, they have abundant clan quarrels and disputes among themselves, they "are united in their partiality for Russia rather than for Turkey." The Kizzlebash Koords are also stated to be altogether unfriendly to Turkey. Again, in the Province of Trebizond there is, according to Consul Biliotti, a large population of Georgians, Mingrelians, and people whom he calls "*Kroomlees*," all of whom very much prefer Russia to Turkey, Mahommedan though most of them be.

The general result of the very interesting reports of our Consuls just published (Blue book, No. 16) seems to be that in a great part of the territory, in advance of the present Russian boundary in Asia, the Russians will not have to encounter a strong popular resistance; but, on the contrary, are likely to find allies, or at any rate people ready to sell their swords. It is not till they come into Asia Minor proper that a real popular resistance is to be expected, and perhaps they will not care to go there.

The division of Syria among various races and religions, Mahommedan, Christian, and nondescript, is so well known that I need not dwell on that.

In Arabia, again, we have all the great central regions containing the great agricultural and settled communities so well described by Mr. Palgrave, entirely independent of, and always bitterly hostile to the Turks. They are mostly in religion of those Wahabee sects who most strongly repudiate such a dominion as that of the Sultan. Since the Turks have had a regular army, they have succeeded in establishing their controlling authority more or less in some of the coast districts of Arabia, and they seem at present to hold pretty firmly the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; but if they are in difficulties, the Arabs of the interior who so long contested those places with them, will probably not be slow once more to try their fortune.

So far as any real control is maintained over the Arab tribes of the Syrian desert, and the plains of Mesopotamia, it is the Turks who now do so, and if the Turkish Power fails, the tribes must either be let loose or be controlled by some one else.

Over the towns and more settled territory on, and east of, the Tigris the Persians have old claims, and besides the desire to possess their sacred place, Kerbula near Bagdad, ancient enmities of the bitterest description, and modern causes of offence, make it almost inevitable that, even if they profess neutrality for a time, they should attack Turkey when they see a sufficiently favourable opportunity. Persia is now, however (from what causes we hardly understand), a very wretched and down-going country. I am told by men who have known it intimately for the last fifteen years, that the visible change for the worse in that time is enormous. There never was a greater impostor than the Shah, when he appeared in Europe and was received as the successor of the Great King. The military Power of Persia is small, and it is only when the Turkish forces are greatly reduced, or drawn away, that she will have much chance of a permanent extension.

It is evident, then, that the complications in the way of a settlement between Russia, Turkey, and Persia in the countries between Russian Georgia and the Euphrates, and again in the Arab countries beyond, will be very great.

It is to be expected that, with more or less difficulty, the Russians will reach the head waters of the Euphrates, and then there is not much to stop them from entering Mesopotamia if they so desire. Still they will there be in every sense farther from India than they now are in Turkistan. As to the dread which has been expressed of their reaching the Persian Gulf and thence threatening India by sea, it is impossible to imagine a more preposterous idea. We must indeed be far reduced before the Russians can establish on the Persian Gulf a naval force with which we cannot cope. It will be high time to give up India and try to save ourselves in our own island long before that can come about.

Nevertheless, with our feelings on the subject, a great increase of Russian territory and power in the countries immediately west of Persia would certainly much add to our excitement and uneasiness. The route through central and southern Persia might add one to the possible lines of approach to India; and though I hate the word "prestige," I cannot but admit that there is so much truth in a passage lately quoted from Mr. Palgrave, that if Russia were on the Tigris as well as on the northern frontier of Affghanistan, and on unfriendly terms with us, there would be an increased belief in that Power in the intermediate countries of Asia, and an increased restlessness on our frontier.

The difficulty of localising the war in Asia, if there is a want of concert between the great European Powers, must be very great. The hereditary hatreds ready to burst forth are many. The old Sanscrit sage wisely said, "Your next neighbour is your natural enemy; the next but one is your natural friend, because he is the enemy of your enemy." Now, just as the Persians are the hereditary enemies of the Turks, so the Affghans are the hereditary enemies of the Persians, with whom they have had many strifes, and against whom they have very recent grievances. A principal cause of the Ameer of Cabul's present attitude towards us is that he thinks he was ill-used by our decision in his Seistan boundary dispute with Persia. If the Persians attack the Turks, the Affghans are pretty sure to take the opportunity to attack the Persians, unless we restrain them. The Affghans are also hereditary enemies of the Turkistan States, with whom they have had many contests for the submontane tracts on their northern border. If the Turkomans (using the term in a broad sense) go against the Russians, the Affghans, as enemies of the Turkomans, might be pro-Russian—unless, indeed, as anti-Persian they become pro-Turk. Whether they sided with the Russians, or whether they joined the Turkomans against the Russians, we might be called in to restrain them, and must either do so, or show extreme firmness in letting things take their course, and it would require a good deal of passive courage to do that.

I think people are now beginning to appreciate that it is not an invasion of India, but the effect of such complications on the Indian finances that we have to fear. It cannot but be that if excitement grows up, our military expenses will be much increased. As Mr. Laing has reminded us, Lord Hardinge most justly said that the true way to prepare for the Russians was to keep quiet and pay off our debts, and if we had done this all would have been well. But we have done nothing of the kind; we have trebled the Indian debt since Lord Hardinge's time, besides large liabilities for railway guarantees. It is not pretended that in recent years of peace and

prosperity we have done more than barely meet the inevitable charges. Latterly the cost of the great public works—unproductive as well as productive—has been added to the debt, and at present we are largely adding to that debt for famine as well as public works. Nothing is a clearer axiom of Indian finance than this, that if in times of peace and prosperity we create no financial margin for a rainy day, we cannot possibly impose new taxes in time of war or political excitement. Any serious complications or precautions will, as things stand, inevitably involve fresh borrowing and greatly increased difficulties in India. That is a most serious outlook.

I have dwelt chiefly on our own difficulties, as they will appear in the event of our being on unfriendly terms with Russia, but I do not doubt that the Russians will have at least equal difficulties. I have suggested the strain upon them which may be caused by the use of improved arms by the Turkish irregulars acting on the defensive. One cannot doubt that if the war lasts long, they will have the greatest possible difficulty about money. Turkomans and Caucasian mountaineers, Polish sympathisers, and secret societies, may give them much trouble. The inconveniences of a want of understanding between Russia and England will be fully felt on both sides; it is again, I say, a game of 'beggar my neighbour' that we shall have to play. Looking, then, entirely to their own interests, I apprehend that the Russians, having entered on this great undertaking, will be ready and willing to conciliate us if we will meet them half-way, do them a friendly turn when we can, and try to arrange amicably with them a settlement of Asia.

Supposing that the two countries can meet in such a spirit, what shall the settlement be? Till we understand the subject better, it would be very difficult to suggest a settlement of Armenia and Koordistan. Will the Armenians, when it comes to the point, willingly transfer themselves from the Turks to the Russians? The peasantry of Armenia would probably be much better off, but the bureaucratic and mercantile classes of the Armenians would never have the position that they have under the Turks. The Armenians could hardly stand alone; there is no autonomous chain of states of which they could form one, and if they were independent, they might not find the position very profitable from a material point of view.

It is a very great pity that there seems so little prospect of making Persia a strong and respectable state. If she could hold Bagdad, Kerbula, and the country between that and the Persian Gulf, she would have a fair claim to so much, as well as to a suzerainty over all the Koord country held by Koords willing to render her allegiance. And it might be a condition of such aggrandisement that she should surrender to Cabul the portion of Seistan of which the Ameer has been deprived, and so satisfy him as far as he can be

satisfied. The possession by Persia of the Bagdad country would really increase our influence in Persia, because it would be a valuable country quite accessible to us, whereas at present we have very little access to any tolerable part of Persia, and the Russians are much more formidable neighbours to the Persians.

Asia Minor would remain with the Turks, and after much pondering, my present view is that they should keep Constantinople and the country between Constantinople and the Maritza valley. Look at the map, and consider the sea of Marmora to be a lake: the tract which I have indicated goes quite naturally with Asia Minor from a geographical point of view. It is a hilly ridgy narrow country, offering peculiar facilities for defence. As a question of population the Turks probably have at this moment a better claim to it than any other race. The only other claim is that of the Greeks, and the Russians with some reason put their foot down and say the Greeks shall not have it. Supposing then the rest of European Turkey autonomised, and Turkey to retain Asia Minor, Constantinople, and the Dardanelles, she would still be a respectable power, freed from much of that anachronism of position which is now the ruin of her, and she might well be, as hitherto, a guardian of the straits of whom the various European powers would not be jealous. Probably Syria would be better held by Turkey than by any other Power, till we can establish a chain of Autonomies on the Lebanon model. What would happen in Arabia I shall not pretend to say.

If these questions could be settled, then I think we might come to a general arrangement with the Russians in Asia, not as trusting them —I would not care to do that too much—but by balancing matters between us for mutual advantage and comfort. The long-projected arrangement should be carried out, by which Russia should wholly renounce all meddling with the Affghan territory and affairs, while we disclaim all interest in Turkistan. I think we should entirely abandon all dealings (other than purely commercial) with the Kashgar countries, as being separated by an insuperable natural barrier from our political and military influences, and might leave the Russians to settle all that with Yacoob Khan and the Chinese. A real Turkey of the Turks might be independent in reality as well as in name. If Persia could be similarly independent, it would be a great gain. When the Affghans find that there is no one bidding against us for them, we need only leave them alone and they will come to us soon enough for anything that they have to ask. That is the only way of dealing with such people. If we show an anxiety to enter into relations with them, they will raise their terms more and more; if we abstain they will court us. Above all things we must not push matters on our side, while a generation which remembers the events of the Cabul war still lives. Till that is quite forgotten any attempt

on our part to set again the foot of a British resident, to say nothing of a British soldier, in the country, will be received with the most extreme jealousy.

There are still some people who imagine that a Russo-Turkish war may lead to a grand reunion of Mahommedandom against Christendom. One member of Parliament solemnly warned the House how the Crusaders had brought down on us the Turkish hordes of Asia and caused the effacement of Christian rule in a great part of Europe; and he seemed to suggest that something of the kind might happen now. These ideas are really survivals of a state of things which has passed away centuries ago. We do not understand the conditions under which Central Asia was a great 'officina gentium' sending forth hordes to over-run the world; although no doubt such was the case in old times. The latter hordes too were converted in some sort to the Mahommedan religion before they reached the West, and so appeared to Europe as Mahommedan Powers. But such things cannot occur again, for the simple reason that the people do not exist. We have explored the mysterious depths of Central Asia, and know that the hiving swarms are there no longer. Turkistan is a great country with the sparsest possible population; the most reliable estimates do not place it above five millions, all told. Even if we include the Russian Khirghiz and the subjects of the Ameer of Kashgar, the whole Mahommedan and semi-Mahommedan population between the Caspian and the Volga on one side, and the Chinese dominions on the other, cannot possibly be placed higher than ten millions. Of this a great portion is already thoroughly Russianized, while the representative of Kashgar, who happens to be in Europe, has publicly made known in the most emphatic manner that his master, with a Chinese war on his hands, does not wish to have a Russian one also. The Khanates of Turkistan may make a strike for freedom during the Russo-Turkish war, but it is now clear that their reputation was due to their inaccessibility in the desert, and that once reached, their fighting powers are contemptible. The famous Khiva, which had been the occasion of the destruction of so many armies, when reached hardly made so much resistance as an Indian Zemindar's mud fort. The Khan seems to have been almost well pleased to have the assistance of the Russians to control the Turcomans of the desert. And these last, though very troublesome in their way, do not seem to number more than a few hundred thousand souls altogether. Beyond a possible diversion in the way of rebellion against Russia the Turks of Turkey will certainly desire no assistance from any of their congeners to the East.

Well, then, let us box the compass all round, and see whence Mahommedan aid to Turkey can come. Next to Turkistan is Persia, Turkey will certainly get no aid there. I hear the Shah now declares

his neutrality; but if he departs from that, there can be little doubt with what object he will move. Next comes Arabia. The Turks no doubt draw some Arab soldiers from their Turkish dominions, and may continue to do so if they can offer pay, plunder, and rapine. But I have already shown that the relations between the Turks and Arabs are such that any great movement of the tribes of Arabia proper on behalf of the Turks would be quite out of the question, even if they had the resources, which they have not. If Egypt does much in support of Turkey it will be at the expense of the bondholders, and much against the will of the Egyptian population. There is no chance of Egypt's playing so important a part as in former wars. I don't know whether any aid will come from Tunis. At any rate it cannot be very large. The Emperor of Morocco, it is certain, repudiates all connection with the Sultan, and no aid will come from that quarter. This completes the whole round. There remain only the more distant Mahommedans of Affghanistan and India, whom mere distance has hitherto severed from all communication with the Turks.

It is remarkable, indeed, how completely not only differences of race and sect, but mere want of means of communication have severed Mahommedan countries. Such communications as now exist are entirely due to the routes and the means which we have provided. To this day, when any of the Mahommedan rulers, not immediately bordering on Turkey, wish to communicate with Constantinople, they can only do so through our territories by the use of our ships. A Turkish gentleman said to me, "When the Suez Canal was opened, we expected to see numbers of Oriental Mahommedans and others here for trade and other purposes; but we have seen nothing of them yet." When I was at Adrianople I met with a curious instance of ignorance of the Affghans and their position. I found that a wandering blackguard—such a man as those countries produce pretty freely—half knave, half madman—had been bullying the chief Turkish judge there. According to his own story he came from Herat. He had some case of alleged grievance, and had repeatedly waylaid, stopped, and threatened the judge, till the latter, in great alarm, came to the English consul for protection. "Why don't you have him arrested?" said the consul. "Oh!" was the reply, "I daren't do that, for I believe he is a British subject!"

I have suggested that possibly the natural alternation of friend and enemy might bring the Ameer of Cabul into action, either on the eastern frontier of Persia or in Turkistan; but however capable of giving trouble on his own borders, the Ameer's force is quite contemptible for any operations in the field or at a distance; so, beyond embarrassing us, he can do little that will much affect the main issue. As to religious fanaticism, there never was the Affghan yet who let that stand in the way of his material interests.

Regarding the Indian Mahommedans we have not heard so much lately, and I have so fully expressed my views before this, that I hardly care to repeat them. But the idea of the forty-one millions of Indian Mahommedans, ready to die for the Sultan as their religious head, has been again to some degree reproduced—so I will touch once more on the matter. I desire to be perfectly candid, after having heard all that has been said.

It is on all hands agreed that so long as the Great Mogul[1] was the real or nominal head of the Indian Mahommedans, there was no connection whatever with the Sultan of Turkey. The suggestion is, that in the last twenty years, since the Mogul ceased to be (after the capture of Delhi), many of the Indian Mahommedans have turned to the Sultan. I can only say that, if to any extent whatever this was the case, the change must have taken place in an extraordinarily silent way. Nothing was heard of it till the other day. The recent agitation on the subject in India certainly has its source in information and ideas derived from the European press. Nevertheless, I freely admit that, adopted by the native press, it has made some way with some classes in India; it is only a question of degree and intensity. I believe it to be extremely superficial; there are others who seem to think the movement worthy of some attention. I still look on it as certain that the mass of the Mahommedan peasantry, who form so large a proportion of the population of certain provinces, are wholly unaffected by any question of the Sultan, either in his religious or political character. But I think it not improbable that among the educated classes of the Mahommedans, the seeds of a propagandism in favour of Turkey and the Sultan may have been sown in soil favourable to their growth.

When we first became rulers in India, notwithstanding the Hindoo military revival, almost all public business and almost all the higher education and polish were Mahommedan in form and language. The Mahommedans were the men with whom we had most in common and whom we most trusted and employed. All this has been gradually changed by the introduction of English and western education, and the Mahommedans are being left out in the cold. Very unreasonably too, as I think, the events of the Mutiny were made the occasion of a prejudice against the Mahommedans, and I believe that in the parts of Hindostan where the Mutiny most prevailed, the relations between ourselves and the upper

(1) I do not find that the Mogul was one of the many who have taken the title of "khalif." That title is oddly applied in India to certain Mahommedan servants and tradesmen: cooks, tailors, and farriers are universally called "khalifs"—I never understood why. In every Indian establishment you constantly hear "Oh kalif! send the dinner." "Oh khalif! darn the stockings." "Oh khalif! shoe the horse." Perhaps in former days of Mahommedan rule the best artistes were from the land of the khalifs of Bagdad, and came to be called khalifs as a French cook is called "chef."

classes of Mahommedans have been on the whole far less cordial than before. If that be so, it is scarcely surprising that men who thus see themselves ousted, distrusted, and downgoing, should catch at anything which might preserve the importance of Mahommedans in the world and save them from the further fall and want of consideration which they might apprehend if the last great Mahommedan Power is destroyed, and there is an end of the last Mahommedan alliance of England. So much I can quite believe to be the case. At the same time I believe the classes thus affected to be comparatively few in numbers, somewhat effete, and of no very great political importance. It is rather on the general ground of equal justice to all our subjects that I have always strongly upheld the cause of these Mahommedans, and sought to do fair justice to them, the more as I believe that there is something to be said for their education and morals as compared with a very superficial veneer of Western culture. I think that our only course is to do our duty to all our subjects, be they Mahommedan or Hindoo or anything else, and rest on the consciousness that this is our strength.

I do not deny that, in the present state of communications, and with so very free a press, serious troubles in Western Asia and uneasiness on our own frontier may have some considerable effect on the general Indian populations. Right or wrong, this is principally our own doing. The union of despotic power with a press free to the point of extravagance is an experiment which we have tried for the first time. Not only the most sensational telegrams, manufactured in Europe, are now from day to day published all over India, but the most free-spoken comments are circulated without let or hindrance, sometimes in language which in Europe would be called seditious. And here it is that the effect on our finances of troubles yet distant may become apparent. Our comparatively small army of 180,000 men must garrison a very great country at many points. No doubt we hold India by the army. But the people have become so accustomed to our rule (to put it no higher), that in ordinary times the smallest demonstration of our military power suffices for internal purposes. In troublous times, however, or when the atmosphere is surcharged with rumours, the visible representation of our power must not be wanting, or the old elements of anarchy burst forth, simply in the idea that our controlling power is removed. During the Mutiny there was no civil rebellion against us whatever; but where our military power ceased, there the natives were let loose against one another, and the most handy pretender obtained power. Therefore it is that in disturbed times we must retain *some* troops at hundreds of stations, and our very moderate army cannot be made available for extraordinary purposes. It follows that in such times any large action, and even any considerable military precautions,

will involve us in very great additional expenses at a time when we cannot raise additional revenues. Armaments are now on so great a scale, and of so expensive a character, that it is difficult to look such contingencies in the face without extreme anxiety.

Uneasinesses and financial disturbances apart, the only danger of ultimate serious attack by Russia on India lies, not in her hostility to great Mahommedan Powers, but in her endeavour to conciliate and carry with her the Mahommedan populations of Asia after hostilities with them are ended. It does seem as if Russia has better methods of assimilating and incorporating Mahommedans than we. Herself at one time subject to Mahommedan rule, she has never entirely separated herself from the Mahommedan connection. Many of the Tartars of Russia seem to be good, prosperous, and contented Russian citizens. Both among them and among the Mahommedans of the Caucasus and of Central Asia we find prefects and colonels, and men in many ways trusted in high positions. A man does not seem to be looked on as altogether an alien only because he is a Mahommedan. That religion is not only tolerated but protected by the Russians in Asia. And quite irrespective of religion, many new subjects of Russia seem to enter with some cordiality into her system and into her service.

We, on the other hand, have always rather patronised natives than treated them on equal terms, and especially we have, I think, allowed to grow upon us some prejudice against Mahommedans as such. We have some feeling of religious bitterness against them, which we do not feel towards mere Hindoos. There are Turkophils among us; but it is only from being Russophobes that we have become Turkophils, and the corresponding party in India, who are always crying out about the Russian wolf, and the necessity of siding with the Turks, do so, not because they love, but because they distrust the Mahommedans. It is they who are always scenting Mahommedan conspiracies and Mahommedan disaffections of all sorts.

It is in the view that our danger lies in the superior attractions of Russia for Mahommedan populations—that, having some day attached to her service all the peoples between Russia and the Indian frontier, made railways, and opened routes, she may bring half Asia against us—that it is argued with some force that we should not identify ourselves with any coercion of Turkey, even in order to keep that power alive, but should leave Russia to make herself as hateful as possible to the Mahommedans, while we, by refraining, earn their comparative goodwill. If I believed that religious considerations dominated over all others in the minds of the neo-Mahommedan races, I should think there was much in this argument. But, believing as I do that they are more powerfully influenced by other feelings, I doubt if we should gain much by such a policy as has been suggested.

We have three policies open to us: to abstain, and in masterly inactivity let things take their course; to settle matters by amicable arrangement with Russia; or to enter into an active rivalry with the Russians for power in Central and Western Asia. The last plan involves, according to my showing, ruin to our Indian finances. It would be bad policy to ruin ourselves speedily in one way, in order to stave off a possible prospect of being at some distant day ruined in another way. The inactive policy has seemed to me far the best, till at least another course is clearly possible. Now that we are on the point of great events, hazardous both to the Russians and to ourselves, I recommend that we should take the first opportunity to adopt the second course—that is, an amicable arrangement with Russia. I would watch for the time when we may make this proposal with effect. I hope that Lord Derby's despatch of the 1st of May has expended our fires; that after what has since been said the Russians may let it alone, and that such exasperations will not be unnecessarily repeated. If so, things may still be adjusted.

If we do succeed in making a political settlement and line of demarcation between ourselves and Russia, then the rivalry into which we shall enter must be one of peace and conciliation, not of war. We must strive which can best attach and improve the populations. I have suggested that there may be doubt whether in such a struggle we have yet the best of it. If not we must try to improve our system, not by petting the natives, but by making the most of their real qualities.

G. CAMPBELL.

# THE GROSVENOR GALLERY.

To exhibit the best work in the best way would seem to be the natural purpose of a gallery of art. In the Grosvenor Gallery, an attempt has been made to establish a new exhibition fulfilling this purpose more strictly than it has been fulfilled elsewhere. It is too soon yet to foretell the future of an institution owing its origin entirely to personal enterprise, and depending for its direction entirely upon personal control; but it is not too soon to praise the courage and efficiency with which, so far, the venture has been conducted. No existing institution as a matter of fact did what this gallery was designed and bids fair to do. Of the principal institution for art in the country, the Royal Academy, it is no censure and no disrespect to say, that the conditions under which it exists are such that its exhibitions cannot be exhibitions of the best only, and of that to the best advantage. The best work of any period includes the work of its most eager spirits, and one result of eagerness is experiment, novelty, the rejection, it may be, of customs, canons, and traditions; while a chartered and constituted body, especially if, like the Royal Academy, it is self-electing, is sure to hold fast by its traditions and to look unfavourably on novelty. Again, the best art of a period does not include the work of those who may have done well once, but who do badly now; while the exhibitions of a chartered and constituted body are bound to receive the works of every one, no matter how badly he may do now, who has once done, or been thought to have done, well enough to be made a member of the body. It is thus in the very nature of an Academy to keep out some kinds of good art from its exhibitions, and to let in some kinds of bad. In the arrangement and display of what it does let in, such a body is under difficulties too. Ever since the Paris Academy held its first public exhibition, nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, the rule of such undertakings has been, not the natural rule of a gallery of art—to place nothing where it cannot be well seen, and to provide that the spectator shall not be bewildered or fatigued; but the natural rule of a sale-room or bazaar—to expose as many wares as possible within a given space. That is a principle legitimate, perhaps, for purposes of commerce, but disastrous for purposes of study and enjoyment. We have, however, grown accustomed to it, and it would be hopeless to expect that an Academy should abandon or reverse the principle. No Academy, with its own members to satisfy, with the profession at large to conciliate and encourage, with a hundred works of art consigned to it for ten that it can possibly receive—no Academy could refuse to overcrowd its galleries.

It must admit everything which it approves and can find room for. If an exhibition is to be held to which only as many things shall be admitted as shall not hurt or clash with one another or fatigue the spectator, and at which nothing shall be placed at a disadvantage, to hold it must be the task of a different organization. The task has been undertaken at last, not by a constituted body, but by an individual. The attempt has been made with chivalry, with success; an institution has been provided which is not the rival but the supplement of existing institutions; and the opportunity is such as we have not had before for a survey of much that is most interesting, most spontaneous, most alive in contemporary art.

To be spontaneous and alive, that is the first and most necessary condition of good art; and the bane of our modern schools is that they produce so much that is unspontaneous and without life. In the great times of art, painting and sculpture were the natural, the impulsive, expression of what men imagined and felt; the arts were exercised in direct response to overmastering spiritual and intellectual needs. But now, together with the spontaneous desire for art which exists in a few, there exists in many more a desire for it which is merely artificial. We ask for pictures and statues, not because we should have thought of wanting them if we had been left to ourselves, but in obedience to precedent, and because we know that other people have wanted them in other ages. If it were possible to separate, in the current demand for works of art, that part which depends on real delight in art from that part which depends merely on precedent, on fashion, on ideas of what is expected of us, and on not knowing what else to do with our money, we should find these latter, these irrelevant motives, immeasurably the more prevalent. And as with the demand, so with the supply. Numbers of excellent people learn the artist's trade without having in any degree the nature or instincts of artists. The vast majority of the pictures painted within the last fifty years to meet the popular demand have been incapable of striking a single chord of those which vibrate in the human spirit to the touch of true art. They have served and are still serving their purpose as articles of furniture, luxuries, or investments; they have yielded a livelihood to those who produced and wealth to those who trafficked in them; but things of beauty they are not, the higher pleasures of sense and spirit they cannot give. They bear witness to the busy hand, but not to the seeing eye, not to the quick mind, not to the apt choice, not to the combining and harmonizing instinct. In this multifarious production of works which sprang from no real impulse and answered to no real desire, English art, as it was some thirty years ago, had almost forgotten what a picture ought to be and to what faculties it ought to appeal. A picture ought to be the adequate

embodiment, in form and colour, of some spontaneous, clear, harmonious impression of the mind. English artists, always with a few distinguished exceptions, did little more than seek to entertain by lax and often vulgar imitation, and their work consisted for the most part of promiscuous transcripts from nature, or illustrations of history, novels, or the nursery, without penetration, without refinement, without the inspiration or control of any pictorial instinct. The curse of commonness was upon us, and is but partly lifted yet. The traditions and conventions which eager spirits in England have to fight against are not, as they used to be in France, those of a stilted academical classicism; ours have erred in another way; they have been traditions and conventions of vulgarity, of nullity, of dull disregard for the finer aspects of the world and the proper effects and pleasures of art. When, thirty years ago, a band of reformers appeared in the school, they were intensely conscious of a mission, but they had not fully realised what the needed reforms were; both their aims and watchwords were confused. The subsequent development of the several talents who were then united under a common standard, and who first broke up the prevailing indolence and triviality of the school, has shown that they meant very different things and represented very different tendencies. By some, like Holman Hunt, the fusing, transforming, harmonizing power of the mind upon external fact has never been asserted at all, and art remains in their hands a means for transcribing the appearances of the world, not, indeed, indolently, but with a strenuous and unsparing patience, and with a preference for scenes where light is keenest and the colours of the prism most vivid. With another revolutionary of that day who now stands alone, Millais, the mastery of eye and brush has grown while the initiative of the mind has slackened; impressions and ideas scarcely above the school's old level of commonness are realised to illusion at his hands, and acquire a distinction of their own from the overwhelming power of the painter, when he chooses to put it forth, in the manual parts of his craft. A third, like Rossetti, has devoted his art to the service of an imagination peculiarly distinctive and intense, to the expression of conceptions ever more and more his own.

Since the ferment first raised by the exertions of this historic group, our school has been reinforced by other men — some, unhappily, already lost—in whom, from one source or another, the true instinct has been awakened. As a rule, they have been received at first with opposition or derision. A solid body of bad traditions has stood in their way. Criticism has held towards them much the same attitude as criticism in poetry held, about the year 1820, towards Keats and Shelley. Accustomed to art which was no art, just as Gifford and his kind were accustomed to poetry which was no

poetry, average criticism and average professional opinion have looked with aversion and contempt upon efforts that possessed beauty or pictorial charm, and particularly upon those that possessed invention and imagination as well. But in the mean time things have been moving. The gifted spirits have gone their way, not without suffering the harm that comes of isolation—of hostility on the one hand and partisanship on the other—and their work has been cared for by a minority. To some few fellow-painters who have shared their aims and helped their cause, it has happened to be recognised from the first, and to escape hostility and derision. The leaven has worked, the time has ripened. The difference between art and no-art has begun to make itself felt. It must needs be long before the average, the staple, of our great miscellaneous exhibitions shows any very sensible change in the points where we were most deficient. A small and picked exhibition of the work of invited artists like this one is therefore all the more welcome. Besides affording us a new and great delight, it enables us newly to compare and take account of the best efforts in various directions that are being made round about us.

In such a survey, one would naturally have hoped to begin with the work of Mr. Rossetti, the author and inspirer of so much of the new life of English painting. For this time, however, Mr. Rossetti has preferred not to contribute. Let us begin, therefore, with the work of a painter who, without taking any lead in the revolutions of those days, has always kept his work at the farthest pole from commonness or triviality, has always sought to bring it towards the level of high and classic standards, and whose career has had a dignity corresponding to the dignity of his art. I mean Mr. Watts, who has at the new gallery a spirited portrait of Lady Lindsay, in three-quarter length with her violin, and a head, painted with the utmost force of sympathetic insight, of Mr. Burne-Jones, but who stands out most conspicuously on the north wall of the great gallery with his portrait of Mrs. Percy Wyndham and his allegory of *Love and Death*. These are pictures in which every one can appreciate the high and commanding qualities—in the portrait, the frank and blooming countenance, the stately pose upon the marble terrace, the noble choice and noble rendering of the dark brocaded dress with its great pattern of sunflowers, as well as of the background and accessories, a laurel hedge and a vase of gathered magnolias; in the allegorical piece, the greatness of the invention, the tragic advance of the shrouded one, the inexorable Death, who has trampled down the rose shoots that grow about the threshold of Love's door, and enters despite indignant Love, who bars the entrance with unavailing arm and wings crushed and overborne. Portrait and invention alike have the same breadth and largeness of design, the same high simplicity, the same

grave richness of colour. There is only one question, whether the colour, as grave and mellow to-day as that of Venetian pictures painted three centuries and a half ago, will not be sombre and dull when the pictures have lived as long as those. And there is, I think, only one mistake, and that is, the introduction of a dove in the corner of the foreground in *Love and Death*; it is a very good dove, but not wanted there, and not helpful to the dignity of the composition. Other artists of our school who hold by classical traditions, and whose work and aims have been recognised from the beginning, are Mr. Leighton and Mr. Poynter. They are both represented here, but not by works of much importance. Mr. Leighton only sends a few heads; one of his large compositions ought to have been here but is not; and to measure his powers as they are, one must go to the Academy, where, besides two little Oriental pictures of his usual accomplished charm, he asserts a new pre-eminence with a noble and finished piece of sculptor's work. Mr. Poynter, besides two small pictures, *Proserpine* and an *Egyptian Sentry*, sends a cluster of portraits in water-colour. With the searching and careful qualities of these every one is already familiar, and although we should rather have seen their space occupied by some greater work, we are glad of the chance of studying them afresh. Mr. W. B. Richmond is a younger representative of classical traditions and ideal aims, and one whose talents are less settled and place less determined. His portrait of Mrs. Douglas Freshfield has delicacy and completeness as a decorative scheme, but halts between likeness and ideal, or rather the ideal into which the painter has tried to mould his sitter is of quite a different type from hers; hence the parts of the work that are really likeness do not combine rightly with the rest, and the result is something ambiguous and unsatisfying. The group above, with the portraits of three sisters in light brown dresses and heavy loads of dark brown hair, is far more successful, and has as much beauty and refinement, with more maturity, as the other group of girlish portraits by which Mr. Richmond first won distinction years ago. But in the elaborate classical design of *Electra and her Maidens at the Tomb of Agamemnon*, we feel once more in the presence of lofty and refined aims without sufficient guiding impulse or individual bent to direct them. The composition of the figures about the tomb among the cypress stems is dignified but somewhat too mechanical. And the colouring seems mechanical too; at least its total effect is not happy or satisfying. I do not mean that the red marble of the funeral stela is wrong in archæology or the like; but that this and the draperies, and particularly the flowers, have a harshness, both by themselves and in combination, which is fatal to the good effect of the picture. Add considerable weaknesses and uncertainties of drawing, and the

sum is a work of which the aims remain very much in advance of the achievement. Mr. Richmond's neighbour upon the walls, M. Alma-Tadema, contrasts with him as far as possible in the certainty and dexterity of his powers. His little glimpses of ancient Roman life have the qualities which everybody knows—the archæology a little too much thrust upon us, but giving occasion for masterly painting in pavements, mosaics, hangings, draperies, the patina of metals and quality of tissues; the incurably disagreeable types of human kind, types suitable enough for certain scenes of the later Republic and Empire of Rome, but difficult to put up with in any other connection; the trick of eccentric composition, and of looking at nature, for the purposes of his picture, as it were through some queer slit or out of some queer corner. There are two pieces of M. Tadema's not quite in his usual vein: one a quiet interior called *Sunday Morning;* and another, a piece of bad archæology and bad local colour, called *Phidias showing the Frieze of the Parthenon to his Friends.* Bad archæology, because the drawing of the frieze is not good enough and the colour very doubtful, and because, I think, the several slabs of the frieze would in fact have been finished, both in carving and colouring, before they were put up, and would have been shown by Phidias to his friends, not there, but in the workshops below; bad local colour and daylight certainly, because it is the nature of the Athenian atmosphere to fill these covered upper spaces within the peristyle with a diffused and liquid brilliancy of reflected light, which nothing can be more unlike than the dingy atmosphere of M. Tadema's picture.

But it is time to pass to the south wall of the great room, where there hangs the work of a master in whose inspiration there is nothing faltering or ambiguous, and in his ideals nothing harsh or unlovely. The genius of Mr. Burne-Jones will on these walls become a reality to those to whom it had hitherto been only a report. His three rich compositions upon the line, and five large single figures above, are an exhibition in themselves; but it must be said that the eye does not do them full justice at first sight, because of the gorgeous hangings on the walls, which tend to drown the intricacies and delicacies of the colour, and because, in one instance, of a frame over-elaborately designed, as it seems to me, for its picture. The work which thus suffers at first sight from the encroachments of its frame, is one divided into six compartments and representing *The Six Days of Creation.* This is a favourite mediæval subject for the opening illustrations of chronicles, and occurs in some schemes of mosaic and other church decoration. But the modern work is no echo of any old; the subject has been redipped in the colours of a living spirit, and recast in the furnace of a great imagination. Each day is represented by an angel or seraph, many-winged and

richly draped, holding in his hand a crystal sphere in which the day's creative act is shadowed forth. On the frame underneath are written legends from the canticle *Benedicite*, "O ye heavens, bless ye the Lord, praise Him and magnify Him for ever," and so on in due order. The wings and raiment of the first angel are of solemn blue and sable, and he stands upon a floor of the colour of night; in the sphere we see a disk of light and a disk of darkness gathering and separating; "and God divided the light from the darkness." In the next compartment the first angel stands withdrawn, and a second, still in sombre colours, has advanced, and in the sphere he holds we see the waters which are under the firmament divided from the waters that are above the firmament. Third comes the angel of the creation of earth; he stands upon a floor of soil and flowers, and in his sphere is wrought a lovely design of vine and fruit tree. The colour in the fourth division begins to glow with warmth, and with light of crimson and rose and amber; it is the day of the creation of lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night; the angel has flames of fire about his feet, and within his sphere we see a golden sun and a silver moon, and the host of stars that form themselves. The fifth angel is the angel of the creation of every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind; here is a still richer play and rapture of all the loveliest colours of life and joy; the angel stands upon a shore strewn with delicate rosy shells, and his sphere shows us the imaged flight of innumerable white birds. Last, all these five being grouped in the background, and their wings intermingling in an intricate glory of feather and colour and sheen, there stands fronting us the sixth angel, and in his sphere the vision of the man and woman in Paradise. But the serpent is there also in the vision; and in the white and wistful looks of another angel that crouches among roses in the front of this last picture, singing and playing upon the cithern, we see foretold the tale of future destinies. Since painting was an art, it is probable that no poetry so intense as this, no invention so rich and so unerringly lovely, was ever poured into form and colour. It is better to say it without hesitation—we have among us a genius, a poet in design and colour, whose like has never been seen before. To an almost incredible patience and multiplicity of workmanship, this painting joins a quite inexpressible felicity and loveliness of pictorial invention. Inch by inch, as well as division by division, it can only be studied with ever increasing wonder and delight. Just as a born and inspired singer cannot put together three words that have not the sound, the spell, the soul of poetry, so this artist cannot draw a ring of hair or a fold of drapery, or lay the tint of a flower or a feather or a shell, but the drawing has a charm and the colour a

preciousness, which stir the mind with the spell of visible poetry, an enchantment from the soul of things. As to one of Mr. Burne-Jones's other pictures, *The Mirror of Venus*, where the goddess has assembled a group of girls around a pool to show them their beauty for the first time in its reflection, it may be said that the tale, the fancy, is too slight to bear the weight and richness of its embodiment. But that embodiment, at any rate, is of a radiant and refreshing beauty. The scene is just such as opens upon you once and again in a day's ride in the western parts of the Peloponnese; a coast of levels interspersed with mountain spurs, with the freshness and desolateness of the early world in earth and sky and bounding sea. The girls are gathered kneeling round the pools, and the reflections of their faces are edged and bordered with the forget-me-nots that grow on its hither margin. The goddess alone stands, her head and shoulders clear against the sky, her clear pale face and pale limbs scarcely kindled with human blood, a light of the far-off sea in her grey and wistful eyes. Balancing this on the opposite side of *The Days of Creation* is an upright composition of a very different sentiment, *The Beguiling of Merlin*. The enchantress, called Nimiane in the earlier and Vivien in the later form of the legend, is pacing round about her victim; she fronts us now, with the book of incantation open before her, her body somewhat turned and neck bent towards her victim, on whom her eyes are fixed; the magic sleep has fallen upon him as he lies in his uneasy posture of imprisonment in the fork of the hawthorn-tree, and his hands and head droop passively. But the life has not left his eyes, which cast up towards the beguiler a look of bitter yearning and reproach; and in her eyes, as she accomplishes the doom, there is a look of answering remorse. These countenances are passion incarnate, the profile of Nimiane especially never to be forgotten; and in like manner every line of the figures and drapery, every tone of the ashen and white and steely purple colouring, combine to give a perfect imaginative expression to the passion and tragedy of the scene. The play and richness that are achieved within this scale, approaching black and white, of colour, is amazing; the only bright or positive tint being that of a blue iris in the foreground; while in the glade behind, and all about, the hawthorn in flower spreads a tempered whiteness, and gives us in painting the very counterpart of Shelley's magic epithet of the "moonlight-coloured may."

It was natural that the work of this rare creative genius and born poet in painting should be received at first with aversion and derision. Any work of which the character is forcible and intense is apt to encounter aversion from some, and especially forcible and intense work of imagination from those who do not know what imagination is. And besides the shock naturally produced by poetry on prosaic

minds, the early work of Mr. Burne-Jones had qualities which the unsympathetic might well fasten on and misunderstand. He began with little training, and his invention, his instinct, was far in advance of his manual power. Naturally his work took an affinity with that of a whole school whose case had been somewhat like his own—whose minds were on fire with poetry and invention and pictorial instinct, but whose training and science were not on a level with their genius—the school of Italy in the fifteenth century. And so it was possible to say with some show of reason, at this time, of Mr. Burne-Jones's drawing that it was often weak or wrong, and of his sentiment that it was borrowed from the early Italians. These things cannot be said with any show of reason now. Mr. Burne-Jones stands forward both as a great inventive genius and as one of the most complete masters, not, in all instances, of the grammatical, but of the expressive, the designing, the combining, the characterizing parts of draughtsmanship. The drawing of Nimiane's figure and hands and feet, the numb and slackened hands of Merlin, these, for instance, are mere masterpieces. Nevertheless, criticism shows itself only half converted. Leaving aside the mere abuse and foolishness, by which some unlucky ones are still ready to write themselves oafs and puppies before the world—it is urged as a reproach against the painter that his faces all resemble one another, and are all sorrowful. That he has an over-mastering human ideal within his mind, towards which he makes all his types in a greater or less degree approximate, is true; but then so had Leonardo, so had and will have every painter with a strong native cast of genius. It is also true that these countenances and their expressions are in their loveliness serious and yearning, or melancholy if you will. But then the world is a place of tears as well as laughter, and its most gifted and most searching spirits are not those to whom it is apt to look the merriest. It is a pity that those who are displeased by the eyes and countenances in these pictures will not turn their minds, instead, to the happiness which the maker of these melancholy things has prepared for them if they were capable of receiving it, —the happiness and glory and delight of living line and visible rhythm, the fire and rapture of colour poured forth in profuse and perfect harmonies unseen till now.

It is said in some quarters that those who love this kind of painting care for nothing else and aver that out of this school there is no salvation. Not at all; the gift of poetical vision and invention is the greatest and certainly the rarest gift of a painter; but it is by no means the only gift worth having. Those who love this kind of painting best will also be best able to appreciate other or opposite minds. In the Grosvenor Gallery there remains much good work to be studied, both of painters whose minds are haunted by fair ideals of

the past or of their own conceiving, and of painters who live in the present, and make it their aim to draw out the living aspects of the world round about them. With the battle between classicist, romanticist, *fantaisiste*, and realist, let us have nothing to do. Each of these schools represents instincts and tendencies for which is ample scope and justification. The past is ours and the present is ours and imagination is ours; let us do with them all the best we severally can. Let each man follow his own instinct and his own tendency, provided they are really his. Let Mr. Spencer Stanhope paint his solemn and dreamy mill-stream with the lady in the boat, his tragic pair of lovers on the banks of Styx, his vision of Love and the maiden —a rich-limbed rose-winged Love, and a maiden like one of the Florentine figures of Botticelli—in a grove of pines and oleanders. In a kindred vein, the vein of poetry, fable, and invention, with something of the enchanted spirit of the Florentine fifteenth century, let Mr. Walter Crane design his naked Venus standing under a clear grey sky, between beach and ripple of a clear grey sea, with an almond-tree and a myrtle casting a spray of delicate colour against the grey; and Mr. Strudwick his skilful and pleasant allegory of *Love's Music*. And in the opposite vein, let us be glad that M. Heilbuth, for instance, can see so keenly and represent so subtly the looks and gestures of every-day people in every-day dress and daylight. M. Heilbuth has quite a great show in this gallery, of pictures both new and old. Some of them are from Rome, some from the banks of the Seine in spring-time, and some from England. In all there is the same admirable rendering of the values and refinements of softened out-door daylight, the same quick grasp of character, humorous without vulgarity, and the same thorough and expressive draughtsmanship. The most difficult pictorial undertaking of them all, and perhaps the most successful, is the group of English tourists listening to the explanations of an antiquarian in the baths of Caracalla. This kind of realism, depending upon a particular subtlety and alertness in the literal interpretation of fact, has never been an accomplishment of English artists. Our type of a realist is Mr. Millais, who does not thus delicately bring out or insinuate visible facts and their relations, but rather flings them in our faces and takes our breath away with the force of the assertion. Mr. Millais has in this exhibition only small pictures, including three portraits of ladies which seem intended to convey a challenge to Gainsborough. There is a chalkiness in the whites and flesh-colours, which is perhaps exaggerated by the colour on the wall behind; but these portraits are not in Mr. Millais's happiest nor even in his most forcible vein. To see him in his strength, one must go to the Academy for the great Scotch landscape, and the blazing *Yeoman of the Guard*, or to the separate exhibition of *Effie Deans*, in which a face

of considerable pathos makes up for considerable commonness in the general conception, while the collie dog and the bush of hips and haws are masterpieces of imitative work. What is, on the other hand, peculiarly English is that touch of poetry which gives to the treatment of homely fact an idyllic grace without sacrificing truth. Of this tendency we have lost the most gifted representatives, Mason and Walker; but both Mr. P. R. Morris and Mr. Boughton have something of a kindred tenderness, and are well represented here; the manner of Mr. Boughton being more his own, that of Mr. Morris more distinctly influenced by Mason.

Returning to foreign contributors, we have in M. Tissot another craftsman of astonishing industry and cleverness, and a realist who, instead of adding a grace to nature, takes a grace away. In pictures like the group of cricketers and ladies beside the water under a horse-chestnut, and the naval lieutenant and ladies on the gallery of a ship of war, the rendering of material facts, and especially atmospheric facts, is simply masterly; the types and sentiment simply debased and odious. To this mean view of human nature, M. Tissot adds in some of his pictures a trick like Alma-Tadema's, of crotchety and sensational composition, of showing us the world from unnecessary slits and corners. He has, however, two pictures which are without fault of disagreeableness: the portrait of a girl among chrysanthemums, and the figure of a widower walking with his child upon his shoulder in a summer orchard among rich docks and grasses. Of the invention of his allegory (the first part of a *Triumph of Will*) the less said, perhaps, the better. M. Legros is another name that can only be counted among the realists. He employs his high and trained mastery of the severer resources and methods of his art to represent groups of Spanish priests and choristers, of French peasants at a christening, a travelling whitesmith mending a copper, or portraits of living people. But everything he does—even those admirable studies from the life executed in the presence of his pupils, with a rapidity which is not the rapidity of trick or display but of unerring certainty and directness—everything he does is austerely coloured by a cast of mind which is his own. The portrait of Carlyle errs certainly by a distressing weakness in the character of the eyes and brows. But on the whole, that division on the walls which contains the nine contributions of this powerful painter and teacher is one of those best worth study in the exhibition.

The work of the artists we have thus far considered, diverse in the extreme in subject, nevertheless agrees in this, that it is work in which the subjects represented are represented and realised for their own sakes and not merely for the arrangement of lines and colours which can be made out of them. Mr. Watts introduces us into the stately and generous presence of a living lady; Mr. Burne-Jones imagines his

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## PROSPECTUS.

Some degree of truth has been admitted in the charge not unfrequently brought against the English, that they are assiduous rather than solid readers. They give themselves too much to the lighter forms of literature. Technical Science is almost exclusively restricted to its professed votaries, and, but for some of the Quarterlies and Monthlies, very little solid matter would come within the reach of the general public.

But the circulation enjoyed by many of these very periodicals, and the increase of the scientific journals, may be taken for sufficient proof that a taste for more serious subjects of study is now growing. Indeed there is good reason to believe that if strictly scientific subjects are not more universally cultivated, it is mainly because they are not rendered more accessible to the people. Such themes are treated either too elaborately, or in too forbidding a style, or else brought out in too costly a form to be easily available to all classes.

The splendid conquests of Modern Science in every branch

of human knowledge are moreover, as a rule, scattered over a multiplicity of monographs, essays, memoirs, and special works of all sorts. Except in the Encyclopædias, their varied results are nowhere to be found, so to say, under one cover, and even in these unwieldy compilations they are necessarily handled more summarily than is always desirable.

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CHAPMAN AND HALL.

193, *Piccadilly, W.*,
*May* 15*th*, 1877.

vision of beautiful maidens gathered about the queen of beauty among pools and flowers in the radiance of the early world; M. Legros groups his careworn village women and simple children on their knees before the font of the village church; M. Heilbuth catches the very trick of gesture in the cardinals and their lacqueys, the children and their nurses, the acolytes and their preceptors, in the gardens of the Borghese or the Pincian; and each adjusts, controls, interprets his subject according to his special instincts of pictorial expression and pictorial harmony. But the picture is not the be-all and the end-all; in and behind the picture is the thing or the idea represented, and to this the mind is led. There is another sort of artist in whose work the subject has no weight at all; their pictures do not invite the mind to consider the thing represented but only the representation. They only select just so much fact as will serve to sustain and give the occasion to some preconceived scheme of lines and colours; and in the charm, balance, and completeness of this scheme or arrangement lies all the success or failure of the picture. Mr. Whistler is of this school, and in all that he does asserts its principles with just a touch of caricature and exaggeration. He paints a portrait of Mr. Irving as Philip the Second, and two portraits of ladies; and as far as they go the portraits are admirable. Mr. Irving's expression and manner of standing are hinted to the life; so are the faces and figures of the ladies; but it is by hints and no more that these things are expressed; there is not only no illusion, no realisation, but almost no definition; nothing has been expressed but what could be expressed at a single painting, with a single turn of the brush. M. Legros, we have seen, has a masterly power of expressing with a single turn of the brush, and single tints laid at once side by side, almost the whole reality and force of natural facts; but Mr. Whistler's stroke, however dexterous and cunningly prepared, has neither this power nor this aim. His aim is, not to represent reality, but to make a pattern, and he is careful to warn us as much, by naming his picture in large letters "arrangements" in black, brown, or grey, and mentioning the subject, if at all, only subordinately in small type. If a human being is thus to be treated simply as the principal element in a pattern, I do not see why the patterns should be such sombre ones as these of Mr. Whistler with their ghostly black backgrounds; the result seems scarcely worth the sacrifice of flesh and blood. On the other hand, for some of Mr. Whistler's "nocturnes" he has chosen elements for which his treatment is very legitimate. There is one of these Thames moonlights in particular, No. 6, which not only presents a lovely and satisfying sight to the eye, but expresses with a perfect justice the silvery mystery of the night, the subtly varied monotony of the great glimmering river surface, the soft profundity of the sky, and that

indefinable atmosphere above the houses, half duskiness, half glare, which is the effluence of the city's life. But why will Mr. Whistler not always be as grave and natural as this? Others of these moonlights are spoiled by the introduction of Cremorne fireworks, or by being taken from fantastic points of view, from the foot of some incredible timber arch, or from the top of some unaccountable elevation. Mr. Whistler is an artist gifted enough to be taken seriously, and should not do so much to prevent his being thus taken, with his affected frames, his affected titles, his caricature of his own principles and other tricks of jaunty and whimsical defiance. Another painter who carries out kindred aims with different materials and in a more classical spirit, so as to provoke less challenge, is Mr. Albert Moore. The materials for Mr. Albert Moore's combinations in form and colour have always been figures, single or many, more or less classical and ideal in type and drapery, with such furniture and accessories as were needed to complete the scheme. He, too, avoids realisation and stops at mere suggestion, in the matters of light, shadow, and relief; but in the matter of line and contour he defines completely; his design has the large dignity of the Greeks and is carried out to perfect finish. And his instinct for decorative colour, at least for a certain decorative scale of clear and delicate tints, is quite faultless. Sometimes the adjustments and balancings of his lines and tints have had a look just a little too calculated, mechanical, and set; but this year I think his work both at this gallery and at the Academy is singularly happy. The large single figure called *Sapphires* is not only a lovely vision of shimmering sea blue relieved among delicate patterns and flowers of more positive blue and white, and thrown up by two touches of orange headgear and orange butterfly; it is a stately figure of a woman of fair countenance, with the flesh and modellings perfectly rendered so far as the rendering goes. Along with Mr. Whistler and Mr. Albert Moore one would naturally range Mr. Armstrong. But indeed his principal picture in this gallery does carry our minds to its subject, *The Riviera of Genoa in Spring*. The picture is strictly a harmony, controlled by the one dominant note of intense Mediterranean blue; but so true is the ring of that note, so just and rich and like the south the quality of that azure, that the spirit of the scene is all the more conveyed by the suppression of minor realisms, and we feel ourselves not only in the presence of a harmonious picture, but transported to the very shores where these women stoop gathering fir cones among the twisted trunks upon the promontory.

And so our survey ends. To make it complete we should have to notice much interesting work that we have passed over, such as the large and poetical Campagna landscape of the Italian painter Costa, a piece which makes us realise the influence of this artist upon the

style of his friend George Mason; and the accomplished and vigorous work of the owner of the gallery, Sir Coutts Lindsay himself; and the contributions of Mr. Rudolf Lehmann, Mr. C. E. Hallé, Lady Lindsay, Mrs. Jopling, and others; and the set of water colours by Mr. Richard Doyle, in which, besides the playful invention which we knew before, this prolific creator of sprites and nixies exhibits also the gifts of a trained and admirable landscape painter. But our purpose has been especially to study what is typical and marking in the general activity of contemporary art as it is here represented. The first year's experiment at the new gallery is a delightful and instructive one. In other years the exhibition may easily be made more delightful and instructive still. The rooms are the best lighted and most comfortable anywhere; their inauguration has been happy, and artists, it is certain, will be glad to show their work under such conditions. Only the conditions are capable of still further improvement; for it is better to say out what has been said by implication already, that the crimson hangings of the walls and the green hangings of the dado, splendid in themselves, are somewhat too splendid for the pictures, and at a little distance reduce somewhat to comparative dimness some of the richest and subtlest colour within the frames. At all costs I think another background ought hereafter to be provided for the pictures. With that one change—with care in inviting in their turn all artists of whatever aims and tendencies, whether of old standing or young, whose work comes within the widest definition of genuine and living art, the work of spirits that really see and feel and can record what they see and feel—with these, the Grosvenor Gallery will assuredly become a place of ever increasing pleasure, and an institution of ever increasing service to the cause for which it is designed.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

# DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT: A PRACTICAL SKETCH.

In the present position of the controversy respecting the relationship between the religious life of England and the order of its political government, the importance of discussing the *practical methods* by which disestablishment and disendowment may be effected is so grave and pressing as to be imperative upon those who uphold principles which, carried into legislative action, would fundamentally change existing arrangements.

The rival theories in the abstract debate have been fully stated, and must be left to find their several places in the public mind according to those laws of spiritual combination by which the destinies of nations are ultimately determined. But the time required for this process will be shortened and the process itself facilitated, if it can be shown that the demands made for the deliverance of religion from the control of the State are not only defensible as consistent with a theory of government, but practicable as instructions within the range of social and legal possibilities; and not only defensible and practicable, but so far in harmony with the great lines of the historic development of English life, that they would leave untouched each natural channel along which the deeper and finer influences of religion have been poured, the attempt to impose artificial restrictions alone being abandoned. Those who have undertaken the task of bringing to an end the exercise of ecclesiastical functions by the State, are bound to show that they understand their responsibilities as citizens of a great nation, and are prepared with plans that neither bear the stamp of a dissenting sect, nor bar the way of those who desire to worship according to Episcopalian forms.

Of all discussions, those relative to the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church are most in danger of *drifting*. They affect sectional privileges and are largely carried on in the region of variable winds. Unless this tendency to drift be checked, and the public mind educated by the statement of clear and definite issues, ultimate legislation will be as confused and disappointing, as it will be unworthy of the arduous efforts that will be required to obtain it.

Disestablishment *might* be effected by methods which would impose upon the country for a century to come heavier burdens than those by which the development of its civilisation is at this hour impeded. The sentimental tie between Church and State might be severed and a *régime* of ecclesiastical authority, uncontrolled and

unrestrained, be triumphantly inaugurated. An Episcopal Church might be called into existence as an independent body by the direct help of the State, and established on a narrow and exclusive basis. Such a Church might be richly endowed with the accumulated treasures of generations, and when left to govern itself through its own assemblies and officers it would constitute an *imperium in imperio*, possessed of almost boundless resources, and capable of exercising political, social, and theological influence over a wider range of subjects and to a greater extent than the personal position of its members as citizens of a free country could in any degree justify. Should a disestablishment measure be introduced into Parliament before the public mind has directly grasped the principles upon which it should be based, in the excitement of the hour the definite effects of its clauses will not be seen. The ecclesiastical powers that be are astute. When the alternative is pressed, they will always accept the vague assertion of sentiments fatal to their pretensions, on condition that they may retain the substantial elements of their power. A Bill brought into Parliament for the disestablishment of the Church as by law established might, without watchful care, be manipulated into an Act for the legal establishment of a practically new Church, and the conversion of national resources into private endowments.

The amount of political force which, under the most favourable circumstances, will have to be expended to induce legislation at all, will be sufficient to carry a good measure, if the purposes to be accomplished are plainly stated and distinctly understood, and thoughtful attention be devoted to the formation of public opinion.

To provide for the attainment of these ends, the executive committee of the Liberation Society at the close of 1874 appointed a special committee to obtain legal and other information required for the preparation of a scheme of disestablishment, and to offer suggestions which might aid in the framing of a Parliamentary measure. In the present article I propose to describe the general purport of the report drawn up by this special committee and presented to the Triennial Conference held upon the 1st of May of the present year.[1] Whether approved or condemned, it cannot fail to mark a new point of departure for the discussion of the gravest question of modern political life, affecting as it does, alike directly and indirectly, the conditions of personal freedom, the regulation of schools and universities, and the development of religious faith. The conference itself received the report without pronouncing judgment on the suggestions it contains. In stating and defending the principles which underlie

(1) "Practical Suggestions relative to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England." Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, Serjeants' Inn, Fleet Street. 1877.

these suggestions, I write therefore entirely on my own responsibility, and it must not be understood that the Liberation Society is committed as a society to any opinion expressed. I shall not hesitate to combine an interpretation of the work of the special committee with the expression of personal convictions.

The *Suggestions relative to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England* which are submitted as "practical," would, it must frankly be admitted, if carried into effect, produce large and vital changes. No attempt is made to show that after the passing of an Act drawn up in their sense this world of England would be precisely the same world that it is to-day. A *real* measure is suggested—a measure which would have a purpose, and be distinctly framed for its accomplishment. Why should it be otherwise? Why should a subject replete with issues so momentous be played and trifled with? Why should reforming energies be wasted in showing that disestablishment would mean next to nothing, and that the sun would rise and the rain fall, and the Church and society in general remain precisely as they are? Either the continuance of officialism in religion is healthful and just, in which case resistance is an error, or it has evil effects which any Act worth the labour of passing should remove. An Act of Disestablishment and Disendowment can only be defended and justified as a distinct step in the history of England.

It appears practically necessary that disestablishment should not take place by a gradual process, but that *a definite date* should be fixed. The Irish Act provided for the dissolution of every ecclesiastical corporation on the 1st January, 1871; and great difficulties beset the adoption of any other course in England. Supposing no new appointments to be made either to bishoprics or the cure of souls by an authority representing the State, and each vacancy to be filled up by voluntary arrangements, the two systems—the system of voluntaryism and the present State Church system—would be so inextricably intertwined as to render the details of administration too complicated to be overtaken by any conceivable organization. A gigantic administrative bureau would have to be preserved until every clergyman living at the passing of the Act should be laid in his grave. It would be profoundly unjust to Episcopalians to subject them to the obstacles such a plan would throw in the way of the voluntary reorganization of their Church. It would divide their energies, check their enthusiasm, and limit their resources. The Church of England would be doomed to suffer from a creeping paralysis. No method of disestablishment should be adopted which would prevent Episcopalians from being *at once* able to gather together all their forces, and enjoy, for any purposes upon which they may agree, the fulness of their unbroken strength.

On the other hand, the nation, when it has once resolved upon the

Act, ought not to be compelled to wait a period which would extend from thirty to fifty years before its complete accomplishment. A thousand abuses might grow up in the interval. New movements of thought might awaken new feelings and create new duties. The efforts of a slowly dying ecclesiasticism would be put forth in every direction, either to obtain a new lease of power or to secure strongholds to replace those it must ultimately abandon. A gradual process of disestablishment would mean a continuance of ecclesiastical struggles in their most subtle and most obnoxious forms, without any compensating advantages accruing either to Episcopalians or to the nation.

Respecting the Act of Disestablishment itself, a fundamental requirement is, *that it shall not contain any clause providing for the incorporation of a new Church body.* The precedent of the Irish Church Act ought not in this respect to be followed in England. The disestablishment clauses of this Act are clear and complete. They provide that every ecclesiastical corporation in Ireland, whether sole or aggregate, and every cathedral congregation, shall be dissolved; that no archbishop or bishop of the Church shall be summoned or qualified to sit in the House of Lords; and that "all jurisdiction, whether contentious or otherwise, of all the ecclesiastical, peculiar, exempt and other courts and persons in Ireland at the time of the passing of this Act having any jurisdiction whatsoever exercisable in any cause, suit, or matter," shall cease.[1] Another clause, however (22), secured the reorganization of an Episcopal church by the action of the civil law. Episcopalians are not left to organize themselves without help from the State, according to ordinary forms of law applicable to other sects; but it is declared lawful for her Majesty by charter to incorporate a special Church body. The clause runs as follows: "If at any time it be shown to the satisfaction of her Majesty that the bishops, clergy, and laity of the said Church in Ireland, or the persons who for the time being may succeed to the exercise and discharge of the episcopal functions of such bishops, and the clergy and laity in communion with such persons, have appointed any persons or body to represent the said Church and to hold property for any of the uses or purposes thereof, it shall be lawful for her Majesty by charter to incorporate such body, with power, notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, to hold lands to such extent as is in this Act provided, but not further or otherwise."

This Episcopalian Church body, incorporated by royal charter, assumed to such an extent the character of a Church established by law, that the compensation of the clergy was directly connected with its service, and valuable endowments were bestowed upon it.

(1) Irish Church Act, clauses 13 and 21.

"The Irish Church Act repealed all laws which prevented the Church holding synods, and 'making regulations for the general management and good government of the Church' (sec. 19). But it did not stop there; for first it authorised her Majesty to incorporate by charter a 'Church Body,' appointed by the members of the Church to represent it, and to hold property on its behalf (sec. 22). That Act also provided for the compensation of the clergy on the assumption that they would continue in connection with the Church, and not only re-endowed the Church directly, by the payment to the Church body of half a million of money, as compensation for the loss of private endowments (sec. 29), and the transfer of churches, parsonages, and glebes, but still further endowed it indirectly, by providing that the commutation of clerical annuities should be a transaction between the clergy and the Church body, and by holding out an inducement to general commutation in the shape of a bonus of twelve per cent. on the commutation money, if three-fourths of the whole number in any diocese commuted (sec. 23).

"Another source of mischief in the Irish Act was the provision that the former incomes of the disestablished ecclesiastics were to be paid to them, not only so long as they lived, but on the condition that they continued to discharge such duties as they had been accustomed to discharge, or such duties as might be substituted for them, with their own consent and that of the representative body of the Church (secs. 14 and 15). Lastly, while one clause of the Act abolished the ecclesiastical courts, and declared that after January 1st, 1871, 'the ecclesiastical law of Ireland, except in so far as relates to matrimonial causes and matters, shall cease to exist as law, (sec. 21) another clause enacted that 'the present ecclesiastical law of Ireland, and the present articles, doctrines, rites, rules, discipline, and ordinances of the said Church,' should, subject to any alterations which might be made, 'be deemed to be binding on the members for the time being thereof,' in the same manner as if they had mutually contracted to observe the same, and should be capable of being enforced in the temporal courts in relation to any property possessed under the Act; provided that no annuitant should be deprived of his annuity if he signified his dissent from any alteration within a month after the making thereof (sec. 20)."—*Practical Suggestions, &c.*

It is now proposed that when disestablishment takes place in England, no clause corresponding to clause 22 of the Irish Act shall be enacted; but that at a certain fixed date all those persons who desire to connect themselves with an Episcopalian form of government—to use the Book of Common Prayer, and to adhere to the articles of religion now sanctioned by the State—should of their own free will make any arrangements they choose for the management of their newly constituted Church. The ordinary legal facilities available for Baptists, Independents, Wesleyans, and the members of every other nonconformist denomination, are equally at the service of Episcopalians. Any technical difficulties should of course be removed, but it would be a violation of every principle by which disestablishment is justified to give special protection, strength, honour, and authority to an Episcopal Church by any special Act of Parliament or form of Royal Charter. The reconstruction of a "Church of England" by direct legislation extending beyond the scope of voluntary agency would be the establishment of an enormous corporate body, exercising ecclesiastical influence by virtue of its privileged position.

An objection will be taken to this proposal to leave the organization of an Episcopal Church in the hands of those who believe in Episcopacy, on the ground that the result will be the *disintegration* of the Church as it now exists. The various parties united by State arrangements are divided by passionate convictions. Disestablishment, it is feared, would be the signal for war to the knife, and *Væ victis!* would be the cry of the triumphant faction. Granting that this anticipation is among the possibilities of the case, by what right is the State asked to keep the peace among the various sections of a Christian Church? The union of differing parties is either based on large and generous sympathies, or is the result of the pressure of an external force upon souls that fail to recognise their brotherhood in prayer. If the comprehensiveness of the English Church be determined by the large and generous sympathies of its members, no power on earth can destroy the unity of its spirit or break the bond of its peace. But if its members are conscious of no spiritual fellowship, any unity given to their Church by the external pressure of the State is a mockery which brings with it no blessing and deserves no respect.

When the possible disruption of the Church is urged as an argument against granting to its adherents an unrestricted liberty of organization, as soon as they occupy the same relationship to the State as other citizens, the great principle upon which the demand for disestablishment rests is unapprehended and untouched. The discharge of ecclesiastical functions by the State is as large an interference with the liberties of Episcopalians, as it is a grievance under which Nonconformists labour. The disestablishment of the Church has nothing to do with Nonconformists as Nonconformists; or with Ritualists as Ritualists; or with Broad Churchmen as Broad Churchmen; or with Evangelical theologians as Evangelical theologians. It will fulfil its purpose when every religious tendency existing in English society has free scope to crystallize into whatsoever shape it will without interference, and in obedience to the laws of its own genius. Disestablishment, in its broadest and noblest sense, means the liberation of the religious life of England from the impediments which check its natural development. The historic continuity of the religious life of England will not be broken by alterations in methods of ecclesiastical administration. It would be to pass the paltriest of all judgments upon the English Church, to contend that its Christian energies are dependent upon its continuance as a subsidised department of the State. The genial culture and gracious pieties which have so largely counterbalanced its constant claims to exclusive privilege and its frequent antagonism to civil freedom, will find their own place and live by their own strength. Those to whom ancient Anglican rites and symbols are dear, will not have

to choose either imprisonment or expulsion from the Church of their fathers, or submission to laws which (as they believe) touch the very conditions under which the grace of God will rest upon them. The race of the great typical men of the English Church—the men who have not been aggressive or domineering, and whose learning has been as profound and generous as their patience with error has been sweet and kindly, and their saintliness beautiful with honest charity—the men of whose biographies it is written

> "There are no colours in the fairest sky
> So fair as these. The feather whence the pen
> Was shaped that traced the lives of these good men,
> Dropped from an angel's wing,"

will not perish when legal enactments no longer artificially unite in one political organization elements which refuse to combine in the natural fellowship of religious sympathy.

*With respect to the compensation of those who will be deprived of their incomes by disestablishment, the State should deal liberally with the individuals concerned, but it should deal with those individuals alone.* If an Act were passed, providing that all ecclesiastical action on the part of the State should cease, it would be seen that no such body as a body corporate bearing the name of the Church of England, and holding property in its own right, has ever been in existence. It would further be seen that no corporations sole or local churches would retain any rites as proprietary bodies, or be able to make any sign of independent life.

The effect of a Disestablishment Act would be precisely similar to the effect of an Act declaring that at a certain date the standing army of England should be abolished. There would be no "army" left after that date, either endowed with property in the shape of barracks and lands, arms and ammunition, waggons and horses, or with officers in command. After the date fixed every soldier would be a private citizen, and his military accoutrements would revert to the State to deal with according to its pleasure. An Act of Disestablishment would render every clergyman, whether archbishop, bishop, rector, or vicar, a private citizen in relation to the State, whatever his position in the "one catholic and apostolic Church," and the whole of the property in the administration of which he has shared would be absolutely at the disposal of the nation.

"It is of cardinal importance to recognise the fact that, whatever the Church of England may be ecclesiastically, it is not one great corporation, holding property, and exercising authority as such, but consists of a number of corporations. What is called 'Church property' is 'simply the property of the several local churches, the ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, bishops, chapters, rectors, and vicars, or any other. The Church of England, as a single body, has no property' (*Disestablishment and Disendowment*, by

E. A. Freeman, p. 11). Nor have these corporations any proprietary rights apart from the arrangements made by the State for the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions. These 'local churches' and 'ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate,' hold, and administer, property on behalf of the State, and constitute part of the machinery by which it carries on the ecclesiastical work which it has undertaken in connection with a Church Establishment.

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"The Church, as by law established, being a national organization for ecclesiastical purposes, its adherents, in an ecclesiastical sense, have no other pecuniary rights in connection with it than are possessed by the rest of the nation. Hence only the bishop, clergy, and other individuals having, by virtue of their office, a special beneficiary interest in the Establishment, together with the owners of advowsons and next presentations, will be entitled to compensation on its abolition. Though an Episcopal Church may afterwards be organized on a different basis, when disestablishment is determined on, there will be no body having a legal existence capable of either claiming or receiving compensation."—*Practical Suggestions, &c.* § 4.

Disendowment cannot be regarded as an act of spoliation directed against any organized body or bodies capable of uttering complaints and protests, similar to those which could be formally and legally expressed if an individual, or an institution, like a hospital, were deprived of property. Disendowment would mean that the State, having determined no longer to discharge ecclesiastical duties, withdraws the resources it has previously devoted to religious objects, and dismisses the officers it has employed. Every chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England illustrates this position. The changes made in the creed and ritual of the so-called National Church have not been transfers of allegiance from one distinct Church to another, but variations in the character of the work undertaken by one and the same civil authority. Mr. Freeman's contention that at the Reformation itself there was no taking from one religious body and giving to another, and that, although theological continuity might be broken, no act was done by which legal and historical continuity was broken, is at once admitted; and it is not questioned that, though Pole succeeded Cranmer and Cranmer succeeded Pole, yet nothing was done to break the uninterrupted succession of the Archbishopric of Canterbury as a corporation sole in the eye of the law.[1] But this means that what is termed the National Church is the Government of the country in the exercise of ecclesiastical activities; and it directly follows that, when disestablishment and disendowment take place, there will be no body of Episcopalians who, as constituting an Episcopalian Church, will have a claim for compensation, but that the *State must deal solely with the individuals whose incomes will be affected by their discharge from its service.*

(1) "Disestablishment and Disendowment." By E. A. Freeman, pp. 18, 19.

The fact that gifts of money and lands have been made to the Church does not affect the argument I am conducting. No gifts can be received by the Church as a body independent of the State. When a wealthy member of the Evangelical section builds and endows a church, he cannot stipulate that ritualistic rites shall never be celebrated within it. Parliament might alter the terms of subscription to-morrow, and no dissentient could withdraw a penny of the property he may have devoted to the Church's services in the happy faith that its creed would never change. Whether a man will or no, when he gives money to the Church "as by law established," he gives to the nation. All so-called Church property is property administered by public officials under the direction and control of Parliament.

These considerations are urged for the purpose of showing clearly that there is no ecclesiastical body which can substantiate a claim to the property now appropriated to the use of the "National Church;" but it is *not* suggested that no regard should be paid to the voluntary origin of many recent churches and endowments. On the contrary, a distinction between ancient and modern churches and endowments will presently be drawn, which although a departure from the "claim of right" made on behalf of the nation, may yet be defended and accepted as a practical settlement of a question involving many and varied interests.

*In the compensation of "ecclesiastical persons" (to use the language of the Irish Act), their personal independence should be scrupulously respected.*

Whatever compensation may be given to clergymen when the State no longer requires their services, should belong to them as individuals, to be invested or spent according to their own wishes and interests. Compensation will be paid, because personal injury would otherwise be inflicted; and the person receiving compensation should be able to deal with it as his own private property. The State has no right to ask a disestablished body of clergy to continue to discharge ecclesiastical duties. Each man should be left free to act according to his own judgment. If he feel "a necessity" laid upon him to preach the gospel, the gospel he will continue to preach; if not, he will seek another occupation.

Still less has the State any right to stipulate that the disestablished clergy, *as a condition of receiving compensation*, should connect themselves with any Episcopalian Church that may be voluntarily organized. A clergyman has entered a *national* Church, and when the Church ceases to be a national institution, his contract ends. It would be a gross injustice to *compel* him, under penalty of personal

loss, to accept office in a distinctly different organization. If he should desire to become the minister of a voluntary Episcopal Church he should be perfectly free to engage himself in its service; if he should *not* so desire, he should be at liberty either to join some other Church or to abandon the ministry, as may be most consonant with his own wishes and convictions. The offer of compensation ought not to be an act of ecclesiastical bribery. Should the Church on disestablishment divide into several sections, a clergyman should receive the same compensation to whichever party he may attach himself. Should Episcopalians unite themselves in one body, he should not receive any pecuniary reward for joining that body, nor be subjected to any fine should he separate himself from it.

The fact that a clergyman will be released from his duties must of course be considered in calculating the amount which will be his due; but the sum paid (whether it take the form of a capital sum, or of an annuity extending over a term of years, or for life, according to age and the circumstances of the case) should be fairly proportionate to the extent of the actual loss, and the State has no right to anticipate, or direct, or burden his future career. Any clergyman, anxious to devote himself to the service of a voluntary Episcopal Church, would be able to hand over to it the whole amount, or any part of the amount, of the compensation he will receive as his own personal contribution to its resources. Should he receive an annuity, it will have its value in the open market, and he can sell it and give the money to his chosen Church, or retain it, as he will. When the State has disestablished Episcopacy, it must not attempt to re-endow it by an offer of heavy retaining fees to its clergy; and when it has adequately remunerated individual clergymen for their loss of office, it must in common justice permit them to be the sole judges respecting the proper employment of their money, their time, and their energy. It is practically suggested (see section 11) that the borrowing powers given to the Commissioners whose appointment would be required for carrying out the Act, would enable them to acquire the temporary use of a considerable amount for the immediate payment of capital sums; and that if the commutation of clerical annuities should be so generally demanded as to require funds far in excess of those at first derivable from the ecclesiastical property available for the purpose, bonds might be issued for the payment of the annuities due to individuals, and the sale or transfer of such bonds could be legalised.

Compensation should be made not only for loss of office, *but for loss of patronage, when patronage has been exercised by private persons acting on their own behalf, and not by corporate bodies or persons, in whom it has been vested on behalf of the public.*

The grounds on which this suggestion is made are stated in the following paragraph:—

"Neither the members of the corporate bodies which would be dissolved by disestablishment, nor public officers, or other persons, in whom patronage is vested on behalf of the public, will be entitled to compensation for the loss of the patronage they have been accustomed to exercise. Private patrons, and others who can dispose of their patronage rights by gift, sale, or bequest at their own pleasure, are in a different position. If it be objected that private patronage, equally with public patronage, is a sacred trust, and not a property, it may be answered that—notwithstanding the existence of laws against simony—the Legislature has distinctly sanctioned the sale of advowsons. It did so when the municipal corporations were reformed, and were directed to sell their patronage. It has done so more recently, in passing the Lord Chancellor's Augmentation Act (26 and 27 Vict. cap. 120), which authorised the sale of small livings in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, that the proceeds might be applied to enhance the value of the livings. Since that Act came into operation (Nov. 1, 1863), £222,759 have been paid by the purchasers of these livings; and for the Legislature now, on moral grounds, to deny to them some compensation for the loss of what they have purchased, would be an act of injustice. Rightly or wrongly, Church patronage in private hands has been treated, both by law and usage, as property, of which the holders cannot equitably be deprived without an equivalent."—*Suggestions*, § 12.

The buildings and endowments, now appropriated to the use of the Church of England, may be divided for practical treatment into two great classes, and be dealt with as either ancient or modern. I have already pointed out that no legal distinction exists between property recently given to the Church by voluntary donors, and property possessed from time immemorial. There are not two kinds of Church property; one part national and the other semi-national; one part held without conditions and the other part held under conditions dictated by individual citizens. At the same time no suggestions could be called practical, which proposed to treat the whole of the property in question in precisely the same way. It might be argued, with some show of reason, that gifts made in modern times have been more distinctly intended to support an Episcopalian organization, than those that accrued to the Church at a period when Nonconformity was less clearly understood in principle and less prominent as a political power. The wisest course is to admit frankly that *a price will have to be paid* for a great social change; and, while watchful betimes to resist extortionate demands, to raise no impassable barriers to the fair discussion of terms. Happily a date presents itself as separating ancient from modern buildings and endowments, which it is believed may be named without bringing upon the advocates of disestablishment the charge of a doctrinaire illiberality, and which may be accepted by them without rendering them open to the imputation of surrendering their real cause for the sake of winning a worthless victory.

The first of the Church Building Acts was passed in 1818;* and it is suggested that all churches existing at that date should be deemed to be ancient parish churches, and that all endowments created before the same period should be regarded as ancient endowments, and be treated as national property; that all other churches and endowments should be regarded as modern, and their destination be determined by considerations based on their voluntary origin. The special flow of modern voluntary subscriptions towards the Church of England receives ample justice if it is calculated from this date.

"The date of the first of the Church Building Acts is suggested as the line of division between the ancient and modern churches, because the church building movement, which is one of the characteristics of the present century, commenced at that time. According to the Census of Religious Worship of 1851, only 55 churches were built from 1801 to 1811, and but 97 were built from 1811 to 1821; whereas 2,140 were built from 1821 to 1851. It is estimated that the 2,529 churches built from 1801 to 1851 cost £9,087,000; of which £1,663,429 came from public funds.

"Mr. Horace Mann (see Census of 1851) estimated that, allowing for defective returns, the number of church edifices in England and Wales was about 16,000; of which 2,560 have been consecrated within the last forty years, and 4,210 from the beginning of the century to the end of 1873."—*Ibid.* § 17.

The framers of the suggestions under consideration were advised that the distinction drawn between ancient churches and those erected under Church Building Acts, New Parishes Acts, &c., *i.e.* since 1818, is equally important in fact and in law, and points to a real difference in churches, both in their actual conditions of use and in their legal incidents.

*Ancient parish churches (including in this category all churches existing in the year* 1818) *should be placed in charge of the parishioners of the several parishes to which they belong;* arrangements being made (it should be added) in the case of boroughs to permit the grouping of parishes and the action of town councils as elected representative bodies, if found more convenient than distinct parochial boards. The principle asserted is, that ancient churches should be managed by an authority directly elected by the ratepayers for the general benefit of the community. When the patron and rector are withdrawn the parishioners remain as the rightful owners of the parish church.

"Ancient churches should be vested in a parochial board, to be elected by the ratepayers, which board should have power to deal with them for the general benefit of the parishioners, in such ways as it may determine. The power of sale, at a fair valuation, and under proper regulations, should also be given."—*Ibid.* § 18.

It may be urged that some restriction ought to be placed upon the action of the parishioners. But why should not parishioners be trusted with their own property? The manliness of the English

nation has suffered from the dread of entrusting local authorities with duties of magnitude and rendering them responsible for their rightful discharge. A religious people will not desecrate an ancient church; and if the people are *not* religious, no legal regulations can protect a church from the saddest and sorriest of all desecrations, the desecration of hypocrisy. Should churches be placed under the care of parishioners, with the general instruction to consult the public good, it is certain no uniform usage will be adopted throughout the country; and it will be of large advantage that uniformity should not exist. Our national life needs more diversity in its local manifestations. Our habits and forms of thought are cast in such narrow moulds, that the word "parochial" has become a bye-word and a reproach. If wider interests were imported into parish life, and freer play given to the varied energies pent up in every English village, a parochial interest would cease to be a synonym for a petty meanness.

In some parishes the church might be used by two or three denominations at different hours of the day and week; in others it might be let at a fair rent to its present occupants; in others it might be sold, and the proceeds applied to some public object. But in all cases the parish itself should have the right of determining what it will do with its own church, the only legal restriction imposed being that the general benefit should be consulted. If it be feared that warm controversies would from time to time arise, the reply is that nothing could be more unwholesome for mortal breathing than the fogs which rise from the stagnant pools now so thickly scattered over the land.

*Ancient endowments (that is, by the rule laid down, endowments created before* 1818) *should form part of the property to be appropriated by the State.* It is premature to discuss the precise purposes to which the funds that disestablishment and disendowment will place at the disposal of the nation shall be appropriated.

"The surplus may be devoted to education—to the maintenance of the poor—to effecting great sanitary improvements—to the reduction of the national debt, or to other objects of a secular character, which would be beneficial to the whole nation. It may, however, be suggested that, inasmuch as a large portion of the property now devoted to ecclesiastical purposes belongs to the parishes, such portions of it as Parliament may from time to time determine should be applied to local objects, and be administered by municipal and other local authorities."—*Ibid.* § 28.

The last suggestion made in this paragraph will, I believe, receive more and more emphatic attention, as the great mass of our people become familiar with the local character of a large part of the property now employed in the support of ecclesiastical institutions. One of the most striking facts connected with the general question

of Church property is the enormous extent of the ecclesiastical *landed estate* which may be found in almost every county in the kingdom. Statistics recently prepared by Mr. Frederic Martin show that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are landowners in all the counties of England except two, Shropshire and Westmoreland; and in all the counties of Wales except three, Brecon, Merioneth, and Montgomeryshire. They own 149,882 acres of land, with an annual rent-roll of £311,207; "representing the largest revenue from real property possessed by any individual or corporate body in the kingdom, and probably in the world."[1] In addition, there is the ecclesiastical estate of bishops, deans, chapters, and holders of glebe lands, widely distributed over the face of the country.

Churches erected and endowments created since 1818 require a certain amount of separate examination and treatment before a general rule can be applied. When the expenditure bestowed upon them has been the sole gift of a person living at the date of disestablishment, they should, as a matter of equity, be reinvested in him, or in such persons as he may appoint. When Parliamentary grants or any other funds derived from public sources have been added to the voluntary contributions, the amount should be restored to the State and form part of the general surplus. *With these limitations, churches and endowments of a date subsequent to* 1818 *should become the property of the congregations enjoying their use at the time when the Act of Disestablishment is passed.*

If any portion of the voluntary contributions bestowed upon the Episcopal Church of England is to be separated from the property appropriated by the State, it must either (1) be restored to the individuals who gave it, or their living representatives; or (2) it must be vested in a corporate ecclesiastical body specially created for the purpose; or (3) it must be retained by the several congregations in whose service it is now employed. No other disposition is possible, since the Act of Disestablishment will necessarily dissolve all existing ecclesiastical corporations, whether sole or aggregate.

To discover the representative of every contributor to Church funds since 1818 would be an impossible, even if it were a desirable, task. It would give rise to the most complicated legal investigations, and the whole proceeds would probably disappear in costs. Moreover, the representatives of the subscriber to a church can scarcely be said to have a moral claim to the return of a subscription, given to a body with whose affairs, as was notorious, Parliament could interfere at will.

Next the creation of a special corporate body would be the

(1) "The Property and Revenues of the English Church Establishment." By Frederic Martin. P. 123 and p. 70.

re-establishment of the Church, or rather the establishment of that section of the Church which might happen to be in the ascendant among the statesmen of the day; and to bestow upon a newly incorporated ecclesiastical body the funds which have accumulated from voluntary subscriptions would be a direct act of endowment. Instead of the present Church of England, which at any rate has a certain comprehensiveness, and is compelled to acknowledge its subjection to the elected representatives of the people, there would be in England a richly endowed section of a Church, practically holding the position of a State Church, but relieved from the responsibility of rendering to any human authority an account of its stewardship.

The *congregations* remain as the only bodies upon whom modern churches and endowments should be bestowed, whether weight be given to grounds of equity, or motives of generosity have their sway, or whether a simply prudential regard be shown to the fair price to be paid to secure the religious liberty of England.

Now congregations will really be the chief sufferers from an Act of Disestablishment, and their privileges will be the most directly affected. Those who worship in a modern church have a greater right than any other men can have to plead that it was built for their special service, and that the endowments attached to it were intended to be theirs. Such pleas have no force when employed to establish a title to that ancient property, the exclusive use of which has been obtained by Episcopalians through a series of restrictive and persecuting enactments; but their moral weight can scarcely be denied when they are applied to the property created by modern voluntary efforts.

The proposal made, it must be carefully noted, does not necessitate or involve the substitution of a system of Congregationalism in place of the disestablished Episcopalianism. The separate congregations, placed in possession of modern churches and endowments, would be able, should they so determine, to unite together and constitute themselves an Episcopal Church, of exactly the same ecclesiastical character as the existing Church of England, immediately on the passing of an Act of Disestablishment.

If Episcopalianism be enshrined in the hearts and consciences of those who reckon themselves members of the Church of England (as its adherents loudly declare), it would not lose one solitary assembly of worshippers. Any group of congregations might act together, should the whole number not prove to be of one mind. Any section of the Church that may feel itself aggrieved by the legal restrictions now placed upon its doctrines, its ritual, and the action of the spiritual courts whose jurisdiction alone it acknowledges, will find in an Act of Disestablishment the Magna Charta of its liberties. The

congregations in which such opinions prevail, might be gathered together (with the modern churches and endowments that may have fallen to their share) and, adopting a form of government consonant with their sacred convictions, affirm on behalf of all who may adhere to the affirmation that they constitute the ancient Anglican Church, and are the legitimate inheritors of its spiritual privileges. On the other hand, congregations believing in the comprehension within one Church of divergent minds, would not only, as congregations, be as free to "comprehend" as the most latitudinarian of divines could desire, but would be able to unite and constitute a Broad Church of England, in which spiritual fellowship would not be made dependent upon the subtle ingenuity of the tortures inflicted upon doctrinal formulæ in order to wring from them strangely contradictory confessions of faith, but upon the strength of the living conviction that theology is an open science, and that differences of thought ought not to interfere with the sanctities of common prayer. Upon the possibility of vesting property in a body so fluctuating and undefined as a congregation in present connection with the Church of England, legal advice has been taken, and the reply received is to the effect that no insuperable difficulties exist.

"The question is really one to be answered by professional persons, and the professional advice received on this point justifies the assertion that there is no insuperable difficulty in defining a congregation, and in determining the modes in which property may be held in its behalf. The problem has, in fact, been already solved, both in this and other countries. This will be seen by reference to the following:—1, The Statutes (63 to 69) of the disestablished Church in Ireland; 2, The Statute Law of various American States (see Tyler's American Ecclesiastical Law, 1866, vol. i., p. 60); 3, The Act for abolishing Patronage in the Church of Scotland, 1876; 4, The Compulsory Church-Rate Abolition Act, 1868 (sec. 9)."—*Ibid.* § 21.

The statutes (63 to 69) of the disestablished Church in Ireland passed and promulgated (under powers given by the Irish Church Act) in general convention in 1870, practically decide the question of the possibility of defining a "congregation" now attached to the Church by law established, and placing it in the position of a legally constituted body, capable of having the use of property held in trust on its behalf. Registered vestrymen are substituted for parishioners and ratepayers, and from their numbers churchwardens are yearly taken. Every male of the age of twenty-one years, being a resident or owner of property in any parish or parochial district, or who has for at least six months next preceding the time of registration been an accustomed member of the congregation attending the church of such parish or parochial district for divine worship, and who shall sign the following declaration—

"I, A. B., do hereby solemnly declare that I am a member of the Church of Ireland, and am an owner of property in the parish of

or [am a resident in the parish of , and am not registered in another church of the same parish as an accustomed member of a congregation] as the case may be; or [am an accustomed member of the congregation of , and am not registered as an accustomed member of any other congregation] as the case may be"—

is declared to be entitled to be registered as a vestryman of such parish or parochial district, and to have a vote in the management of its affairs. It is further provided that the register of vestrymen shall be revised once a year, and that any diocesan synod may require that a vestryman shall be a subscriber to the church funds, and make regulations accordingly. The persons actually worshipping in a particular church, thus become the "congregation" in a legal, as completely as in a moral and spiritual, sense. Whether a clergyman should or should not remain the minister of the congregation to which he may be attached at the time of disestablishment, should be determined by arrangement with the congregation itself. Since the amount of his compensation would be calculated upon the actual pecuniary value of his position, and he would be under no legal obligation to continue in the ministry at all, special personal agreements would be required respecting the terms of future service.

"A proposal to eject the inmates of all the parsonages in the country—even with compensation—would be regarded as a harsh proceeding, and as inflicting, undeserved suffering on the clergy and their families. That would be avoided, and ample time be afforded for making changes without personal inconvenience, by allowing the existing incumbents to occupy their parsonages so long as they continue to be ministers of the churches in which they now officiate; but, of course, on payment of rent, according to the valuation adopted in settling their claims for compensation."—*Ibid.* § 26.

Cathedrals, abbeys, and other buildings, possessing the character of public monuments, legitimately fall under the control of Parliament. They are the property of Nonconformists, quite as much as of Episcopalians. They belong to Englishmen as Englishmen; and the voice of the country speaking through Parliament from generation to generation should determine their use, according to the living wishes of each age.

Among miscellaneous matters, provisions would be needed for the redemption of tithe-rent charges and the abolition of compulsory ecclesiastical imposts in every form.

"The Irish Church Act provided for the sale of tithe-rent charge to the owners of land on the payment of twenty-two and a half year's purchase; and an English Act should contain similar provisions. The power of levying church-rates, in any form, should also cease; provision being made for extinguishing debts, or for meeting other claims, for which compulsory rates may still be levied. Easter Dues and other minor ecclesiastical impositions, which are either small in amount, or vexatious in their character, should be

abolished. Special arrangements would also be required to relieve the inhabitants of corporate towns, such as Liverpool, and of parishes, such as Marylebone, who have to pay large sums out of municipal or parochial rates to maintain churches, and to provide incomes for the clergy officiating in them." —*Ibid.* § 27.

The passing of an Act of Disestablishment and Disendowment based upon the principles indicated in the Practical Suggestions discussed in this article would, I submit, confer substantial benefits upon the nation, without touching with rough hand any noble religious influence exercised by those assemblies of Christian worshippers now connected with the State, and without violating any constitutional law.

The rights alike of individuals, parishes, and congregations would be respected. The compensation given to *individuals* would be ample, while their personal freedom would be secured. They would be able to follow the dictates of conscience and devote themselves, in the solemn might of self-denying enthusiasm, to whatsoever Church bears in their sight the most assured witness to the glory of God. Not a single clergyman or layman would suffer pecuniary loss, while not the burden of a feather would be placed upon spiritual independence.

*Parishes* would receive the consideration that their place in English history demands and justifies. Their higher energies would be quickened by the increase of responsibilities, and their miseries alleviated by the possession of new resources. The conditions of a more diversified mental and spiritual activity would be established. A breath of freer and purer air would freshen the village life of England.

*Congregations* would neither be roughly scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd, or harshly driven into unaccustomed folds. Means would be provided by which those who have been glad to go up together into the house of their Lord, could unite themselves more closely as one people, and be even better able to make known their desires and present their common supplications. The great voluntary work of this century would be generously recognised; and no congregation would be compelled to surrender offerings that had been presented by those who, living in these later days, may be presumed to have desired its especial welfare.

The reorganization of an Episcopal Church would proceed without partisan interference on the part of the State. Every section of Episcopalians would be treated with an equal justice. Individual clergymen and congregations would freely group themselves according to their spiritual affinities. No legal impediments would prevent the existence of one great Episcopal Church of England, should Episcopalians resolve with one mind and desire with one heart that

its foundations should be laid, its temple upbuilt, and its altar consecrated.

Neither would any law hinder those who might esteem their own order of worship freer from mortal taint than that adopted by their brethren, from also forming a Church, and proclaiming with voice of trumpet, and psaltery, and harp, that it is the one Church of the living God in England, in which are administered the special sacraments through which his Holy Spirit will be outpoured upon the children of men. The spirit of such an act of disestablishment as that for which I plead, would be akin to that which dwelt within Moses of old, when it was angrily reported to him that Eldad and Medad "do prophesy in the camp," and he replied, "Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them." Those who are unconnected with any section of the Church will not be responsible for the acts of a voluntary organization, in the way in which they are responsible for the ecclesiastical action of the State of which they are citizens. Ecclesiasticism as a restraint upon the intellectual development of the country will be destroyed by the very blow which liberates its religious life from the interference of the law.

The nation itself—the nation which embraces in the folds of its ample majesty all contending sects and fragments of sects—would receive the many broad acres and rich possessions which it so gravely needs that its pauperism may be lessened, and the sorrows of its closely packed crowds lightened, and the march of physical as well as spiritual pestilence checked, and its schools made more worthy of the genius of its people. The amount of property which ought to be retained after satisfying every just and honourable claim would be amply sufficient to afford *appreciable relief* from the pressure of many grievous burdens, and supply large means for promoting a higher culture.

It remains for those who "believe, and therefore speak," zealously to devote themselves to the education of the people in the knowledge of those practical measures by which the demands of religious liberty may be converted into the blessings of a nobler civilisation. Legislation will sooner or later become imperative. Whatever act of disestablishment be passed, we have to see that it is not a mockery of every hope, a contemptuous sarcasm upon years of toil, and an astute resumption of ancient privilege. It must mark an epoch in the history of England.

HENRY W. CROSSKEY.

# EVOLUTION AND POSITIVISM.

## I.

WHAT is the relation between the Positive Philosophy, as represented by Auguste Comte, and the Evolution Philosophy, as represented by Häckel, Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and other celebrated men of our time? Are they antagonistic in principle? Or have they a common basis; and if so, where and to what extent do they diverge?

One view, and possibly the view most generally accepted, is that the Philosophy of Evolution is a more advanced form of the Positive Philosophy, which has arisen since Comte's time, and which therefore supersedes his own system of thought, and renders it a matter of merely historical interest. Of the ultimate nature of matter, as revealed in the most advanced speculations of the molecular physicists, of the differentiations of every inorganic or organic form from a homogeneous nebula, of the origin of all living species from protoplasm in the course of millions of years through the struggle for existence; of this, it is said, Comte knew nothing. How then can any claim be still put forward in his behalf to the leadership of thought in the nineteenth century?

There are others by whom a different view is taken. To these Comte presents himself as having taken account of these prevalent tendencies of modern speculation, having judged them by anticipation, and as having given weighty reasons for attaching a very different value to them from that which is now current. Some attempt will be made in this and in a succeeding article to develop and support this view. The present writer is one of those who consider that Comte is by no means superseded; but, on the contrary, that his writings, whether earlier or later, supply a safeguard against certain idols of modern thought which are going far to discredit science, and by inevitable reaction to favour the revival of retrograde beliefs.

Comte's philosophical position may be summed up in these two sentences:

1. He attempted a Synthesis of scientific conceptions.

2. That Synthesis was *subjective*, and not *objective*. It discarded, that is to say, all attempts to stand outside the universe, to regard it as a whole, and to explain it. The unifying influence, that which made it a synthesis, was the recognition of Man as the central object; of the study of social and moral phenomena as the central science, to which the rest were subsidiary.

It is the second of these positions which separates Comte from Evolutionists and Cosmogonists. The first position, however, he holds in common with them. He and they alike are marked off by it on the one hand from metaphysicians and theologians, with whose conceptions the Positivist has nothing to do except to appreciate their philosophical importance; and on the other from scientific specialists engaged in promoting particular branches of knowledge without reference to their correlation, or to their reaction on the general system of belief.

Of Comte's attitude towards theological and metaphysical thinkers, there is no need to speak. In his rejection of their methods he was not, nor did he ever assume to be, original. The Positive method, as applied to speculation, dates from the Greek mathematicians. Handed down, through the Arabs, to the Renaissance, and thence to modern Europe, it has been ever extending to new spheres of thought. Comte is sometimes attacked for falsely claiming the credit of originality in this matter, as though he supposed himself to have invented the Positive method; as though the recognition of its employment for twenty-five centuries was not the very groundwork of his system of Positive Philosophy. Comte's originality as a scientific thinker principally consists in his application of the Positive method to a new sphere of thought; that of the phenomena of human nature, social or individual. Apart from certain special aspects, as, for instance, that of man's economic relations, this region had hitherto been deemed inaccessible to the Positive method, and grasped tenaciously by metaphysicians and theologians as peculiarly their own. Not, of course, that in the eighteenth century indications of this great crisis in the history of thought are not plainly visible. The writings of Montesquieu, Hume, Adam Smith, Diderot, Vico, Kant, Turgot, and Condorcet show that the greater minds were not without strong presentiments and even clear glimpses of its advent. But to Comte belongs the praise of having first grasped the problem in its length, breadth, and height; of having seen the momentous practical issues involved in its solution; and of having devoted his total energy to the task from youth till death.

As a student of science, then, a student, that is, of the laws of nature, Comte takes his place in a long line of thinkers from Thales and Archimedes downwards. They, like him, had used the "Positive method," though without knowing it. They, like him, had occupied themselves with the study of constant relations underlying the apparent irregularities of the phenomena which they were considering. And whether the uniformities were sought for amidst the infinite diversities of triangles, or amidst the infinite diversities in the mental evolution of individuals or nations, the method followed was fundamentally the same.

But amongst scientific thinkers Comte is distinguished by an attempt in which, though he does not stand alone, he has yet had few predecessors. He attempted to frame, as I have said, a Synthesis of scientific conceptions; to group our knowledge of the laws of nature into a harmonious co-ordinated whole. This was first attempted by Des Cartes, whose method may, as I propose to show, serve as a type for many modern efforts in the same direction.

The need for a Synthesis has been growing of late years more and more evident, even to scientific minds. The common antipathy or indifference to science is not merely due to its conflict with theological dogma. It is that men ask themselves, as they read the title pages of scientific journals or the summaries of annual meetings of scientific associations, Why are all these disjointed materials flung down together before us in a heap? What is it that these wise men tell us we are to fall down and worship? We are told that all knowledge of real facts is precious; that the smallest fact carefully and accurately recorded, however unmeaning it may at first seem, may possibly be one end of a clue which shall lead to a labyrinth of treasures; may possibly be the missing link which centuries hence shall enable some great thinker to throw his chain over a bottomless chasm. All this is extremely plausible; and it appeals forcibly to some of the best English feelings of patience, humility, and thoroughness. But have the eloquent lecturers at British Associations and elsewhere who descant on this theme ever seriously reflected on its meaning? Have they ever taken to heart the saying of the evangelist, and reflected that if all the facts in the world are to be accurately recorded, a new world probably of greater size will be required as a Record Office? And indeed this is an understatement of the case. If in "facts" we include all "truths" discoverable by human faculties, their number is evidently and in the strictest sense infinite. The possible problems to be worked out in any one branch of mathematics would fill many more volumes than are contained in all the world's libraries. In astronomy we might look forward to accurate records of the spectra of many million stars. In chemistry the arithmetician may tell us if he can what limit there is to the possible combinations of fifty or sixty elements taken any number of times together. In biology, especially if we include the concrete "sciences," or rather fact-collections, of palæontology and natural history, the field is wide also, much wider than it used to be. Formerly it might have been enough to study each of the many thousand species of each class of animals or plants. But at the present moment the notion of species as a definite unit is passing away, and who shall say that it is not desirable to record the variations found in each of countless millions of individuals? Passing to sociology we shall find the state of things not otherwise. Woe to

the historic student who generalises. Facts, he will be told, not theories, are wanted; let him investigate original documents, let him restrict himself to a short period, a limited area; then he may yet do good service. For what we want are all the procurable records of each year of every nation's existence. Or why do we say nation? We must examine with the same care every province; why not every village?

It is sometimes forgotten by the learned that the very essence and main purpose of science is to generalise. Science, as opposed to erudition, means investigation of the laws of nature; and a law of nature means the Perception of Uniformity in the midst of Variety. It implies an intelligent question asked of nature; a meditative work, resulting in the construction of some sort of hypothesis, however provisional and transient, which is to be tested afterwards by observation, and which therefore gives purpose and meaning to the collection of facts. But with a large proportion of modern fact-heaps meditation has had very little to do. They have resulted partly from the mere fondness for accumulation common to all collectors of curiosities, partly from the inquisitive instinct which indicates the dawn of intellect in young infants or in the higher vertebrates. They have obstructed science more than they have helped it.

It is quite true, however, that in many departments of thought there is a strong counteracting influence. The practical applications of many sciences protect them to a great extent from this aimless dispersion. We have realised the dream of Bacon that knowledge of the activities around us implies their mastery; or, when they are resistless, enables us by wise submission to evade their force. We can foresee the earth's motion, we hope soon that we may foretell the hurricane—and we guide our life accordingly. Fire and falling water we can mould to our purposes as soon as we know their strength. In either case, the more accurate the knowledge, the finer the adjustment, the more fruitful is the result.

Practical utility therefore, subservience to the wants and comforts of life, is the influence which has dictated a large proportion of scientific researches, and which gives them point and purpose. The extent and force of this influence is hardly recognised by the learned societies, who, while eager on all occasions to claim the gratitude of the practical world, are less profuse in the acknowledgment of their own debt. The formation of astronomical tables, the innumerable researches in mechanics, physics, and chemistry that have branched out from metallurgy, dye-works, ship-building, and other technical pursuits, the stimulus given by recent epidemics to the study of fungi, are casual instances from multitudes. The history of the steam-engine supplies numberless illustrations. "The important applications of electro-magnetism to telegraphy have reacted," says

Professor Maxwell, "on pure science by giving a commercial value to accurate electrical measurement, and by affording to electricians the use of apparatus on a scale which greatly transcends that of any ordinary laboratory."

And it may be well to remark that this potent influence is of a kind likely to endure. The critics of Comte who suppose him hostile to the growth of knowledge forget all that is implied in the great principle, nowhere so strongly and systematically urged as in his writings, of the separation of Church and State. They forget that wholly apart and outside the coherent conception of the Order of the World which it is the business of his educating body, the scientific priesthood of the future, to disseminate, stand the industrial chiefs trained in this wide view of things, but busy each in his own domain with the conquest of nature, and to that end eager to avail themselves of that class of mind intermediate between theory and practice of whom the engineer is the most familiar type. There is small fear under Comte's *régime* of practical, applied, or concrete science being neglected. And equally distant is the fear that with such rivalry, and with unlimited freedom of teaching, the priesthood would degenerate into the stagnation of theocracy. For should they do so their place would very speedily be taken. They will have to keep abreast of their time. The conception of the order of nature, like everything else in the Positive scheme, is organic, and will never cease to grow. But I am anticipating; only that this notion, which I hear so often, that Positivism implies intellectual stagnation, crystallized thought, beautiful perhaps, but still crystal, not vital, —the commonest yet the falsest of all misconceptions of Comte's teaching—seemed to need refutation at the outset.

The reaction of practical life on science is so obvious that the majority of mankind fall into the opposite extreme of exaggerating its importance, and of denying the value of pure theory, of truth studied for truth's sake. Yet this view is equally inconsistent with the history of science.

The desire for explaining the world around us is innate in the human race; is not invisible indeed in the higher animal races, for these too show, especially when young, and some few in after life, evident traces of curiosity. In the child, in the savage, it is of course extremely obvious. With them the answer of the spirit to its own eager questionings is dictated by the varying forces of terror and hope, and the result is a strange fantastic cloudland of belief, changing shape and colour with every impulse of desire, but ultimately gaining fixed form and solidity, transmitted to new generations, and taking the first place among the influences that mould their life. Wise men, sharing this influence themselves and extending it to others, have found it strong enough to bind together vast

civilisations, and thus to replace the physical forces of despotic government by the inward restraining impulses of tradition and reverence.

Thus Theocracy arose. It was, as the name implies, the government of the gods; that is to say, moral restraint by the sanctity of tradition, as interpreted by a sacred god-appointed caste. The historical value of theocracy, not merely as the basis of industrial and sedentary life, but as the source of those time-honoured institutions and organic prejudices which remain steadfast through the most revolutionary fluctuations of opinion, is incalculable. But, as in every other partial synthesis of life, the price to be paid was great. The free spontaneousness of thought and emotion, which, as we saw, was the starting-point of religious belief, had disappeared.

The Greeks—a population in which, as in Italy, the military caste strove successfully against theocratic rule, but with whom, partly from the physical nature of the country, partly from a premature development of commerce, there was not sufficient cohesiveness to form a great nation—drove their great men away from municipal politics into the region of pure intellect. By such abstinence from civic work their country was sacrificed, but the future of the world was saved. The conception of a universe governed by fixed law took root in Athens and Alexandria, and was implanted ineffaceably through Western Europe by imperial and by mediæval Rome.

The concentration on the problems of moral life which it is the glory of the mediæval Church to have attempted, stayed the spirit of inquisitiveness for a time. It took refuge with the Arabs; then, when the Catholic faith grew weak, returned to the West and burst out with irrepressible strength at the Renaissance. The study of truth for its own sake—inquiry of every sort into the proceedings of the physical and vital world, apart from any immediate practical utility to be attained—has ever since shown itself as a potent ingredient in Western civilisation, one of the features which most strongly distinguish it from African or Asiatic life.

Not, indeed, that the discoverers of geometrical and astronomical laws were the mere slaves of the inquisitive instinct that has sometimes been imagined. In pursuing their marvellous investigations of the properties of the circle and of the conic sections, they were doubtless quite innocent of any attempt to help forward the technical and industrial pursuits of their time.[1] But to suppose them heedless

(1) The first writer, I believe, to draw attention to this was Comte, who has been vehemently accused, as, for instance, recently by Mr. Pattison, of narrow utilitarianism; and this though Comte's latest writing was a mathematical treatise; though in the last volume of his "Positive Polity" special provision is made for the endowment, amongst many other things, of biological and philological research; and though generally, in Comte's picture of the future, a high position, though doubtless not the highest, is reserved for men of distinguished speculative power but feeble social

of the vast import of their work to the destinies of man would be a very shallow and unjust conjecture. They were initiating the most stupendous change which it was possible for humanity to undergo—the substitution of fixed law for the caprice of deity. So vast was this revolution that its full range has only been measured in our own time. They began the work in the only part of the field where success was possible: in the simple all-embracing phenomena of Space. The problem of Geometry is the indirect measurement of magnitude, the power of foreseeing from the length of a given line the length of other unknown lines, surfaces, or solids, placed in a definite relation to it. This evidently lay at the very root of the interpretation of nature. The sky, the earth, and all that is in the earth are bounded (or appear to be bounded) by definite form, and come, therefore, within the scope of this primal science. It was not fortuitous that men should first have spent their efforts on such simple forms as the triangle, the circle, the sphere, the cylinder, and the cone, or that, when the laws of their measurement had been found, they should have passed to the study of the more subtle lines formed by the intersection of these solids with a plane. The precise importance of the ellipse and the parabola to the future of science was unknown to Apollonius. But the work before him was to discover the fundamental laws of space-measurement, and these curves presented themselves in the very first rank. There is a logic of the heart as well as of the head, which consciously or otherwise guides high minds to high problems.

At the time of the Renaissance the problem of the interpretation of nature was seen to be far beyond the compass of Greek geometry. The seeds sown broadcast by Aristotle over the whole field of science were ripening; the stupendous discovery of Copernicus was revealing the infinity of the universe. Chemistry had begun to indicate the hidden activities of matter. Vital forms and functions were studied with a zeal and minuteness unknown to the Greeks. The labyrinthine complexities of nature seemed to offer no hope of issue, and scientific thinkers might seem destined to content themselves, in Newton's language, with the lot of children gathering here and there shells upon the shore.

There was one, however, who refused to be satisfied with such a destiny. That man was Des Cartes, the puissant and audacious spirit who, in the first half of the seventeenth century, summed up in himself the two great progressive forces of modern Europe—the

sympathies. Yet Mr. Pattison tells us, "the hatred of the Comtist for all that can be called intellect equals that of the Spanish priest or the French Legitimist!" (*Contemporary Review*, March, 1876.) But then, as Mr. Pattison explains afterwards, his knowledge of Comte has been gained by "dipping here and there into his volumes." Gibbon would have sighed or smiled to find that the head of a college can sometimes be superficial.

solvent force of metaphysical philosophy, the constructive agency of Positive Science.

Of Des Cartes' negative work, of its profoundly revolutionary influence on the leading spirits of his own and the succeeding century, this is not the place to speak. It is the aspect of his work on which attention has been in our times too exclusively concentrated. But it is not in reality the most important aspect. Far deeper and more permanent, far more engrossing to himself, far weightier in ultimate result, was the attempt to group together the scattered truths of science, to exhibit the visible world around us as governed by definite and assignable law, and thus to open the way for mastery, or at least for equal struggle, with the fatalities of matter and of life.

To rate the physics of Descartes as more important than his metaphysics will seem to most men a paradox. Yet if his *Cogito ergo sum* is far more familiar to most of us than his *Vortices*, lends itself more readily to literary handling, has appeared till lately to be a more potent factor in philosophical controversy, a true reading of the story of Des Cartes' life, as told by himself with such admirable clearness in his Discourse on Method, will lead to a different opinion. We shall recognise, indeed, one of the great initiators of the destructive movement, one who, with Hobbes and Spinosa, prepared the way for the general upheaval which was yet a century and a half distant. The transcendent power of Des Cartes over the negative movement of the eighteenth century is too obvious to be ignored for a moment. But we shall feel at the same time that to his own mind the positive or constructive side of his work was of far greater value. No one who reads his correspondence can doubt this. For one letter that deals with metaphysics or theology, there are a dozen that deal with every scientific question, mathematical, physical, or biological, that was then open.

What Des Cartes attempted was, then, a Synthesis of scientific truth. He had a strong conviction, stronger and clearer probably than any thinker either of his own or of the following century, of the stupendous change which scientific method was destined to effect in human affairs. The various branches of science which he followed, as his works and above all his letters show, with such intense eagerness, were interesting to him simply as fragments of a great whole—as illustrations of the orderly development and procedure of the universe, by wise obedience to which man's life would be infinitely ennobled. He was a great geometer—some think, the greatest. But he cared for geometry because he thought to find in it the key by which the secrets of the universe could be unlocked.

And there is a special reason for estimating Des Cartes' work at the present time. What he attempted anticipates in very many ways the efforts made by modern men of science to found an Objective

Synthesis—a comprehensive view, that is to say, of the universe viewed as an outside series of phenomena. His failure, conspicuous and honourable as it was, throws light on their failure, and makes it far less excusable to reiterate the attempt. It throws light also on the solitary and contrasted effort made by Auguste Comte to found a scientific synthesis from a wholly opposite point of view.

Des Cartes was an Evolutionist. His "Principia" is the first, the most elaborate, and certainly not the least successful attempt to explain the world around us by an elaborate and clearly defined process of Evolution. Granted one or two first principles, he undertakes to show that by successive differentiations of a homogeneous mass filling space, the stars arose, planetary bodies arranged themselves round each star, in each planet water and earth were formed, with all the thousandfold varieties of shape and substance. The activities of matter—weight, light, heat, magnetism—are all shown to be consequences of the same elementary principles. The more complex activity of life itself was no exception.

Evolution philosophies are for the moment in fashion. It is perfectly safe to acknowledge them; it is even somewhat dangerous for a man's intellectual reputation to doubt them. But those who remember the vehement outcry raised thirty years ago by the *Vestiges of Creation*, may form a faint conception of the amazing moral as well as intellectual audacity shown in raising such questions as these in the middle of the seventeenth century. And when we look at the strenuous pertinacity with which the problem was handled from youth to death, at the force and clearness of the language, the rigorous amputation of every pre-existing prejudice, the keen ingenuity in working out minutest details, we may think, perhaps, that Columbus alone in the world's history shows a rival type of sustained, deliberate, solitary courage.

> "The intellectual power, through words and things
> Went sounding on, a dim and perilous way!"

The problem which Des Cartes set before him was to explain the evolution of the universe by assuming the smallest possible number of "first principles," and reasoning down from them upon strictly mathematical methods. He was no doubt far too great a man to be consistent in this. He gave a stimulus both by precept and example to inductive and experimental methods very far greater than that of Bacon. But his avowed purpose was to frame his Synthesis upon Deduction. Let us see how he succeeded.

He begins, then, after the fashion now so popular, but then so astonishingly new, by assuming space filled with a perfectly homogeneous indivisible substance, endowed with none of the properties which we are accustomed to consider as inseparable from matter,

excepting Extension. Weight, temperature, and the other features, optical, electrical, or chemical, which characterize all matter known to us—these things as yet are not. They are subsequent differentiations, not as yet evolved.

How long this condition of homogeneity may have lasted there is no means of telling. It has indeed been laid down in one of the most ingenious of modern imitations of Des Cartes,[1] as a first principle of Evolution, that the "condition of homogeneity is one of unstable equilibrium." In what respects a homogeneous mass of gold, or of carbon, isolated from surrounding matter, would be necessarily unstable, it is not very easy to determine. If it be said that incident forces, as heat, continually change its volume, yet the same would hold good of a heterogeneous mass, as an oxide or an alloy, and perhaps with the result of dislocating the equilibrium altogether; so that it would be equally true, or perhaps truer, to say that "the condition of heterogeneity was one of unstable equilibrium." At any rate, such a doubtful thesis as this was far too uncertain a foundation for Des Cartes to build upon.

Given Extension as the one essential property of matter, Des Cartes proceeds to postulate Motion. His views on this subject were for his time extremely original, and anticipatory of much modern speculation. Motion, he observed, could only be predicated of anything relatively to the matter surrounding it. A man on a vessel sailing down a river is at rest with regard to the vessel, in motion with regard to the shore. The wheels of a watch in the man's pocket, in addition to their own motion, participate in that of the man, of the ship, of the earth's motion on its axis, and of that round the sun. To say, therefore, of anything that it is absolutely at motion, or absolutely at rest, is impossible.[2] Motion and Rest are purely relative terms.

Further, Des Cartes postulated what is commonly known as the First Law of Motion: the law of Kepler, as Comte was wont to call it; the law of Inertia, as it is often called—viz. that a body tended to remain in the state, whether of rest or of rectilinear motion, in which it was at the moment, and that any deviation from the straight line must be the result of a disturbing force. Now that careful observation has shown the tendency of all bodies in motion to obey this law, the contrary of it has been recently asserted to be "unthinkable." Possibly it may be so to the instructed mind of our day; it seems to have been "thinkable" enough, however, by the highest minds of antiquity, since all who examined the subject at all did actually think it.

(1) Mr. Herbert Spencer's "First Principles," chap. xix. I do not, of course, imply that the imitation was conscious.

(2) "Principia," ii. 30.

Finally, Des Cartes advanced the position so attractive to modern speculators, although so absolutely beyond the reach of human powers to demonstrate, that the quantity of motion in the universe remained invariable. The belief that light and heat are simply forms of motion, none the less real, none the less amenable to the ordinary laws of motion, because imperceptible to sense, is frequently hailed as a great modern discovery. But Des Cartes has stated it as clearly and emphatically as any modern physicist:—

"The number and variety of motions in the world," he says, "is infinite; independently of the motion of the planets, of the atmosphere, of the seas and rivers, I remark a process of decay in the most solid buildings, of growth or corruption in animals and plants: not merely in flame, then, but in every kind of substance, there is constant motion, though differing in velocity, and in the degree to which our senses can appreciate it.

"The primal cause of these motions I do not care to inquire; enough for me that they began with the beginning of the world; and once begun, I am led to the conclusion that they never cease, though the subject of them may constantly vary: that is to say, the power of moving, which at any moment exists in a body, may pass from it to a second, and exist no longer in the first, but it must still remain somewhere in the world." ("Monde," ch. iii.)

"What is flame?" he asked. "In a piece of burning wood we can see with our eyes that the small particles of the wood are moved, are separated from each other; the fine particles changed into fire, air, and smoke, the coarser into ashes. Others may suppose, if they choose, the essential principle of fire, the attribute of heat, and the action of burning to be three different things: but I, who fear to fall into error if I make any supposition beyond what is absolutely necessary, am satisfied simply to state the fact of the motion of the particles. Suppose fire, suppose heat, suppose burning to go on as long as you choose, yet unless you have this intestine movement and separation of particles, I can conceive no change to proceed. Conversely, take away your fire, your heat, all that you call burning, if only you admit a force which violently stirs the more subtle particles and separates them from each other, and you have, I conceive, the same results as you experience in burning."

The sensation of Heat, he goes on to say (and this important thesis he develops at great length), has nothing to do with the external actions causing it. Heat is molecular motion; and all molecular motion artificially produced, as that of friction, is capable of exciting the sensation of heat ("Monde," ch. xi.). These and many other passages of the same kind show that Des Cartes had grasped the transference of molar into molecular motion with a clearness which Newton never attained.

Here, then, we have the foundations on which Des Cartes proceeded to rear his gigantic edifice. Space filled by homogeneous Matter with no property but that of Extension. In this Matter Motion initiated by the Deity. The quantity of motion in the world invariable, though it may be communicated from one body to another, and may pass from sensible to insensible modes. The laws of motion: first, the law of inertia, that a body remains in its state of motion or of rest, until acted on by a disturbing force;

secondly, the law of the direction of motion, that each portion of moving matter tends to move, not in curved, but in straight lines; thirdly, the law of communicated motion, that a body impinging against another of greater inertia than its own changes the direction, but not the quantity, of its motion; if, on the contrary, it impinged against one the inertia of which was less than its own, it retains the direction, but loses in the quantity, of motion, transferring the portion so lost to the second body. "All the special causes of changes occurring in bodies are contained in this rule."

Imagine, then, motion to begin, by Divine volition, in this homogeneous *plenum*. Such motion could not be rectilinear, from the nature of a *plenum*; it could only be circular. Fish swimming in a basin do not, he observes, ripple the surface; the water that makes way for them in front pushes against other water that fills up the gap behind. Of such a nature he conceived the primal motion; initiated at the same moment in infinite numbers of equal portions of space, so that while each portion rotated round its own centre, vast groups of these rotating particles revolved round a common centre. Each mass of rotating particles constituted a vortex, or cœlum; evolving ultimately, as we shall see, a star or sun at the central point, and a planetary system with all its differentiated forms of matter in various portions of the whirlpool. But we are yet far from this.

The form of each rotating particle could not have been in the first instance spherical; for spheres in contact have intervals between them, which is contrary to the hypothesis of a plenum. They must have been polyhedral therefore. But the friction of rotating polyhedra must inevitably have ground them down, as pebbles are rounded by the sea waves, leaving thus between them a dust, so to speak, of incomparably finer texture, occupying the interstices between the spheres. Here, then, we have the first great differentiation occurring in the primal homogeneous mass. We have the whirling Ether, consisting of hard spherules; and in the interstices between the spherules we have a yet finer substance, ethereal, so to speak, to the second degree. In the revolutions of the vortex the coarser kind of ether, called by Des Cartes "the second matter," tended to recede from the centre; the finer kind, or "first matter," to accumulate at the centre, although never ceasing to ramify throughout the whole. It is this central accumulation of the purer ether which constitutes the solar mass; and light, or fire, for the two in Des Cartes' mind are substantially the same, is nothing more than the propagation of motion in this finer ether.

Neither in the finer nor in the coarser ether have we as yet got anything in the least resembling matter as known to human senses. The genesis of this, the third form of substance, is as follows.

The finer ether, in its passage through the interstices of the revolving spherules, assumed necessarily the form of grooved prisms, not straight, but more or less twisted; and the twist, as he explains at some length, is in opposite directions—*i.e.* either right-handed or left-handed, according as these prisms approximate to either pole. In this way, were there time to explain it, does Des Cartes elaborate an extremely ingenious hypothesis accounting for magnetic phenomena. The result is, that in the centre of the vortex, where there is no "second" matter to interfere with the "first," portions of these prisms, oppositely twisted, get entangled and cohere. They float on the surface of the central sphere like foam on a fermenting liquid, and form something like a solar spot, obstructing the passage of light. The material of these spots, thrown off from the central substance as a nebulous mass, constitutes Des Cartes' third matter—that to which the name is commonly given, which ultimately differentiates into the world of gases, liquids, and solids known to our senses.

The planets are conceived as growing similarly to the sun—*i.e.* as the centres of smaller whirlpools or sub-vortices, which, losing their motion gradually by surrounding friction, fell nearer towards the sun, till once more in a position of equilibrium with the ethereal motion around them. Each of them, therefore, consisted of a central fire, kept under by an envelope of compacted ether, and surrounded by a gradually differentiating mass of nebulous third matter, through the pores of which the first and second variously mingled.

Des Cartes feels himself now in a position to "explain" the various properties of sensible matter. These properties are all simple results of oscillation and agitation of the first and second kinds of ethereal substance. The ether is conceived as passing with extreme rapidity through the pores of matter. In its passage it makes for itself ways through the molecules capable of transmitting the impulse called Light. It sifts the grosser molecules from the subtler, and then differentiates substances of various qualities. It accounts for the spherical state of liquids, &c.

But the crucial test of the hypothesis was its power of accounting for that fundamental quality of all matter known to human sense which we call Weight. The phenomena of Gravitation have harassed the speculative minds of Europe for some centuries. The stupendous results following from Newton's researches diverted men for a century from the previous inquiry, which Newton made no attempt to handle, what Gravitation was. It was enough for Newton to find out how it acted; and there the Positive thinker is content with him to leave the problem. Certain modern physicists in their incessant attempts to scale the skies, to explain how the universe was made, and to reduce all the activities of matter to a single force, find Gravitation a stumbling-block. Every attempt to demonstrate a

correlation between gravity and the other physical activities, such as light, heat, or electricity, has utterly failed. The latest hypothesis as to the ultimate origin of matter, viz., that the molecule is a small eddy or vortex of ether, owing its rigidity to rapid rotation, may or may not be more satisfactory than the Cartesian hypothesis we are considering, but it throws no light whatever upon gravitation. Lesage in desperation climbed outside the universe and saw a system of *extra-mundane* particles, which, by impinging against the ether and thus producing universal pressure, caused between two masses of matter, *i.e.* two portions of rotating ether, that tendency to approximate which we call attraction. These things are called by many learned professors of our time "scientific hypotheses," and are regarded as of immense value. Newton and Comte thought otherwise.

But to return to Des Cartes. All kinds of matter in the vortex, first, second, and third, were conceived to be acting under strong centrifugal repulsion from the centre. But the different vortices must, he thought, exercise mutual pressure on each other at their surfaces of contact. Those portions of each vortex on which the centrifugal action was strongest, from their greater rapidity of motion, would therefore recede towards the limits of the vortex, and force the less rapidly moving matter downwards towards the centre. Light bodies, being more porous, would have more of this ether, and would tend to press the heavier bodies down, as a balloon filled with heated air is pressed up by the denser air around it. This pressure constitutes Gravitation, whether that of the planets to the sun, or of falling bodies to the earth. Newton is sometimes spoken of as the first to connect planetary motion with that of bodies falling to the earth's surface. But Des Cartes had very clearly realised the identity of these two phenomena; however chimerical and unreal his attempt to account for them by the introduction of agencies as unknown and as impossible to grasp by sense as the Deity himself.

Such being Gravitation, it remained to account for Light and Heat. These in Des Cartes' mind were closely correlated. Light was an impulse or oscillation communicated to the finer ether (the "first matter"), and travelling in it through the pores of matter and through the interstices of the second ether till it impinged upon the eye. Des Cartes is careful to explain that between sensation and the object which arouses it there is no similarity whatever. Sound is perceived as sound, not as an oscillation of the air. A sleeping child is tickled by a feather, a soldier is wounded by a sword;—the tickling and the pain have no likeness to the object causing them. So with vision. It is simply a mode of feeling far-off objects, as a blind man might feel them with a staff. And as the staff need not be straight, so the path of light need not be straight: as, indeed, passing through the interstices of the spherules of the second ether, it could not be.

Heat, again, was very carefully separated by Des Cartes from the

sensation connected with it. He regarded it, like light, as an oscillation or impulse, beginning in the "first matter," but propagated thence to bodies of the ordinary kind, and continuing in them as a molecular motion, communicable from one to another. It is hard to say in what respect Des Cartes' conception falls short of modern views as to the nature of heat, except of course in respect of precision and quantitative measurement.

With these forces or modes of activity thus developed, Des Cartes found but little difficulty in the Evolution of the Earth. As in other planets, a central core (A) consisting of the first or finer ether, was held in check by an envelope of the same ether firmly compacted. Around this was the outer layer or crust, composed of chaotic irregular clouds of the third matter, freely permeated of course by the rapidly whirling particles of the second, the finer substance pressing the coarser more and more towards the centre by its centrifugal force. This material nebula subdivides into two layers: an upper and thinner layer formed of round small hard particles (B); a lower opaque layer formed of large irregular-shaped branching particles, which catch and entangle one another (C). Here we have the differentiation of the gaseous and the solid state. Between these two soon appears an intermediate layer (D), consisting of slender smooth cylindrical particles, pressed out by the revolving ether from C, and forming the basis of liquid matter. To this many of the airy particles from B joined themselves, and much of B descended further down through D to the solid C, and mixing with it in various proportions produced the various metallic substances.

But it would be wearisome, and for the purposes of this article needless, to follow Des Cartes step by step through the labyrinthine process of evolution. How a crust forms above the watery mass, and, swollen from beneath by internal air and heat, breaks down, forming by its fragments mountains and valleys; how the tides are formed; why the trade winds blow; how it is that the principal chemical differences of solid matter show themselves, ranged under the three classes of sulphur, salt, and mercury; how it is that metals are found in certain places; why earthquakes come; the explanation of flame and combustion; the meaning of the various properties of spirit, gunpowder, glass; the deductions, very elaborately worked out, of the properties of the magnet from the twisted shape of certain ethereal particles; all these things, and many more, are evolved with the most amazing fertility from the resources of his scientific imagination, and are all deduced from the three or four elementary principles with which he started.

Such was the Cosmogony of Des Cartes, the precursor of so many subsequent attempts to form an Objective Synthesis of the world; to account for it as though one stood outside it; to explain its Evolution.

Those who reverence Des Cartes as one of the three or four strong thinkers of the world will feel the need of dwelling on the broad and deep distinctions of power and of circumstance which divide him from his modern imitators. They will remind us in the first place that his audacious initiative stamped for the first time, and ineffaceably, upon the mind of Europe the conception of the Universality of Law. Others had been before him and had surpassed him in this region and in that. The special scientific results attained by him, infinitely important as they were, were of less immediate and obvious import than the discoveries of Kepler in astronomy or of Galileo in physics. His glory was to have ranged through the whole domain of phenomena, cosmic or vital, and to have taken possession of it in the name of Positive Science. The impulse given by him to the progress of Positive Thought is felt to this hour.

But further, his work was something other than an eloquent appeal to the scientific imagination, though that too was needed. It rested—and here lies the immense intellectual superiority of Des Cartes to Bacon—upon the basis of new and enlarged positive truth, upon a transformation of geometrical method, from which the mathematical results of Leibnitz and Newton fifty years afterwards flowed by a process of natural and gradual development. If ever there was a *saltus* made in the organic growth of science, it was made here. The reduction of questions of form to questions of magnitude, by which every curved line could be represented by an equation, and equations multipliable at will became the means of investigating new curves, opened a wholly new passage into the arcana of nature. The mediæval algebra, which, even in the hands of Vieta, had been little more than a fine logical gymnastic, became now an engine of stupendous inventive power. A single curve, which had absorbed half the life-time of a Greek geometer, was now treated rapidly and easily as one of a group, having mutual relations and common properties; and inexhaustible possibilities of new curves revealed themselves, all probably capable of solution.

See now what to a mind like that of Des Cartes, and to the great physicists and mathematicians who followed him, was the import of this great conception. A curved line is the representation of motion, changing always in direction, almost always in velocity. But to Des Cartes the whole universe was made up, as we have seen, of infinitely varying motions. The rectilinear tendency pointed out by him as inherent in all moving matter has no existence, as he remarks, except as a tendency; it was never actually visible. Everything in the world was in constant circular or at least cycloidal motion, the molecules of solid bodies no less than the winds and waters and the revolving ether whirling the planets round their sun; but the forms, velocities, and directions of this motion were infinite and ever-varying. It followed from this that the

power of expressing all complicated curves by equations, and of solving these equations, meant the power of grasping the precise quantitative relations of all physical phenomena. That this was the way in which Des Cartes regarded geometry there can be no doubt whatever. His immortal "Discours sur la Méthode" contains a distinct record of his views and aims upon this subject.

But finally, it would be a complete misapprehension of Des Cartes' work to regard it as based upon pure deductions from a few abstract principles, whether of metaphysics or of mathematics. He was far too great a man to be consistent in this. A very large proportion of his intellectual energies were put forth in the direction of observation and experiment. His mathematical theories rendered his questionings of nature far more fruitful than those of Bacon, and they were followed up with greater patience and strenuousness. Nothing comparable to Des Cartes' discoveries as to the reflection and refraction of light was effected by Bacon. Those who still retain the notion that Des Cartes' was a metaphysical dreamer had better glance at his correspondence. Discussions on free-will or the nature of the Deity appear occasionally; but they are few and widely scattered amongst the far greater number that are filled with condensed records of physical experiments or eager suggestions for new inquiries. Mechanics, optics, acoustics, the nature of musical effects, the growth of language—of these things he went on thinking and writing to the end. Biology was probably the science which most profoundly interested him. He was the first great thinker since Aristotle who, not being a physician, gave close attention to anatomy and physiology; the first to rate at its due value the discovery of Harvey.

And underneath the scientific zeal of Des Cartes we see the deeper and stronger fervour of a social purpose. "To keep my speculations hid would," he said, "be a grave infringement of the law which obliges us to seek the universal good of man; for they have shown me that it is possible to make knowledge of great utility to human life, and that instead of the speculative philosophy taught in schools we may find one more practical, by which, knowing the force and activities of fire, water, air, the stars, the heavens, and all the other bodies which surround us, as clearly as our workmen know their different trades, we may employ them in such fit ways as to become the masters and possessors of nature. And this is not merely to be wished for the invention of numberless artifices enabling us to enjoy the fruits of the earth and the comforts which it contains, but more especially for the preservation of health, which, beyond doubt, is the first blessing of life and the foundation of all others; for so much does the mind itself depend on the temperament and arrangement of the organs of the body, that if it be possible to find any way to make men wiser and more skilful than they have been hitherto, I think it is in the art of medicine that it should be sought. And though the medicine

now in use has little that is very useful, yet all, I am sure, will allow, even those who practise it, that what we know is as nothing compared with what remains to be known, and that we might become exempt from numberless diseases both of mind and body, and even perhaps from the infirmities of old age, did we know enough of their causes and of the remedies which are to be found in nature. In the study of science such as this, it is my purpose to spend the whole of my life."

That life was prematurely closed, but not before a work was done of stupendous import to the life of Western Europe. Of Des Cartes' metaphysical philosophy nothing is said here, though it was the first of a long series of revolutionary impulses which even yet have not ceased to vibrate. His speculations on God and the soul, his interrogations of consciousness, and his whole scheme of thought on such matters, which has received so much attention from the historians of modern metaphysical philosophy, are interesting to us in this place chiefly as proofs that in the region of man's social and moral life Des Cartes was not a Positivist. His work in this direction was of temporary and of provisional value, and was, we may well believe, so regarded by himself. Such at least is the impression derived from reading his long series of letters to the Jesuit Mersenne. It cleared the ground of previous incumbrances, and prepared the way for permanent and solid thought, much in the same way in which Richelieu at the same moment, by the abolition of feudal fortresses, was preparing the way for the Revolution.

But in this place we are concerned with Des Cartes as the first and greatest type of the modern scientific spirit; alike in its well-founded strength of conviction that the future of Man is its own, and in its wild chimerical hopes and dangerous shortcomings. The acquisitions of Des Cartes in positive science were vast and fertile. Of these his geometry was incomparably the greatest. It was the announcement and a large instalment of a mathematical revolution, which has become a very potent factor in other more modern revolutions, industrial and moral. His achievements in optics were of great importance, and in acoustics his clear conception of the nature of oscillations was pregnant with future results. In every part of the nascent science of physics he suggested new observations and experiments. And, apart from these special matters, he conceived as clearly as Bacon had done the subordination of all science to the welfare of Man.

These were his services to positive science. And so vast are they that to dwell upon his errors would be thankless and idle, were it not for the light they throw upon certain singular "reversions" and "survivals" which scientific speculation is exhibiting in our own day. Des Cartes constructed a scientific Synthesis. This Synthesis failed *because it was objective.* He attempted, as modern thinkers are

now doing, to *explain* the evolution of the universe on mathematical principles. It was the most gigantic exhibition of Materialism, in the broad and philosophic sense which Comte has affixed to the word, which had been yet seen. He applied to the more complex phenomena of nature—electrical for instance, or chemical, or biological—the methods of the more simple and general science of geometry or mechanics. The enormous exaggeration of Man's deductive power implied in this attempt was one of those aberrations in our intellectual progress through which we can see that it was necessary to pass; though when once explored, and the "no thoroughfare" once clearly seen, it is an inexcusable waste of man's scanty store of intellectual energy to repeat the attempt. A full discussion of this view would involve an exposition of the points of contrast between the Subjective Synthesis of Comte and the Objective Synthesis of Des Cartes, and this must be left for a future article. Enough here to say that for the work to be done the hour and the man were singularly fitted. The enormous importance of geometrical truth, as well as of mathematical method, had yet to be realised; for Bacon knew it not, and even the great algebraist Vieta had a most imperfect conception of it. The science of indirect measurement had yet to attain that wide generality which should make it competent to deal, not merely with a few elementary lines, like the circle or the ellipse, but to follow with some degree of adequacy the vast complexity of motions found in moving things around us; the track of a point on a travelling wheel, the oscillations of a pendulum, the form of a suspended chain, the material action of gravitating planets, the undulations of resonant air. To this vast region of discovery Des Cartes did more than any other man to open the way. It was no wonder that with such a prospect before him, with Huyghens, Newton, Leibnitz, and the Bernouillis in the immediate future, he should have exaggerated sometimes the length of his deductive lever, and have imagined a fulcrum for lifting the world when none was to be found. "I am now engaged," he writes to Mersenne, "in disentangling chaos, so as to explain how light came therefrom." We should be thankful to the builders of a Tower of Babel; for they teach men, if nothing else, not to waste their strength in building another.

But the warning has not been taken. The builders have again assembled; and, undismayed by the confusion of their tongues, are again essaying to scale the skies, and to reach that point outside them from which they may get to know how the universe was made. The process is a strange one to watch, so confused are their tongues, so doubtful their materials. The bricks must be of the newest; there is hardly time to bake them; for "physiological facts," we are now told by a distinguished professor, and apparently the facts of mathematics also, "only last for three

years." The scaffolding is no longer of the old-fashioned sort, firmly planted on the earth's surface; planks and beams are suspended in the sky by the largest balloons that hypothesis can inflate.

In one of the most aspiring passages of his "Principia," Des Cartes, having poured out with exhaustless fertility his "explanations" of the properties of various forms of matter—having shown to his satisfaction why oil was lubricant, glue glutinous, gold yellow and hard, iron magnetic and brown, air light and transparent, lead heavy and dull, and having found that after these rapid conquests of hypothesis other worlds remained yet to conquer—lets fall, half in weariness, the naïve admission, "*Mais il est impossible d'expliquer tout.*"

But modern Hypothesis is bolder, and the word "impossible" has no place in her vocabulary. All the forms of life, all the properties of matter, are embraced within her web. The three restraining considerations of the verifiable, the useful, or the beautiful, which have hitherto controlled her operations, limit them no longer. Some of her votaries undertake to account for all the infinite variations of Life, and think the processes observed in the few centuries of human destiny a sufficient basis for conjecturing, or rather for firmly asseverating, the precise laws which have regulated the succession of vital forms through the countless abysses of the past. Difficult though it be to study the laws of life when the two factors of the problem, environment and organism, are wholly known to us, yet conjecture, by this time petrified into certainty, fearlessly explains the vital phenomena of a million centuries ago, though the organism is represented by a few bony fragments, and evidence of the environment, whether physical or vital, is absent and irrecoverable. Others endeavour to deduce life from the facts of electricity and chemistry; though this particular speculation, a comparatively sober one, is for the moment thrown into the shade, and it is thought simpler to account for the first form of life upon the earth by supposing it brought there by an aerolite.[1]

On the whole, however, the scientific imagination of our times shows itself to greater advantage in Physics than in Biology. The molecular view of the constitution of matter, upheld many years ago by Comte as a subjective artifice or logical tool, susceptible in wise hands of most valuable results, has long since been elevated to an objective reality. We are told what the precise size and weight of a molecule of matter is, what its shape is, how rapidly it moves. The atom itself is not only called into objective existence, but that existence is mathematically explained. For this purpose the Ether is invoked—the Proteus-Ether, filling all space, the explainer of all

(1) Helmholtz and Sir W. Thompson incline to this view. Ordinary minds find it hard to realise the satisfaction felt in thus replacing one inscrutable mystery by another.

things, gifted with strange attributes, elastic yet incompressible, imponderable yet possessing weight,[1] fluid yet solid, self-repulsive but continuous, frictionless yet absorptive of radiant energy—a catalogue of qualities in fact surpassing in length and difficulty those of the Athanasian Creed. The Ether is called in to explain the Atom. Matter is now alleged to be made up of rapidly revolving rings of ether, which, if ether be indeed frictionless, are proved by hydro-dynamics to be indestructible.[2] And thus we are brought back again to a cosmogony extremely similar to that of Des Cartes; again, though in a slightly different way, we manufacture the particles of visible matter from the rapid motions of invisible imponderable ether; from hydrogen, or whatever else may be selected as the primal matter, the molecules of the sixty-four elementary substances, each with its own particular vibrations, can again be built up; and so attractive is the romance that we are almost reluctant to ask, as the child asks when the story is done, But is it all true? Is it even "founded upon fact"?

All these views of the universe, however, would seem to be thrown utterly into the shade by the vast possibilities revealed to us by some very eminent modern mathematicians. Des Cartes, as we have seen, strove energetically to make a *tabula rasa* of his mind, to sweep away all pre-existing prejudices, and to begin again. But Descartes clung firmly to the received truths as to number and space. He believed in Euclid's axioms. He was satisfied to think that parallel straight lines did not meet. The three dimensions of length, breadth, and height commonly attributed to space or matter were enough for him. He sought for no fourth. But we are about, it seems, to change all this. The possibility that the axioms of Euclid may be only "approximately true" is regarded as "one of the most remarkable speculations of our century."[3] The laws of space, if we

(1) It is now asserted by some eminent physicists that a cubic mile of ether has a mean weight equal to one thousand-millionth of a pound.

(2) In the elaborate treatise under the head "Atom," in the last edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," this speculation receives the approval of Professor Maxwell. He admits, however, that it utterly fails to account for the phenomenon of gravitation. A further effort of speculation is needed for this purpose, of which more hereafter. It may be remarked that the notion of explaining the property of resistance, or hardness, by rapid atomic motion is not new. Leibnitz, in his correspondence with John Bernouilli (Epist. lv.), mentions that one day, when walking in the gardens of Versailles, and remarking that the jets of water issuing from the fountains had shapes as regular as if they had been made of glass, and offered resistance to the touch, the thought had occurred to him that all bodies might owe their rigidity to a similar rapid motion of their particles. "Imagine," he says, "the velocity of the motion to be indefinitely increased, and you would get solidity. The substance would be always changing, but the form, as in the case of the fountain, would be constant." The same thought seems to have occurred to Bernouilli, but neither of them regarded it as a key to the mysteries of nature.

(3) See in *Nature*, April 12th, of this year, a paper read before the London Mathematical Society.

know them, may possibly be such that not merely will parallel straight lines meet, but that intersecting straight lines will ultimately a second time intersect. In plain English, the two ends of a straight line, if you make it long enough, will come together again.

"Perfectly self-consistent schemes of propositions," in fact a new mathematical system, have been founded on this conjecture—on the supposition, that is to say, that Euclid and the whole human race along with him have made a great mistake. This is no mere freak of algebraists amusing themselves with a highly intellectual fairy tale; it is a matter discussed with much seriousness and solemnity. It leads them—and here lies the whole interest of the subject—by a right royal road to the El Dorado of their desires, to an Objective Synthesis, to a stand-point from which man can survey the universe. "On this hypothesis," says one of the most eminent of them, "the universe, as known, is again a valid conception, for the extent of space is *a finite number of cubic miles*. And this comes about in a curious way. If you were to start in any direction whatever, and move in that direction in a perfect straight line according to the definition of Leibnitz, after travelling a most prodigious distance, to which the parallactic unit, 200,000 times the diameter of the earth's orbit, would be only a few steps, you would arrive at—this place. Only if you had started upward, you could arrive from below."

The Tower of Babel is complete; man has touched the sky.

J. H. BRIDGES.

*(To be concluded in the next Number.)*

NOTE.—In what I have said about certain modern hypotheses, I would wish to guard against misconception. Hypothesis is necessary for scientific discovery; and indeed, for almost every intellectual process, however humble. But it should conform to one of these conditions: it should be either a forecast of reality; to be tested by observed fact; or a logical tool, pretending to no reality at all, and frankly used as a subjective artifice; or finally, it should be a poet's dream. The astronomer who, from two observations of a comet, makes a forecast of its future course, illustrates the first. Another instance would be Gall's hypothesis of the functions of the brain, or Comte's improvement of it. Of the second, Euclid's definition of a line, or of a surface, is an example. Length without breadth, or length and breadth without depth, are not real, but they are scientifically useful. The corpuscular theory of matter falls under the same head, most valuable as an artifice, were it not so often treated as though it were demonstrably real. For the third form, not the least important, perhaps, either in the past or future, consult the whole history of religion and of poetry. Shelley's or Comte's dream of the earth, as instinct with blind energy and love before the dawn of man's intelligence, may serve as a type. But the important thing is to distinguish these three forms of hypothesis—real, useful, and beautiful—clearly from one another. This is very rarely done. The result is, that much modern hypothesis is as useless as a chess problem, less real than dream-land, and uglier than fact.

Those who would see how rapidly the crude conjecture of vortex-atoms has become accredited as a scholastic doctrine capable of unravelling all the secrets of the universe, should read the treatise of M. Felix Marco, Professor of Physics at Turin, called *L'Unité Dynamique des Forces et des Phénomènes de la Nature*. Paris, 1875.

# A LEAF OF EASTERN HISTORY.

Introductory Note.—In the month of June, 1855, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps visited England for the purpose of inducing the British Government to withdraw their opposition to the proposed construction of the Suez Canal. He had been for some years the French Consul-General in Cairo. His father had filled that post before, and it was mainly by the advice of the elder M. de Lesseps that the Sultan selected Mehemet Ali to be Pasha of Egypt.

Mehemet Ali reposed great confidence in M. Ferdinand de Lesseps, and entrusted to him in a great degree the education of his favourite son Saïd Pasha, who consequently was prepared to view with favour M. de Lesseps' important scheme. A firman was submitted to the Sultan, who, however, delayed its ratification until the formal consent of England could be obtained, and M. de Lesseps was empowered by the French Government to negotiate with the members of the British Cabinet. M. Thiers gave him a letter to Mr. Senior, in whose house he became a frequent and a welcome guest.

A commission, consisting chiefly of engineers from various countries, was appointed to proceed to Egypt in the following winter, and Mr. Senior (who, unlike most of his countrymen, had believed from the first that the proposed canal would rather forward than impede the interests of England) was invited, with three or four other personal friends of M. de Lesseps, to join the party. They were royally entertained by the Viceroy. The best apartments in the best hotels were put everywhere at their disposal, carriages, camels, and running footmen, were always in readiness for them, and a small steamer conveyed the whole party up the Nile. According to his practice when abroad, Mr. Senior kept an elaborate journal, which still retains its interest, for the East does not materially change. This journal contains records of his conversations with people of all nations; a fact well known, for on one page he writes: "The Viceroy said to Ruyssenaer after I left him, 'J'ai donné à M. Senior une belle page pour son journal.'" Among his interlocutors there was none more interesting and instructive than Hekekyan Bey, an Armenian, who had in early youth been sent by Mehemet Ali to be educated in Europe. Throughout the reign of that Pasha he and his family had retained great influence: his brother-in-law Kosrew Bey being first Dragoman, another brother-in-law, Artim Bey, Prime Minister, and Hekekyan himself directer of the *École des Arts et Métiers*. Abbas, the next Pasha, hated his grandfather's friends, and dismissed them all. In 1855 they were still out of office.

In 1862 Hekekyan Bey came to England with his wife and his son to see the second Exhibition. He was at that time an exceedingly handsome man, apparently about fifty, tall, and rather like an Italian from the north of Italy. He was full of animation and good-nature, and his manners and conversation were most agreeable. He spoke both French and English perfectly well. His wife spoke nothing but Arabic, so it was difficult to get on with her. On one occasion she put on, as a favour, her Eastern dress. It was composed of black satin, and, it must be owned, was far from becoming to an elderly lady; but those were the days of crinoline—in 1877 it would probably not appear so extraordinary.

It is difficult to make selections when there is so much that is interesting and instructive. This story of Mehemet Ali, related by Hekekyan, is perhaps the most striking of the following extracts.

*Extract from Mr. Senior's Journal.*

"Mr. and Mrs. Lieder, Hekekyan Bey and his wife, and Mr. Bruce drank tea with us.

"It is a remarkable indication of Oriental morals that of our four Egyptian guests, two, Mrs. Lieder and Hekekyan, believed themselves to have drunk poisoned coffee. In each case it was detected by its peculiar and extreme bitterness, and not enough taken to do serious mischief. Mrs. Lieder received hers at Nazleh Hanem's; Hekekyan's was given to him at Meneelee Pacha's. It was in 1840. He was at that time out of favour with Mehemet Ali: his boldness of conversation and perhaps his boldness of character, partly natural and partly acquired in England, unfit him for Eastern courts. He has seldom continued long in favour or long in disgrace. His talents, knowledge, and industry force him into employment, and some unguarded speech or the performance of some duty offensive to the master, or to his minister, or to his cook, or to his barber, turns him out: when they cannot do without him he is recalled.

"'In 1840,' he said to us, 'after the bombardment of Acre, some weeks passed without any news from Ibrahim Pasha, or from his army in Syria. A strong suspicion arose that he had made his peace with the Sultan at his father's expense and that Mehemet Ali's reign and life were drawing to a close.

"'I was then the engineer charged with the defences of the coast. We were expecting an attack from Sir Charles Napier, and I had been to Rosetta to inspect the batteries. It was on a tempestuous night that I returned to Alexandria, and went to the palace on the shore of the former island of Pharos to make my report to Mehemet Ali.

"'The halls and passages which I used to find full of mamelukes and officers, strutting about in the fulness of their contempt for a

Christian, were empty; without encountering a single attendant I reached his room overlooking the sea; it was dimly lighted by a few candles of bad Egyptian wax with enormous untrimmed wicks. Here, at the end of his divan, I found him rolled up in a sort of ball, solitary, motionless, apparently absorbed in thought. The waves were breaking heavily on the mole, and I expected every instant the casements to be blown in. The roar of wind and sea was almost awful, but he did not seem conscious of it.

"'I stood before him silent. Suddenly he said, as if speaking to himself, 'I think I can trust Ibrahim.' Again he was silent for some time, and then desired me to fetch Motus Bey, his admiral. I found him and brought him to the Viceroy. Neither of them spoke, until the Viceroy, after looking at him steadily for some minutes said to me, "He is drunk; take him away." I did so; and so ended my visit, without making any report.

"'Was Motus drunk?' I asked.

"'He was drunk,' answered Hekekyan, 'as all the naval officers were; they expected to be sent out to fight Napier, and kept drinking to keep up their spirits.'

"'The Viceroy,' he added, 'was not pleased at my having witnessed his emotion or his neglected state; but what completed my disgrace was my having alluded some months after to the events of that night. He immediately sent me off to Cairo, on a trifling errand about the fortifications of the Citadel, and kept me there for three months.

"'At the end of that time I received a summons from Meneele Pasha, the man who has just returned from Eupatoria, who was the Minister of War. He placed me by him on his divan and gave me a pipe, but said nothing. Then came coffee. I just sipped mine, and found it totally unlike anything that I had ever tasted before; it was nauseous and intensely bitter. I gave it back to the servant. Meneele looked hard at me, but said nothing. I sat a few minutes longer, waiting for him to tell me why he had sent for me, and hearing nothing, went away, without a word having passed between us. Half an hour after Mehemet Ali arrived from Alexandria at the Citadel.

"'I cannot but suspect that I had become disagreeable, and that he had directed Meneele to dispose of me before his return to Cairo. It certainly seemed that the only purpose for which Meneele summoned me was that I might drink that cup of coffee.'

"'But,' I said, 'if Mehemet Ali wished to remove you, might he not have had recourse to a more certain expedient?'

"'There were objections,' answered Hekekyan, 'in my case to the use of the dagger or the cord. I was not then as I am now, alone; one of my brothers-in-law was his Prime Minister, another was his

first interpreter. It would have been inconvenient to part with them, and they certainly would have quitted him.

"'He wished me to die, but he did not wish to be suspected of having killed me. I believe that it was for the same purpose that he sent me a few months after, at the beginning of the hot season, to pass some months in the Southern Desert; and I am not sure that he did not take means to increase the dangers of the desert. The only place at which I halted was Berenice, in the Red Sea, where I spent a month, time enough for my sojourn there to be known at Cairo. A few days after I had left Berenice a party of armed Bishareem arrived there, inquired anxiously for me, and finding that I was gone followed me; luckily I left Komsko on the Nile before them; and in my boat I was safe, for the Bishareem are not aquatic.

"'Are they coarse or scientific poisoners,' I asked, 'in Egypt?'

"'Scientific,' answered Lieder. 'The poisons are vegetable, and are not often intended to produce an immediate result, or even to operate by a single dose; they undermine the health by frequent repetition. The custom of giving coffee to every visitor affords great facilities to what may be called dietetic poisoning. In Europe, unless you live in the same house with a man, it is difficult to poison him unless he dines with you, and even then, without accomplices. The accomplices cannot be easily obtained, and they would possess a dangerous secret, which would make them your masters. You seldom can repeat the dose, it must therefore be violent. The fact of his having dined with you would be easily proved, and his death by poison connected with it. The poisonings of Europe therefore are family poisonings.

"'In Egypt a man may drink coffee in the course of the morning at ten different houses. A single accomplice is all that is necessary; there is no difficulty in prevailing on him to accept the office; it is as natural to him as any other service. He does not think much about it, and is not likely to talk about it. If he does, you poison him, or have him strangled and bury him in your garden. You run little risk by doing so; nothing that happens in a man's house is known. For most purposes, indeed for all purposes, except opposing the will of the Pasha, a man's house is his castle in Egypt more really than it is in England. The reverence paid to the hareem extends to everything that is under the same roof. The Egyptian thinks himself well recompensed for being a slave abroad by being absolute at home. He would not accept freedom or security for himself if the condition were that it should extend to his household.

"'In this country,' said Hekekyan, 'the disappearance of an unprotected man is not noticed. If I were to walk out to-morrow and not to return, no one except Madame Hekekyan would think about it. She would be alarmed the first night, and more so the second,

and on the third she would give me up for lost. But she would infer that I had been removed by the higher powers, and that if she made complaints or even inquiries, she would share my fate; and in a short time it would be forgotten, at least among the Turks, that Hekekyan Bey had ever existed.'

"'Mr. Lieder,' he added, 'says truly that our poisonings are seldom rapid. When the existence of a man has become offensive to the master he is impoverished, his villages are resumed, claims against him are countenanced, it is whispered about that it is imprudent to visit him or to receive him, he soon finds himself alone as if he were in the desert. A Mussulman who has no resources, who neither sports, nor gambles, nor converses, nor reads, nor writes, nor walks, nor rides, nor travels, soon smokes himself into dyspepsia. If he be, what few Mussulmans are, a man of quick sensibility and self-respect, he is also oppressed and irritated by the intolerable feeling of wrong. Then perhaps he is suddenly recalled. He is again in favour, he is soon to be again in power; at every visit that he pays to the palace or to one of the divans, he gets a cup of coffee slightly impregnated; the moral and the physical excitement combine. His death follows an illness which has not been scandalously short.

"'The remark,' said Lieder, 'that Orientals are not to be judged according to European notions, is so obvious that it has become trite; on no point is the difference between the two minds more striking than in the respect for life.'

"The European cares nothing for brute life; he destroys the lower animals without scruple whenever it suits his convenience, his pleasure, or his caprice; he shoots his favourite horse and his favourite dog as soon as they become too old for service.

"The Mussulman preserves the lives of the lower animals solicitously. Though he considers the dog impure, and never makes a friend of him, he thinks it sinful to kill him, and allows the neighbourhood and even the streets of his town to be infested by packs of masterless dogs whom we should get rid of in London or Berlin in one day. The beggar does not venture to destroy his vermin, he puts them tenderly on the ground. There are hospitals in Cairo for superannuated cats, where they are fed at the public expense. But to human life he is utterly indifferent: he extinguishes it with much less scruple than that with which we shoot a horse past his work.

"'Abbas,' said Hekekyan, 'when a boy, had his pastrycook bastinadoed to death. Mehemet Ali mildly reproved him for it, as we should correct a child for killing a butterfly; he explained to his little grandson that such things ought not to be done without a motive.'

"'When Nazleh Hanem,' I asked, 'burnt her slave to death for giving her cold coffee, did her father interfere?'

"'No,' said Hekekyan, 'he could not. That took place in a hareem. The murdering the messenger at Shoobra is another instance: it would have cost little to shut up the poor old man until any danger of his telling from whom he came was over; but it was simpler to drown him. Perhaps, however, in that case Mehemet Ali merely followed instructions which he might have thought it dishonourable to disobey. There was probably at the bottom of the letter some mark indicating how the person who brought it was to be disposed of, as we write "burn this note as soon as you have read it."'

"'That incident,' I said, 'is mentioned by Cadoleone and Barrault in their history of the East in 1839 and 1840, and they affirm that the messenger was drowned for having refused to disclose the name of his employer.'

"'That is a mistake,' said Hekekyan. 'I was the only person present when Mehemet Ali received the messenger. He was obviously a man of the lowest class, who would not have refused to disclose anything. Mehemet Ali asked no questions and indeed had none to ask.'"

Mr. Senior heard the sequel to this story some time afterwards at Alexandria from Artim Bey, Mehemet Ali's Prime Minister:—

"I asked him if he recollected the night described to me by Hekekyan when Mehemet Ali lay alone in an empty palace thinking over the chances of Ibrahim's fidelity.

"'Certainly I do,' he answered, 'and I recollect the day that followed it. Napier appeared off the old port and sent in a letter requiring the Viceroy to surrender the Turkish fleet, and to submit to the award of the four powers.'

"'What was his force?' I asked.

"'I forget,' answered Artim: 'five or six ships. We had about eighteen sail of the line and twenty frigates—not less than fifty ships—but we could not rely on the Turkish sailors. They would have joined the English if we had allowed the ships to quit the port, nor could we indeed trust the Egyptians, and as for the artillerymen they had spiked the guns on the batteries. Mehemet Ali was still in his mood of resistance. I took to him Napier's letter. He asked fiercely—"What does the Englishman say?" "Let the letter be translated to you," I answered. This was done. He rose from his divan and began to walk up and down the room exclaiming, "I will not give up the fleet, they may burn it if they can, they may burn Alexandria, they may drive me out of Egypt and I will live a Hadji in Mecca; but they shall not drive me out of Egypt, or even out of Alexandria. I will fight until further

resistance is impossible. I will make my last stand in the powder magazine, and when all is lost, *je sauterai.*" "This may be well," I said, "in your Highness's high position, but it will not suit your subjects. *Si vous sautez, vous sauterez seul.*"

"'He came up to me in a fury, and I own that I trembled, and that my knees shook. I moved back, and he advanced until I was close to the wall. Then we stood face to face. He looked at me for some time, probably considering whether he should give a sign for my being strangled. At last he said, "Send an order to the Englishman to come on shore to me."

"'I wrote to Napier to say "that the Viceroy thought that the matter could be best arranged in a personal interview, and to request that he would visit his Highness at the palace." The next day Napier came. Mehemet Ali had had a night to reflect, and he had profited by it. He seized him by both hands, placed him on his right side on the corner of the divan, gave him diamond-topped pipes, and coffee in gold cups, and acceded without remonstrance to all his demands, and in the same evening Napier was wandering alone over the bazaars of Alexandria in a round hat. I offered him a "tchaous," but he said he had objects with which an attendant would interfere.

"'Mehemet Ali,' he continued, 'was not a safe master, but he was an agreeable one. He was very generous; he had a quick and correct appreciation of character, and his conversation was charming.

"'Although he did not learn to read until he was forty-seven, he had more literary taste than any Turk that I have known. He had every book about Napoleon that he could find translated for him, and read them or had them read to him with avidity. He made me translate the Esprit des Lois, and read it with great interest. Of course I rather paraphrased than translated. He would not have understood Montesquieu's terse epigrams.

"'He told me one day that he had read much about Machiavelli's "Principe," and begged me to translate it for him. I set to work, and gave him the first day ten pages, and the next ten pages more, and ten more the third; but on the fourth he stopped me. "I have read," he said, "all that you have given me of Machiavelli. I did not find much that was new in your first ten pages, but I hoped that it might improve; but the next ten were not better, and the last are mere common-place. I see that I have nothing to learn from Machiavelli. I know many more tricks than he knew; you need not translate any more of him."

"'Though passionate he was not cruel, nor indifferent to human suffering. I went with him one day to one of his farms. He found that his manager had been buying straw. He was very angry. "A farm," he said, "ought to furnish its own straw, there must have

been peculation or mismanagement." He ordered the manager to receive three hundred blows. I was shocked, and ventured to remonstrate; but he kept repeating that his farms must provide their own straw.

"'The next morning I found him on his divan in tears. "A dreadful thing," he said, "has happened to me. The man whom yesterday I ordered to be beaten is dead. You must find out his family, give his widow a pension of 100 dollars a year, and provide for his children, if he has left any."

"'Mehemet Ali's sons,' continued Artim, 'by his old Macedonian wife, Ibrahim, Ismail, and Toussoun, were all men of ability, far superior to those by his slaves, and they were much better educated; not that they had more learning, but that, as they were born before he was Pasha, they escaped the flattery which has ruined the others. Perhaps, however, power would have spoilt them as it spoiled Abbas and Saïd. I once said to Achmed,[1] "You are an excellent man now, but God knows what you will be when you are Viceroy." Abbas was good and Saïd was good in private life.

"'Which had the most talent,' I asked, 'Abbas or Saïd?'

"'Abbas,' he answered. 'And though he could speak only Turkish he talked well and wrote well his own language. Saïd speaks well no language but French, his Turkish is bad and he cannot write at all. Abbas hated Europeans and European education, but wished to diffuse Turkish education. Saïd hates all education of every kind. Saïd is the bolder man, Abbas was timid. Mehemet Ali used to abuse him for his indolence, and prophesied to him that if he passed all his time smoking and lolling on his divan he would be assassinated. This prophecy sank deep into the mind of Abbas, and assassination was always uppermost in his thoughts.'

"'I wonder, then,' I said, 'that he ventured to illtreat, or even to threaten the very Mamelukes who kept guard over him!'

"'No European,' answered Artim, 'would have done so, nor would he, perhaps, when he was cool, but in his fits of anger he was mad. He killed several of his Mamelukes—one a few days before his own death—and certainly had threatened the two who murdered him.'

"'What has become of them?' I asked.

'I believe,' answered Artim, 'that they are still in the army. They have never been punished. Abbas' mother came to Saïd to ask that her son might be revenged, but Mahmoud Pasha, Mustapha Bey, and Elfi Bey, the three persons who first heard of the murder, had all been Mamelukes. To preserve the honour of the corps they made the physicians sign a certificate that the death was natural, and Saïd was anxious that that story should be

(1) The heir-apparent in 1856.

believed, as he did not wish to put the assassination of Viceroys into people's heads.'

"'With whom,' I said, 'does Saïd live?'

"'With his servants,' answered Artim Bey, 'like all Oriental princes. His barber, his bathing man, his pipe-fillers, form the *fonds* of his society. Then his soldiers, particularly his common soldiers, have free access to him. Turks are fond of low company. They are at ease in it.'

"'Saïd,' I said, 'seems to me at ease in all companies.'

"'For a short time,' answered Artim; 'but he does not like the restraints of polished society, or the sustained conversation of intelligent persons. He has quickness, apropos, and repartee, and some humorous naïveté, but there is no sequence in his ideas. He cannot reason. He has dismissed all his council, and turned his ministers into clerks; but so little is he aware of the extent of the duties he has assumed that he wastes four or five hours every day drilling recruits. That, however, is his amusement; and the amusements of a Turk are so few that he must take what he can get. A friend of mine, a native physician, was called in a few days ago by a Turk, and found him dying of dyspepsia, arising from torpor of mind and body. He advised him to ride. "I don't like riding," said the patient. "Then," said the physician, "spend a few hours every morning in your hareem." "I hate my hareem," was the answer. "Then," said the physician, "count your money for a few hours." "I don't care about money," said the patient. "Then," said the physician, "hang yourself, for how can life be endurable to a man who does not care for his horse, or his wife, or his money?"'"

## EXOGAMY AND ENDOGAMY.

THE propositions I endeavoured to establish in my inquiry into the origin of the form of capture in marriage ceremonies were (1) that the form represents and is a remainder of an actual system of capturing women for wives; (2) that a practice of capturing women for wives could not have become systematic unless it were developed and sustained by some rule of law or custom, which made it necessary as a means to marriage; (3) that the rule of law or custom which had this effect was exogamy, the law (previously unnamed) which declared it to be incest for a man to marry a woman of the same blood or stock with himself; (4) (and in support of the last proposition) that wherever a system of capturing women for wives prevails or has prevailed, it can as a rule be shown that there prevails or has prevailed the law of exogamy; (5) that the occurrence of the form of capture where endogamy — that is the law (also previously unnamed) which prohibited marriage except between persons of the same blood or stock—prevails, is consistent with the supposition that the form had its origin in a system of capture sustained by exogamy among the predecessors of the now endogamous peoples. In support of the last proposition I had to examine the ancient systems of kinship to show how a people originally exogamous could become endogamous.

In this inquiry it was the existence of exogamy as an essential concomitant of capture that concerned me. I neither investigated nor had occasion to investigate its origin. At the same time I threw out, at what it was worth, the suggestion that both the system of capture and exogamy had their roots in a practice of female infanticide, the practice of capture somehow introducing exogamy, and exogamy thereafter perpetuating and extending the practice of capture. "The scarcity of women," I observed, "within the groups led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and, in time, it came to be considered improper, because it was unusual, for a man to marry a woman of his own group." ("Studies in Ancient History," p. 230.) This, perhaps, had better have been left unsaid, for nothing but confusion can arise from the publication of notions on scientific subjects that have not been fully thought out. But its character as a mere surmise was fully disclosed. I was aware, however, of the immense importance of obtaining a correct solution of the problem of the origin of exogamy. "Perhaps there is no question," I remarked, "leading deeper into the foundations of society than that which regards the origin of exogamy." (*Idem*, p. 110). Elsewhere

(p. 228) I take the merit to myself of having attempted to show the importance of the problem by displaying it on the level of the foundations of civil society; and I left it and other problems connected with it for study and solution in the future. The only point on which I was clear was that the origin of exogamy was unconnected with any "natural feeling against the union of near kinsfolk," or any perception of evil effects resulting from such unions (*Idem*, p. 229).

In defining the terms exogamy and endogamy for use in my exposition, I was careful to convey their precise meaning, while desirous not to perplex the reader by the too early use of such a term as "tribe of descent." The former is the law prohibiting marriage between persons of the same blood or stock as incest—often under pain of death—and the latter the law prohibiting marriage except between persons of the same blood or stock. These meanings are distinctly brought out in the definitions (see "Studies in Ancient History," p. 37, and foot-note ff.); and, subsequently, in the glance I take at the *apparent* bearing of the facts, as to the relations of exogamy and endogamy, preliminary to the detailed investigation of their real relations. (*Idem*, pp. 113, 114.) The meaning of exogamy in particular is put beyond all doubt by the definitions, for in my note apologizing for introducing these new terms I say of it, "The rule which declares the union of persons of the same blood to be incest has been hitherto unnamed, and it was convenient to give it a name." That meaning is further amply disclosed in the long series of examples of exogamy which I adduce, showing it to be a rule whose object was "to prevent marriages between persons of the same primitive stock" or blood. (See pp. 74—84, 85, 87, 97, &c.) Indeed, an attentive reader could not miss the true meanings of the terms if he only read the definitions, for the word "tribe" is in these used as the equivalent of "family," *i.e.* "tribe of descent;" and the "tribe of descent," or group of kindred of one stock or blood, is elsewhere (as at pp. 220 ff.) in the most marked manner distinguished from "the local tribe" or group of persons of various stocks associated in a tribal union in consequence of the joint operation of exogamy, capture, and female kinship.

The problem for solution was thus clear. As regards exogamy it was: How came there to exist a law declaring it to be incest for a man to marry a woman of the same stock or blood with himself, however far removed from him she might be by degrees of consanguinity? Or to state the problem another way, the totem being the test of blood, how came marriage to be interdicted between persons of the same totem?

Since I stated the problem in 1864 there have been various efforts made to solve it. In 1868 Mr. Morgan, in a paper afterwards (in

1871) incorporated in his work on "Systems of Consanguinity," propounded his views on the subject. He pointed out ("Systems of Consanguinity," &c., pp. 482, 483) how, under the classificatory system of relationships in the Malayan form, "(1) all the children of several own brothers and sisters are brothers and sisters to each other; (2) the children of these collateral brothers and sisters are also brothers and sisters to each other; the children of the latter are brothers and sisters again, and these relationships continue downwards amongst their descendants indefinitely. An infinite series is thus created which forms a fundamental part of the system." Then trusting to the key with which he thought he had unlocked the secret of the classificatory system, he offered his explanation of this "infinite series." To account for it, he said it must be assumed that what he called "the privilege of barbarism" extended wherever the relationship of brother and sister was recognised to exist; in other words, that each "brother" had as many wives as he had sisters, and each "sister" as many husbands as she had brothers, whether own or collateral. It was this state of things, he conceives, that exogamy —which he calls the tribal organization—was designed to put an end to. In his paragraph on the origin of exogamy (*l.c.* p. 490) he says that it was an institution designed "to work out a reformation with respect to the intermarriages of brothers and sisters." He praises it as "an ancient, widespread, and most remarkable institution;" "the greatest of all institutions of mankind in the primitive ages," and so on, but without advancing one step towards an explanation of its origin. I have shown elsewhere that what he calls "the privilege of barbarism" is, so far as yet appears, a mere product of misapprehension, and that exogamy could not have disrupted the state of society corresponding to such a privilege in the way he supposed. But even assuming Mr. Morgan right so far, it is manifest that we are not at all helped to the origin of exogamy by his calling it a reformation.[1]

In 1870 Sir John Lubbock, in his work intituled "The Origin of Civilization," briefly put on record his impressions on this as on many other important questions. He says (third edition, p. 97): "He (Mr. McLennan) considers that marriage by capture followed and arose from that remarkable custom of marrying always out of the tribe, for which he has proposed the appropriate name of exogamy. On the contrary *I believe* that exogamy arose from marriage by capture, not marriage by capture from exogamy." It is possible that there is a grave slip of the pen here through which I am made

(1) The case of the Kamilaroi, Australia, in which Mr. Morgan conceives he has, since publishing his book, discovered an instance of "the privilege of barbarism" surviving to our own day, might be taken to pieces, and shown to be a tangle of mystifications, if the scientific interest in exposing the case were equal to the trouble it would involve.

to appear to "consider" what Sir John intended to say he believed; and he to "believe" what he intended to say I considered. Anyway his "belief" jumps so entirely with what I had published as my view of the origin of exogamy, that in order to being opposed to my view his belief should have been the opposite of what it is said to be. What I had said was this:—"The scarcity of women within the groups led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and, in time, it came to be considered improper, because it was unusual for a man to marry a woman of his own group" (that is, exogamy arose); from which it clearly appears that I derived exogamy from the practice of capture in the first instance, while regarding it, when once established, as the main stay and invariable concomitant of a system of capture. Of Sir John's view on this matter therefore no more need be said. So far as his origin of exogamy connects itself with his doctrine of "communal marriage," and the commencement of marriage proper as monandry, I have considered it elsewhere.

Mr. Herbert Spencer's contribution on this subject, which it is the main purpose of this paper to criticize, is briefly put as follows (see "Principles of Sociology," &c., pp. 649 ff.):—

Victory is invariably followed by pillage. The taking of women is manifestly but a part of the process of spoiling the vanquished. Hence it is obvious that from the beginning woman-stealing has been an incident of successful war. But the spoils of conquest are, some of them, prized as trophies. A woman taken in war will serve as a trophy. Hence members of a tribe married to foreign women captured in war will be held to be more honourably married than those married to native women. What must result?

If a tribe becoming steadily successful in war robs adjacent tribes of their women habitually, "there will grow up the idea that the now considerable class having foreign wives form the honourable class, and that those who have not proved their bravery by bringing back these living trophies are dishonourable; non-possession of a foreign wife will come to be regarded as a proof of cowardice." As the number of those without foreign wives decreases, "the disgrace will grow more decided, until, in the more warlike tribes, it will become an imperative requirement that a wife shall be obtained from another tribe." That arrived at, in Mr. Spencer's view, exogamy is accounted for. He sees need of nothing further to account for it.

There are leaps in this reasoning. A man is not *dis*-honourable because he is not honourable, or a coward because he is not a hero. No society is made up of only two classes, the honourable and the disreputable. In every society the majority must be undistinguished. That which once was a distinction, when it becomes diffused or vulgarised to a certain point, ceases to be a distinction, and then, as

a rule, ceases to be much thought of or cared about, unless there is reason for upholding it, not as a distinction, but as involving a sound social practice. Even then disgrace cannot attach to the non-possession of it, unless this involves something noxious to the community. The successful are apt to take comfort out of ways, or weaknesses, which being harmless or harmful only to those who follow them, mark such persons as their inferiors. Let us grant, however, that "the non-possession of a foreign wife," by becoming very rare, might become disreputable,—just as, if nearly everybody took honours, it might be thought a sneaking thing to go out in the poll. Does it obviously follow that it should become "an imperative requirement" that a wife should be obtained by capture, any more than that, in the other case, a man must take honours or forego a degree? It would seem at least that different bodies of men might settle the matter differently.

But suppose Mr. Spencer's "imperative requirement" established, and he seems almost as far as ever from accounting for exogamy. For exogamy is not a requirement that a man should get a wife from another tribe by capture. It is a prohibition against his taking to wife a woman of his own blood—a prohibition so absolute as to infer the pains of incest, and, therefore, quite commonly, the punishment of death. With no scruple against polygamy existing, a man might comply with the "imperative requirement" of Mr. Spencer's argument and have a wife, or more than one wife, of his own blood also. What reason is there to think he would not do so if he could? The "imperative requirement" which is Mr. Spencer's furthest step, clearly would nowise prevent him. It might lead—we should say it certainly would lead—to a practice of polygamy, but it does not seem even capable of preparing the way for the establishment of the law of exogamy.

Even if we assume the "imperative requirement" to capture a wife to be equivalent to an absolute prohibition against marrying a native woman, we shall yet not be able to find, in Mr. Spencer's argument, any explanation of exogamy as a law of incest. The question would remain unanswered why the prohibition should be enforced by such dreadful sanctions.

There is a gulf between an act which is not creditable—which, that is, does not reflect honour on its performer—and even between an act which is discreditable, and an act which is criminal, and, more than that, sinful—the thought of which inspires horror and the commission of which may be punished with death. Mr. Spencer has not attempted to bridge that chasm. And indeed he does not seem to have noticed it.

To me it seems simply not possible to deduce from marriages with foreign women being deemed ever so honourable, that

marriages with native women should be branded as incestuous—be deemed among the most impious of actions and become capital offences.

On the contrary, since unions with native women must, at the outset, have been sanctioned by immemorial usage, it is extremely difficult to conceive how the system of wiveing resting on that usage should ever have succumbed to a system of wiveing with captives. All the facts we have—and they are numerous, as for instance in Homer—show the "captive wife" not as the more honoured wife, but as taking a very inferior place in the household of her lord, a place far below that of the native, equal-born, wife. In ruder cases than that of the Homeric Greeks, the captive wife, as sometimes in Africa, so far from occupying a position of honour, may be seen fixed by staple and chain in the hut of her lord to prevent her running away. And, to take an authority quoted by Mr. Spencer himself (p. 650), P. Martyr tells us that among the cannibal Caribs in his day, "to eat women was considered unlawful... Those who were captured young were kept for breeding, as we keep fowl." It is difficult to see how the captive woman could attain the rank of "wife" at all, where "wives" and a marriage system already existed, *and there was nothing exceptional in the circumstances.*

In the case as put by Mr. Spencer there is nothing exceptional. He says nothing, for instance, of any want of balance of the sexes in the tribe. What he affects to show is how a war-like tribe, continuing to be long successful in war, will come to wive wholly with foreigners and forbid its members to marry native women. His proposition, otherwise remarkable, is in no point of view so extraordinary as when we regard it having in view the probable lot of these native women. He has left them wholly out of his account. Denied the right of marriage within the tribe, and, as a rule, cut off, by the uniform success of the tribe in war—an essential of the hypothesis—from what might be the sweet privilege of being captured by men of other tribes, Mr. Spencer obliges us to think of them as doomed to perpetual celibacy, wasting their lives in lamentations, like so many Jephtha's daughters, or in attendance as ladies' maids on "the living trophies" of their kinsmen. It is obvious to remark, in the absence of any saving clause to the contrary, that, the sustaining principle of the new system of wiveing being honour and not necessity, every woman born within the group, or local tribe, would be a "native" woman so far as regarded her prospects of marriage. That is, even if a tribe consisted of men and women accounted as of two or more different stocks or different bloods, Mr. Spencer's view of the origin of exogamy would deny to women born within the tribe intermarriage with any man belonging to it. This, however, is more than exogamy ever did. It allowed

men and women of the same local tribe to marry, provided they were not of the same tribe of descent, that is, of the same blood.

Mr. Spencer's fertility has furnished him with another origin of exogamy, and it is as follows:—There are some cases showing that young men had to prove their title to marry by deeds of prowess. But a man denied a wife till he has proved his courage will steal one, and thus at once satisfy his want and prove his title to become a husband. What more natural than that "where many warriors of a tribe are distinguished by stolen wives, the stealing of a wife should become the required proof of fitness to have one? *Hence would follow a peremptory law of exogamy.*"

Mr. Spencer calls this "origin" the same as the other, only put in a different point of view. But it is manifestly different. According to the former it became so dishonourable a thing for a man not to have a foreign wife, that the possession of one was made an "imperative requirement." This solution, assuming that a man was required to distinguish himself in some way before he was allowed to marry, suggests as likely that the capture of a foreign woman would become the received test of the distinction requisite for matrimony. Not to trouble ourselves with minor objections to it, this solution, like the former one, instead of giving "a peremptory law of exogamy," does not bring us within view of exogamy. It stops short at the same point as the other. Neither offers a surmise as to how, from men being encouraged, or required, to marry foreign women, it should have become an interdicted and accursed thing for them to marry women of their own blood.

And now it is time to point out that in fact Mr. Spencer has no elements in his argument by which he could make his conclusions bear upon exogamy at all. There is not one word of stock or blood in all his exposition, and exogamy is a law which forbids marriage between people of the same stock or blood. This is the first thing that strikes one on reading Mr. Spencer's exposition. He has not assumed his tribe to be all of one blood to commence, and the tribes outside it to be all of different bloods, so as to connect capture with exogamy; and, as has already been pointed out, he has not shown that the whole conditions of the case, as put by him, might not have been satisfied by capturing women of one's own blood from foreign tribes. There is not, that is, the slightest indication given that while putting forward his solutions, the precise meaning of exogamy—or the real problem to be solved—was kept in view or apprehended by him. Immediately after reading his solution the reader comes on *proof* that the problem never was comprehended by him. We find Mr. Spencer writing as follows:—"The explanation [of the origin of exogamy] so reached, is consistent with the fact that *exogamy and endogamy in many cases coexist;* and with the fact that exogamy often coexists with polygyny."

That exogamy should coexist with polygyny is surely intelligible *per se*, as illustrating the persistence of a customary law. But what may be the meaning of "the fact that exogamy and endogamy in many cases coexist"? If a man must not—under the pains of incest—marry a woman of his own stock or blood, and is forbidden, under the pains of law, to marry a woman of any other stock or blood, it would appear that marriage is forbidden to him altogether. If in any tribe exogamy and endogamy should indeed coexist, then indeed in that tribe marriage would be absolutely interdicted. This is manifest if by "tribe" a tribe of descent or body of kindred is intended. It is equally manifest if by "tribe" a local tribe—which may contain portions of several tribes of descent—be intended. The phrase applied to a local tribe could only acquire a meaning—short of an interdict on marriage—on the supposition that the local tribe had come to comprise several clans of different stocks, one or more of which followed the rule of exogamy while one or more followed the rule of endogamy. But that would truly be a case of juxtaposition, not of coexistence, of the two principles. It is clear, however, that Mr. Spencer had in view no such case as this, that he never defined to himself what he meant by the word "tribe," and never comprehended the meanings of the terms exogamy or endogamy. Take the following passage from his exposition (p. 658):—"It is to be inferred that among tribes not differing much from one another in strength there will be continual aggressions and reprisals accompanied by mutual robberies of women. No one of them will be able to supply itself entirely at the expense of adjacent tribes; and hence in each of them, there will be both native wives and wives taken from other tribes. There will be both exogamy and endogamy." Here, if we make the supposition most favourable to him, namely, that by "native" women he means women of the same stock with the men of a tribe, and by "women of other tribes" he means women of a different stock, it would follow that since the men married more or less with women of their own stock and with women of foreign stocks, there was neither exogamy nor endogamy in the case, neither a law forbidding nor a law requiring marriage between persons of the same stock. If we do not make that supposition the case supposed is clearly unrelated to either law, is indicative merely of an absence of regulation on the subject of marriage.[1]

(1) Elsewhere, as at p. 685, we may see that Mr. Spencer never had before his mind the idea of exogamy as a prohibition against marriage between blood relations. The more honourable class, whose example instituted the "imperative requirement" of his argument, there appear as polygamists with "several wives, native or foreign"; while at p. 695 he shows that in their polygamist households the foreign women would "stand in the position of concubines rather than wives"—the men, that is, instead of being "more honourably" married to them than to the others, would not be married

That Mr. Spencer has failed to grasp the meaning of the terms exogamy and endogamy appears indeed even from the opening sentences of his chapter on the subject (p. 641):—"The words exogamy and endogamy," he says, "are used by Mr. McLennan to distinguish the two *practices* of taking to wife women belonging to other tribes, and taking to wife women belonging to the same tribe." Now the words were not defined by me to denote practices at all, but *rules* or *laws;* the one law prohibiting marriage between persons of the same blood and the other law prohibiting marriage between persons of different bloods. Laws are no doubt intended to regulate practices; but practices are not laws, nor are they necessarily founded on regulation. Mr. Spencer's exposition shows, however, that he was thinking of practices and not laws; and while he seemed to be dealing with the origin of exogamy he was truly dealing with an entirely different theme—the origin of a practice of capture.

His solutions, had they been ever so successful, would obviously have accounted only for a limited practice of capturing women for wives. Apparently it has been this which has led him—without much consideration of facts and arguments to the contrary—very much indeed on *à priori* grounds, to form the opinion that "exogamy" was not normal, but rather belongs to the class of occasional or exceptional phenomena.[1]

That exogamy, properly so called, was normal, seems, however, to be beyond dispute. The proof of this is of the best description obtainable in support of any fact. It consists of the evidence of independent witnesses in all parts of the world, each relating what he found in his district, unaware that anything similar was to be found elsewhere, and unaware also of his relation being of any special scientific value. Now that speculation on the subject has arisen, we shall obtain no more evidence of the same trustworthy nature. But on evidence which could not be suspected, I was able, in "Primitive Marriage," to trace this law of incest as prevailing among the Khonds of Orissa, the Kalmuck Tartars, the Circassians, the Yurak Samoyeds (Siberia), the Kafirs, the Sodhas of Northern India, the Beduanda Kallung (Singapore), the Kirghiz and the Nogais, the Warali (India), the Magar tribes, among the Hindus generally, among numerous tribes on the north-eastern frontier of India, at numerous points in the Pacific Islands, among the natives throughout Australia, and among the natives throughout North and South America. Within a month

to them at all, which would seem destructive of the very pivot of his argument as to the origin of exogamy. Thus differently do the same facts appear to Mr. Spencer at different times and in dealing with different subjects.

(1) It may be proper to warn the student that in Mr. Spencer's "Descriptive Sociology" the terms exogamy and endogamy are used in the same senses as in his "Principles of Sociology," and several times in the tables exogamy and endogamy are stated to "coexist."

after the publication of my book, Mr. E. B. Tylor, in his admirable work on the Early History of Mankind, produced a fresh list of instances of the law independently made by him, which list he has since enlarged. He exhibited it as prevailing, among other places, in Siam, Borneo and Sumatra, and among the Ostyaks. We now know it as law throughout China. Mr. Tozer lately exhibited it as now law among the Mirdites in the Turkish Highlands. It is now within my knowledge as law in various districts in Africa, and, indeed, in quarters too numerous to be here specified. I was able, in "Primitive Marriage," to show that it had been the law of the Picts and presumably of Celts in general. It can easily be shown to have been early law in Rome. I think it possible to show that it was originally law in Greece. It is the law of the Greek Church now, and was at one time the law of Catholicism. Gregory I., Hallam informs us, prohibited marriage as far as relationship could be known, and that of course is exogamy. As I have more than once stated already, in all cases the violation of this law is a specially heinous crime. It is incest, and even among many of the rudest races is punished with death.

I had hoped to be able here to indicate at least the result of an inquiry I have been making into the origin of this singular law—the origin truly of all laws of incest—laws which more than any other human characteristic, except articulate speech, distinguish man from the brutes; but the space at my disposal is wholly inadequate to that purpose. This the less matters that I expect to be able to publish my inquiry itself within a few months. Thus much I may here say, that instead of finding it a simple investigation, capable of being disposed of in a page or so of *à priori* fancies, I have found it extremely intricate and laborious, and that it necessitated several fresh inductions of fact as a condition prior to reasoning on the possibilities of the rise of so strange a law. If the reader will but reflect that marriage among kindred *must* have been the most ancient usage, and that it has to be shown not only how this usage was superseded by a contrary custom, but how it came to be superseded in such a manner that any recurrence to it would be regarded as an act at once criminal and sinful, he will see that the problem is of no ordinary difficulty. When he further reflects that the evidence, so far as we have it, appears to indicate that all races of men were at some time exogamous, he will see the difficulties of the problem to be greatly increased. For all singular solutions which would account for the law as an occasional thing only, thus appear by the conditions of the problem to be excluded.

In my paper on The Levirate and Polyandry[1] I showed how Mr. Spencer had found a new origin for the Levirate without under-

(1) See the *Fortnightly Review* for May, 1877.

standing what the Levirate was, and had pronounced against polyandry as normal without having qualified himself by a study of succession laws or otherwise to form an opinion on that subject. We have now seen how he has found an origin for exogamy without troubling himself to understand what exogamy meant. Is it too much to say that Mr. Spencer has not exhibited in these important scientific researches such a measure of care, with a view to accuracy, as might be expected from him? I will only add, as touching matters in the right investigation of which I take great interest, that in my opinion Mr. Spencer, who has found several "origins" for the form of capture, has never seriously reflected on the real nature of that form, and that of course he has misunderstood the meaning of the term endogamy.

In conclusion, I may be pardoned for noticing the three following points in Mr. Spencer's exposition:—

1. He says, p. 642: "To the habitual stealing of wives and re-stealing of them as among the Australians, Mr. McLennan ascribes that doubtful paternity which led to the recognition of kinship through females only; though elsewhere, admitting a more general cause for this primitive form of kinship, he regards wife-stealing as its most certain cause." I had myself been under the impression that the principal portion of my book—that, indeed, which gave it any title to consideration—was that in which I attempted to exhibit the development of this species of kinship, and of kinships generally, in connection with the forms of marriage and the family. But I am represented as taking my stand at a point apart from the family in looking for the true origin of female kinship; and, on the other hand, as *admitting* what are really my own main propositions in regard to the effect of forms of marriage on primitive kinships.

2. I am represented as ascribing the origin of exogamy to "a primitive instinct" against marriage between blood relations, though I expressly and repeatedly repudiate that idea. I am so misrepresented in respect of a single inadvertent use of the term applied to the sus[illegible]ng spirit of the law of exogamy itself—a slip by which the ph[illegible]se was substituted for the term exogamy itself. Whoever else might have misunderstood this, I should have thought—even had I not made express declarations on the subject—that Mr. Spencer would not have believed that an evolutionist could have fallen into such an error. But my declarations were express and repeated. I say in one place: "A survey of the facts of primitive life and the breakdown of exogamy in advancing communities *exclude* the notion that the law originated in any innate or primary feeling against marriage with kinsfolk." ("Studies," &c., p. 112.) Again I say: "Men must originally have been free of any prejudice against marriage between relations—not necessarily endoga-

mous, *i.e.* forbidding marriage except between kindred—but still more given to such unions than to unions with strangers. From this primitive indifference they may have advanced, some to endogamy, some to exogamy." (*Idem*, p. 116.) In another place I put aside the idea of "primitive instinct" in the matter with some detail of argument. (*Idem*, pp. 228, ff.)

3. I notice lastly the strange misapprehension through which the contents of Chapter VII. of "Primitive Marriage"—which is a general survey preliminary to an investigation taking note of the views that on a first impression the facts were likely to suggest—are construed as if they were, however contradictory, all alike results at which I had arrived. No one, I think, can read that chapter without seeing its true character as preliminary to a thorough inquiry, the results indeed of which inquiry, rectifying various impressions that one might form on a first view, the chapter concludes by giving, in anticipation of the contents of the succeeding chapters, in a series of nine propositions. ("Studies," &c., pp. 109, ff.) It is due to myself to mention that it is from this chapter that Mr. Spencer has cited most of the phrases used by me that he could find seeming to make for his own conclusions.

J. F. McLennan.

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## A SHORT REJOINDER.

To Mr. McLennan's article on "The Levirate and Polyandry," as well as to the foregoing article, some words of reply from me seem called for.

Forms of family produced by descent in the male line, are habitually characterized by a law of succession which gives the sons of the eldest precedence over his brothers. Contrariwise, forms of family in which descent in the female line persists, wholly or partially, because paternity is unsettled or but partially settled, are characterized by a law of succession under which brothers take precedence of sons. Hence an institution which requires a younger brother to beget an heir for an elder brother who dies without one, and which thus carries to an extreme the claims of sons *versus* the claims of brothers, seems like a result of a family system characterized by established descent in the male line. Mr. McLennan, however, considers this peculiar institution to be derived from a form of family in which, from indefiniteness of paternity, male kinship in the descending line is imperfectly established. As he interprets the matter, cause and consequence stand thus:—"On every view, then," he says, "the succession of brothers in preference to sons must be accepted as a remainder of polyandry" (p. 705). Nevertheless he represents, as a remainder of polyandry,

this Levirate system, which gives such preference to sons that even the nominal son of the eldest brother excludes a younger brother.

Though Mr. McLennan thinks "it is impossible not to believe" that this is the origin of the Levirate (*Studies in Ancient History*, p. 162), I have ventured to suggest another possible interpretation. I have shown that where women are bought and sold as property, they are also inherited as property. I have given six cases where widows are inherited by brothers who claim them as well as other belongings of the deceased; and have pointed out that in two of these instances, the nearest relation "had a right" to the widow, in the absence of a brother. As further showing how transfers of widows are originally transfers of property, I have given six cases in which sons inherit their fathers' wives (save their own mothers).[1] Here let me add other instances having like implications. Speaking of the Kakhyens, Anderson, in his *Mandalay to Momien* (pp. 139—142), says, "the curious custom obtains that a widow becomes the wife of the senior brother-in-law, even though he be already married." And Wood tells us of the Kirghiz, that on a husband's death the wife goes to his brother, and on his decease becomes the property of the next of kin. We have, then, multitudinous proofs that the taking to wife deceased brothers' widows (not in these cases associated with polyandry, but with polygyny), is part of the succession to property in general; and this was originally the case among the Hebrews. The inference which Mr. McLennan draws from the ancient tradition concerning Tamar, does not correspond with the view which the Rabbins held respecting the original form of the Levir marriage. As shown by a passage in Lewis (*Origines Hebrææ*, ii. 498), the Rabbins saw in Levir marriage, essentially a right of the brother, not of the widow. At first sight it is not manifest how what was originally a right of the brother, became transformed into a duty; but I have given some facts which throw light upon the transformation. Even among a people so little advanced as the Chippewas, the claim to a dead brother's wife as property, had so far changed that the assigned reason for marrying her was the obligation to take care of the brother's children; and I have cited the case of an Egyptian who said he married his brother's widow because "he considered it his duty to provide for her and her children." Following the clue given by these cases, I have suggested (*op. cit.* p. 692) that the duty of raising up seed to a dead brother was originally the duty of raising the seed the dead brother had left, that is, his children; and that this eventually passed by misinterpretation into the duty of preserving his line, not by rearing existing children, but by begetting a son in his name when he had none—a misinterpretation prompted by that intense craving to survive in name through future

(1) *Principles of Sociology*, i. 680.

times, described in Psalm xlix. 11:—"Their inward thought is that their houses shall continue for ever. . . . They call their lands after their own names." When we remember that even now, estates are sometimes bequeathed on condition of adopting the name of the testator, and so nominally maintaining the line, we shall understand the motive which exaggerated the duty of raising a brother's heir until it became the duty of raising an heir to him. Should Mr. McLennan contend that this transformation of what was once a beneficial right into an injurious obligation is improbable, then I make two replies. The first is, that among many remarkable social transformations, there may be named one immediately relating to marriage-customs, which presents us with a no less complete inversion. Change from wife-purchase to the reception of a dowry with a wife, does not seem a change likely to result by gradual transition; yet it did so result. The property given for the bride, originally appropriated entirely by the father, ceased in course of time to be wholly retained by him, and he gave part to his daughter for her special use after her marriage. What he gave to her grew, and what was paid for her dwindled, until eventually the husband's payment became a symbol, while the father's gift developed into a substantial dower. The second reply is that this transformation is less difficult to understand than the one alleged by Mr. McLennan. For according to him, the arrangement by which, in the polyandric family, an elder brother's death profits the next brother by devolving on him "his property, authority, and widow," is transformed into an arrangement by which, in the polygynic or monogamic family, the next brother loses by having to take steps for excluding himself from the succession.

The flaw in Mr. McLennan's argument appears to me to be this. He tacitly assumes that the succession of brothers to property, instead of sons, always implies the pre-existence of polyandry; whereas it merely implies the pre-existence of descent in the female line, which may or may not have had polyandry as a concomitant. There are hosts of cases where descent in the female line exists, and where there is neither polyandry now nor any sign of its past existence.

In the small space available, I must meet Mr. McLennan's rejoinders to my criticisms on his theory of primitive marriage, in the briefest manner. He sets forth his leading propositions thus:—

(1.) That "the form [of capture] represents and is a remainder of an actual system of capturing women for wives." As showing that the form does not necessarily imply capture from foreign tribes, I have pointed out that actual capture, and consequently the form of capture, may originate within the tribe; first, from the fighting of the men with one another for the possession of women; second, from the resistance of the pursued women themselves, due to coyness,

partly real and partly assumed; third, from the accompanying resistance of sympathizing women; and fourth, from the resistance of parents who are deprived of the services of daughters by their marriages. I have given numerous examples of acts of capture having such origins, and these Mr. McLennan passes over unnoticed.

(2.) That "a practice of capturing women for wives could not have become systematic unless it were developed and sustained by some rule of law or custom, which made it necessary as a means to marriage." This proposition implies that some "rule of law" was first established, in some way unspecified, and that capturing women became systematic as a consequence; which is not a solution of the problem but a postponement of it. The assumed pre-existence of such a law seems to me akin to the hypothesis of a primitive "social contract."

(3.) That "the rule of law or custom which had this effect was exogamy, the law (previously unnamed) which declared it incest for a man to marry a woman of the same blood or stock with himself." On which my comment, simply a more specific form of the last, is that we are thus required to conclude that the notions of "blood or stock" and of "incest" preceded the practice of stealing women; though this practice, found among the very lowest men, is a natural sequence of instincts which must have been in action before the earliest social groups were formed.

From these general rejoinders I pass to more special ones.

Mr. McLennan says:—"In this inquiry it was the existence of exogamy as an essential concomitant of capture that concerned me. I neither investigated nor had occasion to investigate its origin." Considering that the title of Mr. McLennan's work as originally published was *Primitive Marriage: an Inquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies*, it seems strange that he should say he was not concerned with the explanation of exogamy. To ascribe capture to exogamy and to assign no cause for exogamy, is to give a very inadequate theory of primitive marriage. Mr. McLennan, however, while alleging that this problem did not concern him, says he threw out the suggestion that "the practice of female infanticide" originated the correlative usages of capture and exogamy. I was quite unaware till now that Mr. McLennan laid so little stress upon this part of his theory. The title he gives to Chapter VII. of his work—"Exogamy: its Origin," &c., seems to imply that the explanation of it did concern him, though he now says it did not. In this chapter (pp. 110, 111, new edition), he assigns female infanticide as the cause, without any warning that this is to be taken merely as a suggestion. And to the growth of the consequent "usage induced by necessity" of stealing wives, he ascribes the "prejudice strong as a principle of religion

. . . . against marrying women of their own stock,"—ascribes, that is, the law of exogamy. I have given several reasons for concluding that exogamy did not arise from this cause; and, as Mr. McLennan now states that what he said about this cause had "perhaps better have been left unsaid," I presume that he admits the validity of these reasons.

Mr. McLennan makes a counter criticism on the explanation of exogamy given by me. This explanation is that in warlike tribes, capturing of a foreign woman, implying conquest over enemies, was a mark of bravery and therefore honourable; that as a tribe became predominantly warlike, the honourableness of having a foreign wife became so relatively great, that taking a native wife became discreditable; and that finally, in the most warlike tribes, it became imperative that a wife should be of foreign blood. Mr. McLennan objects that there is a gulf "between an act which is discreditable, and an act which is criminal."

"To me," he says, "it seems simply not possible to deduce from marriages with foreign women being deemed ever so honourable, that marriages with native women should be branded as incestuous—be deemed among the most impious of actions, and become capital offences."

My first reply is that though this "seems simply not possible" to Mr. McLennan, he might have found analogies which would show him its possibility. Is it not deemed honourable to conquer in war? Does it not become by consequence dishonourable to give way in battle and flee from the enemy? And are there not cases in which the dishonourableness of fleeing from the enemy became a penal offence, followed sometimes even by death? My second reply is that in the primitive state to which we must go back for the explanation of such practices as exogamy, no such notion as that of crime exists. Mr. McLennan's objection implies the belief that moral ideas antecede the earliest social state; whereas they are products of the social state, developing only as it advances. What we call crimes are thought creditable by many uncivilized men. Murder was no disgrace to a Fijian, but a glory; and his honour increased with the number of men he devoured. Among some tribes of the Pacific States, where the stronger man takes whatever he pleases from the weaker, the criminality of robbery is unrecognised. And by those many peoples whom I have instanced (*Prin. of Sociology*, § 281) as very commonly forming incestuous unions, incest is not regarded as criminal. How, then, can there be the impassable gulf Mr. McLennan supposes between the disgracefulness of marrying within the tribe and the crime of incest, when, originally, incest was not a crime?

By way of proof that among rude races a man does not gain honour from a captured wife, Mr. McLennan gives some cases showing that captured wives are not themselves held in higher estimation

than native wives, but in lower. I have neither said nor implied anything at variance with his facts. To assert the honourableness of capturing is not to assert the honourableness of being captured.

One objection raised by Mr. McLennan to the explanation I have given has a considerable appearance of validity, and some real validity; though it is an imprudent objection for him to make, since it tells against his own view more than against mine. He points out that if, in an extremely-warlike tribe, wiving with foreigners becomes imperative, and marriage with native-born women is disallowed, there arises the question, what becomes of the native-born women; and he says they must be "doomed to perpetual celibacy." In answer, I may point to the fact alleged by Mr McLennan himself (*Studies*, &c., p. 112), that in some cases all the female children born within the tribe are destroyed, whence it follows that, in these cases at any rate, there results no such difficulty as that which he alleges. Further, I have to repeat the objection made by me to his hypothesis, that among a cluster of tribes practising primitive exogamy, as Mr. McLennan describes it, the female children born within each tribe not only become useless to the tribe, because unmarriageable by its members, but the rearing of them benefits and strengthens hostile tribes, who alone can utilize them: whence a motive to universal female infanticide throughout the tribes. But the truth to which Mr. McLennan's objection points, I take to be this; that, save in such extreme cases as the one I have cited above, exogamy, under that primitive form which implies actual capture of women from other tribes, does not become absolute; and that it acquires the character of a peremptory law, only when the prevalence of women counted as foreign by blood within the tribe, introduces the secondary or derived form of exogamy, and makes obedience to the peremptory law practicable.

Mr. McLennan alleges that the explanation I have given could account "only for a limited practice of capturing women for wives," and that for this reason, "apparently," I have formed the opinion that exogamy is not normal but exceptional. I do not know why he says this; since the explanation I have given implies that everywhere, hostilities among tribes tend to produce exogamy in some and endogamy in others, and that thus the simultaneous genesis of the two is normal. If, however, by the words "that exogamy, properly so-called, was normal, is beyond dispute," he means that it was normal in the literal sense, as having originally been the rule and other practices exceptions—if he means again to express the belief he did originally, that exogamy has "been practised at a certain stage among every race of mankind"—if, by the additional instances of it which he now gives, he means to support this proposition; then I have simply to set against it the admission he makes (*Studies*, &c.,

p. 116) that exogamy and endogamy "may be equally archaic," and the statement that "the separate endogamous are nearly as numerous, and they are in some respects as rude, as the separate exogamous tribes" (*Ibid.*, p. 116)—an admission and a statement which harmonize perfectly with the hypothesis I have set forth, but are incongruous with Mr. McLennan's own hypothesis.

I have reserved to the last the most serious of Mr. McLennan's allegations against me. "That Mr. Spencer has failed to grasp the meaning of the terms exogamy and endogamy appears beyond dispute," he says. If this be true, the fault must be either in Mr. McLennan's statement of his views, or in my capacity for comprehension; and I suppose that in politeness I am bound to regard the fault as lying in me. I am reluctant, however, to leave the reader without the opportunity of forming his own judgment on this point; and I therefore lay before him the data as briefly as consists with clearness.

The question being how there arose the contrast between those tribes which married only with women of other tribes, or of foreign blood, and those tribes which married native women, the words "exogamy" and "endogamy," introduced by Mr. McLennan, were used by me as indicating these two systems, alike in their partially-established and in their completely-established forms. Employing the words in these unspecialized senses, I have referred to some societies as partially exogamous or partially endogamous, and have said that "exogamy and endogamy in many cases co-exist:" meaning, thereby, that in so far as the men of a tribe marry out of the tribe the tribe is exogamous, and in so far as they marry within the tribe the tribe is endogamous. This fact is cited by Mr. McLennan as "*proof* that the problem never was comprehended by" me. Giving to the words more special meanings than are necessitated by their literal significations, Mr. McLennan represents them as applicable only where marriage with women of the same stock is respectively forbidden or required. There cannot, consequently, be such things as partial exogamy or endogamy—the two are mutually exclusive. "The words," he says, "were not defined by me to denote practices at all, but *rules* or *laws*;" and he says that until there is actual prohibition of one or other, there is no law of marriage at all, and therefore no exogamy or endogamy.

Now Mr. McLennan may, of course, give what definitions he pleases to words introduced by himself. But I am at a loss to understand how an evolutionist, which Mr. McLennan declares himself to be, can ignore those antecedent stages that must have been passed through before exogamy and endogamy could become laws. Mr. McLennan's familiarity with savage life must make him fully conscious that law, in our sense, is originally unknown; and that that

genesis of laws out of customs which advanced societies show us, is implied by the state of the earliest societies in which no customs have yet evolved into laws. An evolutionist might be expected to regard it as a necessary implication that before exogamy and endogamy became laws they must have been practices.

If, instead of saying that I "never comprehended the meanings of the terms exogamy or endogamy," Mr. McLennan had said that I failed to comprehend how he reconciles his own uses of them with the meanings he gives, I should have agreed with him. On p. 230 in the chapter headed "Conclusion," (not, be it observed, in the chapter which he describes as "preliminary," and therefore only approximate in its statements) I find the following passage, in which I have italicised the significant words :—

"On the whole, the account which we have given of the *origin of exogamy* appears the only one which will bear examination. The scarcity of women within the group led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and *in time it came to be considered improper*, because it was unusual for a man to marry a woman of his own group."

This passage, summing up the results of Mr. McLennan's inquiries, while it tacitly asserts that "the origin of exogamy" was a chief problem (though Mr. McLennan now says it did not concern him), applies the name exogamy to a *practice* that had not yet become a *law*. Even now, on the first page of the above article, he uses it in the same sense when he speaks of his original suggestion thus—"the practice of capture somehow introducing exogamy, and exogamy thereafter perpetuating and extending the practice of capture." If, then, because I have applied the name exogamy to a growing custom that had not yet hardened into a law, I am charged with not understanding what exogamy means, I have simply to reply that the charge recoils with fatal effect on Mr. McLennan himself; since he uses the word in the same sense.

Here I must end all I have to say on these matters. In treating of the domestic relations in the *Principles of Sociology*, I could not avoid dealing with Mr. McLennan's theory. While accepting some of his minor propositions, I found myself unable to accept his major ones. My reasons for dissent were expressed in the most temperate manner I could use. Mr. McLennan has, however, introduced into his rejoinder a tone which renders it undesirable to continue the discussion.

HERBERT SPENCER.

## *HOME AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.*

It sounds almost incredible that the outbreak of a war in Europe should not be the most absorbing event of the month in which it has taken place. Yet the incredible is true, and for a week men almost forgot the conflict in the east, in their amazement and distress at what at first seemed to mean the unexpected provocation to new and deeper conflicts in the west. The Russian troops have advanced slowly towards the line of the Danube. In the Asiatic field they were repulsed with loss at Batoum, the coveted port in the south-east corner of the Euxine; after the capture of Soukoum Kaleh by the Turks, they seemed to be threatened with a rising of their Circassian subjects in the rear. But these misadventures have been obliterated by the capture of Ardahan (May 17), and by the rapid approach of the Russian forces towards Erzeroum. The Turks are reported to have made a bad defence, and they are said to have lost heart for further operations. Irritation at these disasters has led to mutinous demonstrations at Constantinople, to violent and agitated debates in the Chamber, and to the proclamation of a state of siege. Roumania has thrown off the nominal yoke and declared her independence of the Porte, and Servia may be expected to imitate Roumania's example. Greece is rapidly growing more restless, and her people threaten any day to become uncontrollable. Unless, therefore, there is either an understanding between Russia, Austria, and Germany, or a fixed resolution on the part of Russia not to go beyond the point at which European opinion would be likely to turn actively against her, we may before this time next month find ourselves in the inmost meshes of those contingencies which have, even in bare anticipation, been the dread and the despair of European statesmen. We may, that is to say, see Austria alarmed into action by the formation of inconvenient governments on her borders; Turkey thrown into anarchy by the weakness and break-up of the central power; and Russia holding the Euphrates Valley, and commanding Syria.

Yet it is felt, and rightly felt, that even with so momentous a crisis as this coming so swiftly upon Europe, the sudden throwing aside of the mask by the conspirators of reaction in France is an event of the very first importance. It is so for many reasons. It has not only endangered the stability of government and the peace of society in France; it has made France a mark for new enmity from Germany, and for old suspicions revived in Italy. For the moment, the President, like Lord Derby, has played the game of Prince Bismarck. It is to Germany's interest that Russia should have her hands tied by a war, and Lord Derby by refusing to join in the coercion of Turkey last October made war between Russia and Turkey inevitable. It is for Germany's interest that France should be without allies, and the President and his clerical cabinet have alienated both Italy

and England. Even the most ardent partisans of France in this country do not mean the France of Napoleon IV. for Monseigneur Dupanloup. No doubt, then, there is little risk of the instant adoption of a provocative policy by the Broglie cabinet. But what is certain is that such a government as it is the ultimate object of the Broglie cabinet to set up, can only subsist by leaning on the clerical party; and the clerical party will demand a price for their support; and everybody knows that this price can only be a policy that will give Germany a fair excuse, and Italy a solid reason for a breach. That would be the inevitable outcome of reactionary government, in whatever shape it might be restored. It is, no doubt, therefore, impossible to suppose that there is an immediate and pressing danger of the repetition of the disastrous imperial policy of the summer of 1870. The President is justified for the immediate moment in denying that his *coup d'état* at home means any change in his policy abroad. But if his *coup d'état* succeeds, then that success can only be assured by a foreign war, because nothing short of a foreign war will content his only effective aiders and abettors. If Germany were not there to prevent so detestable a crime, we can hardly doubt that the Broglie cabinet would provoke a war with the Italian kingdom. Such a stroke would distract attention, would excite the enthusiasm of the clerical party to the highest pitch, and might perhaps be approved by a certain number of unwise persons who are not clerical, but who retain the old contempt and dislike of the French towards the Italians, and still regard the unity of Italy with the jealousy that used to find its mouthpiece in M. Thiers. Germany, however, stands in the way of such a policy as this. It is not the first time that Germany has saved France from the hands of her own reactionist conspirators.

Just as the apprehensions of immediate foreign danger were exaggerated at the first shock of the President's exploit, so were the apprehensions of immediate domestic convulsion exaggerated. The manner of the presidential stroke warranted the alarm: its violent haste; the harsh and peremptory letter to M. Jules Simon; the stiff and arbitrary message to the Chambers; the sinister complexion of the new ministry; the proof of planned conspiracy furnished by the sweeping changes of prefects within four-and-twenty hours. For a few hours it seemed as if M. Gambetta and the other chiefs of the Left might be sent to Vincennes, and a new day of barricades and fusillades might open. There was so absolutely no reason for the precipitation of the President's step, that ordinary calculation was baffled, and all appeared possible. It is no wonder that men were bewildered, and almost cowed. But a less terrible interpretation is now generally put upon the President's hasty act. After the first day or two it was felt that the key-note to the whole design was honestly given in the Message to the two Chambers:—"As long as I am the depository of power I will use it to the full extent of its legal limits to oppose what I regard as the ruin of my country; but *I am convinced that the country thinks as I do —it is not the triumph of those theories that it wished for at the last elections.* That is not what was promised to the country by those who took advantage of my name, and declared themselves resolved to maintain my power, and

these persons proved the majority of the candidates. If it were again asked, and in such a manner as to guard against all misunderstanding, *it would, I am sure, reject that conclusion.*"

In other words, what the President says is this: "I am of the Right; the country, I know, is also of the Right. A majority of the Right would have been returned in 1876, if there had not been a mistaken notion that the Left were my supporters. That shall not happen again. There shall be préfets and a cabinet to say that the Left are my enemies, and that to vote for them is to vote against me. M. Buffet was not allowed to say this." Hence the proposed elections are designed to be a repetition of the experiment so confidently made at the last elections, with the immense difference, however, that if the next elections should go as the last one went, it will be not a minister, nor a cabinet, but the President of the Republic himself whom the nation will dismiss.

If this be the real account of what is in Marshal Macmahon's mind, then all to be said is that he has been led into the most deplorable piece of fatuity by the vanity and conceit of one adviser, and the sanguine unscrupulosity of another. By an act of inconceivable perversity, the Marshal deliberately steps down from the chair of the President of the Republic, and becomes a candidate. That the ministry will be utterly routed at the elections, is the universal belief among people who keep themselves cool. The Duke de Broglie is personally unpopular, and even, what M. Buffet never was, he is regarded as a slightly ridiculous personage. The circumstances under which the cabinet has been formed are highly unfavourable to it. It contains no strong man. It stands convicted as a cabinet of conspirators who plot in the dark. It has disloyally and unreasonably overthrown a government which was pursuing a tranquil and moderate course. It has inflicted much injury on trade; it has broken the social calm which was never more intense than on the evening of the fifteenth of May; it has damaged the reputation of France in Europe for restored sense and steadfastness. Again, what has happened to change the anti-clerical verdict of the elections of 1876, which was given by a majority of 350 liberal returns against 164 reactionary returns? It is true that some one —it is not known who, nor by what authority—issued a manifesto purporting to be official, and promising instant repression to all ultramontane demonstrations. But this declaration is in patent contradiction to unmistakable facts. The Duke de Broglie's vanity and the Marshal's panic may have produced the rash dismissal, but everybody knows that the *forces* on which the reactionists rely are the priests, and the *arms* the Bonapartist préfets. Their only true support is the priest-party. That party is in a state of intense resentment and alarm at the prospect of losing the control of the schools; it feels an intolerable chagrin at the sight of public education being in the hands of a rational and liberal person like M. Waddington. We do not ignore the power of the priest-party, any more than we ignore that of the clergy in our own politics. We only say that France is no longer of that party.

On the whole, then, there are the strongest possibilities that the next elections

—if elections there be—will ratify the verdict of February, 1876. The President has identified himself with the unknown. Behind him is, not one pretender, but three. To vote for him is to vote for what? For the Empire, for the Restoration, or for the Duc d'Aumale? How is the elector to be reconciled to a nameless policy lying in such profound shadow as this? The Marshal's clerical supporters have identified themselves with what is plainly recognised as a policy of uncertainty and war and national danger. His premier carries no weight, and has no programme. Reaction has no consistency in itself; its forces are mutually internecine, and their aims irreconcilable. The day after the Republic was trampled under foot, the usurpers would be at deadly war among one another, Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists, all hating and suspecting one another more bitterly than they had hated the Republic. Nothing has happened since February, 1876, to alter the popular opinion as recorded in the elections of that time, that in spite of the extravagances of a noisy but politically insignificant section at the extreme left of the party, it is the Republicans who truly represent order, and the Republicans only who stand for national security.

Of course it is assumed in all this that there is to be no military *coup d'état*. We are the last to deny the seriousness of such an assumption. "It is certain," we wrote in April of last year, after the French elections, "that the President cannot feel any sympathy either with the Senate or the Chamber with which he is called to govern. A general, accustomed to command, is ill prepared to play the delicate, submissive, self-effacing part of a constitutional sovereign, on whom the majority imposes a ministry and laws. It is hardly likely that the President will ever make a *coup d'état* in his own favour. But exasperated by the exigencies of the Left, alarmed at the agitations which they might provoke, he might possibly think it his duty to take energetic measures to 'save the country.' Persons will certainly not be wanting in the future, who will tell him in all good faith that this is his bounden duty." And then it was pointed out that in continental affairs, "we must always take account of the undeniable fact that the constitutional system is at the mercy of the army, and only subsists by sufferance of the executive power." (*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1876, p. 626.)

At present, however, there appears little ground for apprehension. The President cannot believe that the country is against him, and it looks as if the whole affair were the work, not of violent and unflinching adventurers, like the heroes of the Second of December, but of a small company of weak and vain intriguers, who have induced the Marshal to share a most futile illusion. If there is an election, in the first place; if there is a republican victory, in the second; if there is no *coup d'état*, in the third; then on Marshal Macmahon's resignation, the two Chambers will in a common session elect as President a representative of the ideas of the majority. In that case, the master-stroke of the reactionists will have the extremely satisfactory effect of placing a Liberal President in power some years sooner than would have been the case otherwise.

One of the most important results of this will be a change in the permanent type of the presidential office. Perhaps if Marshal Macmahon had

persisted in his part as constitutional president, that might have remained as the fixed character of the post. The French, however, are singularly inapt for political fictions, nor indeed is any other nation inclined to such fictions, unless they happen to have come down by inheritance, and to be like our monarchy, the eviscerated survival of what was once a reality. The French, like the Americans, associate the highest executive office with executive power. The practice, even of a constitutional king like Louis Philippe, was to preside at cabinet councils, and to try to make his own ideas prevail. But it will be more agreeable to discuss the relative advantages of the two types of President, after France has passed through the trying and dangerous crisis that awaits her—a crisis which is as important for her neighbours as for herself, and in which the Republic will have the ardent good-will of every lover of peace and good government in Europe.

The events in France have been so astonishing as almost to efface the memory of the debate on Eastern affairs which occupied the House of Commons for five long nights, and ended in a ministerial majority of 181 (May 14). Yet it has left such traces behind, as to call for a few words of criticism. Some of the incidents that arose from it will probably leave a lasting mark both on the course of the Eastern question in English opinion, and also on the future of the Liberal party.

Of all the political surprises since the fatal January of 1874, none could have been more difficult to foresee than that Mr. Gladstone and the majority of the Liberals in the country should be on one side, and the band of ministers to whom Mr. Gladstone had given power and occasion of fame should be angrily and vehemently on the other. The tactics of the front opposition bench are open to grave, and as we think, decisive objection. It is impossible to suppose, after Lord Hartington's vigorous speeches, first on the opening of the session, and next on the motion for papers at Easter, that he dissented from the substance of Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions. These speeches point as directly to coercion as the famous fourth Resolution itself. But he and his colleagues have all along taken the position that a division, which would reveal the numerical weakness of the Opposition, was to be avoided at all hazard. In the earlier part of the session they did their best not only to avoid a division, but even to shirk a general discussion of the Eastern Question. Mr. Fawcett rightly broke away from a strategy, so artificial, unworthy, and impotent, and the leaders of the Opposition were obliged to content themselves with begging their reluctant followers to discuss, if discuss they must, but on no account to draw upon the party the catastrophe of a division. A section of the party—including Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Courtney—consistently protested against the adoption of this weak and timorous line. "We have the country with us," they kept saying: "they are looking to us for a continuance of the autumn struggle against the aims of the Beaconsfield section of the cabinet; a bad division will only show what everybody knows already, that the majority

of the house does not reflect the majority of the constituencies." But the partisans of inactivity prevailed, until Mr. Gladstone, pressed by an overwhelming sense of responsibility to the country, and justly treating that responsibility as in such a crisis paramount over even the most respectable obligations of party etiquette, at length accepted the view of the section of which we have spoken, and brought forward his Resolutions. What ought to have been the conduct of his former colleagues? So far as any of these colleagues dissented by conviction from the substance of one or all of the Resolutions, they were clearly justified in refusing to support Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Bright, for instance, as we can all understand, could under no considerations sanction any propositions that might in any contingency lead this country into war; and that Mr. Bright should have stayed away from the division would have been natural, reasonable, and open to no cavil nor complaint. But this was not the case with the other official liberals. It was not the case of men like Lord Hartington and his principal colleagues. They admitted that they had little quarrel with the matter of the Resolutions, but only with their opportuneness. But then, whether rightly or wrongly, Mr. Gladstone had insisted on thinking them opportune. The division, which the leaders deprecated, was inevitable. They could not prevent it. Why not, then, have made the best of it? If there must be a division, why not have acted so as to make it, at all events, as little unfavourable as possible? If they even objected to the substance of the third and fourth Resolutions, what reason was there why Lord Hartington and his friends should not have voted for the first and second? They pleaded, it is true, that a vote for the first two would be by implication to commit themselves to the spirit of the latter two also, even if no vote were actually to be taken upon them. But then what was to hinder Lord Hartington from definitely stating his intention to support the one, and not the other? Instead of taking this simple line, the leaders seem to have allowed spleen to conquer policy; they retreated into a Cave. Meanwhile the country was being raised upon them. Meetings were held in the great towns, and there was scarcely a liberal club or association in the land, which did not pass its resolution in favour of Mr. Gladstone. The late Premier says that he received upwards of three hundred sets of resolutions, petitions, and other forms of sympathy and support. It is quite true that there were one or two of these which were not meant to commit us to coercion. But there was a general agreement with Mr. Gladstone's policy, and a strong enthusiasm for his person; and as the parliamentary situation came to be better understood out of doors, there grew up a feeling of very decided and menacing resentment against the opposition leaders, who had themselves so vexatiously baulked the national expectations, and who were now hampering a more courageous and clear-sighted statesman than themselves. It began to be seen that Mr. Gladstone would be followed into the lobby by a majority, if a bare one, of the Liberal members of parliament.

Then came the ordinary proceedings of a severe party crisis, the messages, the goings and comings, the fetching and carrying, which are so important,

which give so much work to gossips, but which are never allowed to creep into history. The end of all was that the House of Commons was astonished on the eventful Monday afternoon (May 7) by the announcement that a compromise had been arranged between Mr. Gladstone and the gentlemen who had aspired to be his leaders. The agitation was indescribable. It was no wonder that Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Courtney, and other members of the party of action, rose to complain of the abandonment of the third and fourth Resolutions. It seemed as if the country was to be balked to the very end, and that either the debate at once would collapse, or else that at best there would be a discussion from which the real issue would be left out—namely whether England should under any circumstances join in the work of compelling the Porte to take those moderate steps towards decent government that were demanded by the European Powers. What the motives were that induced Mr. Gladstone to withdraw the two Resolutions, it would perhaps be difficult even for himself to explain in two or three straightforward categorical propositions. We can, however, easily understand how he should be eager to avoid humiliating the colleagues whom he had associated with the triumphs of his great ministerial period eight or nine years ago. We can easily understand how he should be willing to build for them one of those golden bridges of retreat, of which we have heard so much within the last nine months. They had already received a lesson, which was not without its mortifications. They had discovered that in parliament and in the ranks of their nominal followers, there are now resolute Liberals who will only follow on the condition of being led, and who can never be overawed into nullity and a betrayal of the constituencies by any amount of the pomposities of officialism. The opposition leaders had also discovered that Mr. Gladstone is still the great rallying-centre of popular Liberalism, and the only commander whose standard the liberal forces of the country are willing to recognise.

The debate that followed Mr. Gladstone's magnificent oration in introducing his Resolutions calls for little remark. The point in it upon which the country has seized with most satisfaction, was Mr. Cross's account of the conditions under which British interests might be considered to be involved. It is true that Mr. Cross's words, when carefully looked into, are looser than people have been willing to suppose. They would certainly bear interpretations, in certain contingencies by land or sea, that would be extremely disturbing to the satisfaction with which they were heard and read in the second week in May. However, under Lord Beaconsfield's government we are thankful for small mercies, and it was a comfort to sensible men, in dread of the red and flaming utterances of Mr. Hardy, to have the ministerial position defined as it was by Mr. Cross. The deep impression of relief which Mr. Cross's speech so unmistakably made upon the country, will naturally have its effect in keeping the Ministry in the path which the speech was supposed to indicate. For the rest, we need only say that the course and the effects of the debate have amply and accurately justified those of us who have urged ever since February the importance of parliamentary action, such as the country has been looking for since the autumn;

The apprehensions as to the effect of a bad division upon foreign countries have proved utterly vain. Instead of the predicted discouragement of the Liberals at home, in parliament and out, we see increased confidence and greater vigour. And to the Ministerialists themselves the debate has been most salutary; the wilder spirits have been partially sobered by the moderate language which was obligatory on their responsible leaders, and their leaders, on the other hand, have had an occasion, which only the popular verdict on the debate could have furnished, of judging the temper and leanings of the nation.

Quite in harmony with this turn and cast of public opinion, has been the almost universal reprobation of the uncouth stiffness and irritation of Lord Derby's dispatch of May 1, on the Russian declaration of war. Its temper and contents are commonly felt to be both unjust and unstatesmanlike. They are felt, too, to be in direct contradiction to our line of action since the autumn. It is not indeed the first contradiction in policy during these disastrous manœuvres of the English foreign office.

The gist of the Berlin Memorandum, for instance, was that some immediate grievances of a local character should be redressed; that the Porte should be solemnly warned that it must reform itself; and that if after this warning it failed to do so, the Powers should consider efficacious measures to obtain the desired end. If united Europe had so settled it and had pressed some plan of the kind with sufficient firmness before the Pachas had learned to ride the high horse, before passions had been inflamed, and before great armaments had been got ready, we may well believe that a settlement might have been reached. But the Berlin Memorandum having been rejected in the spring of 1876, and so many unhappy events having occurred in the meantime, Europe came round in the spring of 1877 to the last Protocol. Lord Derby signed the Protocol, though he had refused to sign the Berlin Memorandum, yet the Protocol was really own brother to the Berlin Memorandum. It was then too late; the Porte, Oriental as it is, had learned to interpret concession and conciliation as weakness; it had discovered that there could be no immediate union of the Powers for "efficacious measures," and it felt that if it was to fight Russia alone it could do so better now than later. It replied to the Protocol by a defiance, and war necessarily resulted.

Two or three dislocated utterances of Lord Beaconsfield apart, the official tone of the British Government had been throughout the negotiations friendly and conciliatory towards Russia. Over and over again, when suspicions were raised outside, the Government volunteered the assurance that no Power had behaved in a better or more friendly way than Russia. In the Conference Russia gave up all to which we objected, and accepted what we proposed. The concord seemed to be complete. When the Turks had rejected the terms of the Conference, Lord Derby suggested in the House of Lords much easier terms—that a time should be given to them to reform themselves without exacting guarantees, and that then, if they failed, Europe should consider the treatment to be adopted. Again Russia gave way, and these views were embodied in the Protocol which she proposed,

and we in some sense accepted. So far as the official communications published in the blue books go, the justification of Russia in regard to the Protocol and her subsequent conduct is complete. She has only planned the course which she has all along publicly announced that she would follow, and it is after acting with her for six months in apparent acceptance of the views which she had openly avowed that we have now turned and denounced her.

It is hardly necessary to recall the public pledge of the Emperor of Russia in November, that he would obtain justice for the Christians of Turkey in concert with the other Powers if possible, but alone if it must be; nor to the persistent acceptance and use of the Russian declaration, both by Lord Derby and by Lord Salisbury, when, not once but repeatedly, in the name of their own Government and in that of the united Powers, they solemnly and officially warned the Porte of the danger to its existence from an attack by Russia, which must result if the proposals of the Powers were rejected. In proposing and discussing the Protocol, the Russians were again, so far as the official papers show, perfectly explicit and straightforward in their communications. Lord Derby's dispatch of March 18 shows that, in first handing in the draft Protocol, the Russian ambassador declared that "the Emperor was sincerely desirous of peace, but not of peace at any price." "After the sacrifices of Russia and the enormous expenditure incurred, she could not retire without having some tangible result."

Again, Lord Derby's dispatch of March 24 shows that on that date the Russian Ambassador had stated, in writing, the precise terms of the declaration which Russia would make in signing the Protocol; viz., "if the Porte accepts the advice of the Powers, shows itself ready to replace its forces on a Peace footing, and to take in hand seriously the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, and will send a special envoy to St. Petersburg to treat of disarmament, the Emperor of Russia will also on his side consent." Three days later these terms were formally settled after reference to St. Petersburg, and after consideration by the English Cabinet. (See Lord Derby's dispatch 405 of March 27.) Prince Gortchakoff at the same time proposed, without objection, that the Protocol, as soon as signed, should be forwarded to Constantinople by telegraph. And, indeed, the terms of the Protocol of 31st March, rendered its formal communication to the Porte absolutely necessary. The Powers "invite the Porte to replace its armies on a peace footing," and they otherwise solemnly advise and warn that power. In Lord Derby's dispatch of April 4 he states the wish of the Russian Minister, that Her Majesty's representative at Constantinople should "communicate the Protocol to the Porte simultaneously with the representatives of the other Powers." And it was communicated by all the Powers. It is impossible to understand, then, how expressions can be used which seem to suggest that the Protocol was a mere agreement between the Powers themselves; or that Russia improperly presented it to the Porte, when it was never intended that she should do so; or that it should be contended that Russia took us by surprise and made the Protocol ineffectual by her

declaration, when, in fact, she had formally settled that declaration with our Government some time before the signature of the Protocol.

Lord Derby no doubt stipulated that the Porte should not be required to sign the Protocol. All that was required was that Turkey should tacitly accept the advice of Europe, not protesting against it; should show in practice a readiness to commence reforms; and should send an envoy to treat for mutual disarmament. In accordance with that arrangement, Lord Derby did formally warn the Porte—see his dispatch of April 5—that a "protest against the Protocol" would be "a reckless refusal by Turkey of the overtures made by Russia, and will have the effect of putting her in the wrong in the eyes of Europe." The Porte did protest in the most insolent terms. Yet our Government, after having so recently and formally declared that in this case the wrong would be with Turkey, has turned round and denounced Russia as being in the wrong. What can be more unintelligible? How was it possible for Russia to draw back in the face of the open defiance of the Porte? What seems to be implied by the declarations of the organs of the Government is, that while the ostensible declarations of Russia and arrangements with the Powers were what we have described, there was some secret understanding that it was all a sham to deceive the Russian people, and to give the Emperor a pretext for retreat; that while the Russians said officially that if their terms were not complied with they meant war, yet secretly they led our Government to suppose that they were determined to have peace at any price, and that if the Protocol were only signed they would disarm, whatever might be the conduct of Turkey. If all this was so, it should be a warning against entering into these tortuous and equivocal ways.

Till we have evidence of some secret understanding, not expressed in the blue books, we must judge Russia by the official papers. Whether she really meant and wished for war nobody can pretend to say. Probably different Russians had different views. Probably the Emperor wished for peace. Possibly some of his ministers counted on the obstinacy and the delusions of the Porte to put them in the right, by rejecting the most moderate proposals. But if Russia has done what is right, has throughout the negotiations accepted the advice and arbitrament of Europe, and has so put Turkey in the wrong, we have no sort of right to go behind her acts and say, without evidence, that though in the quarrel she has been in the right, she was probably determined to quarrel whether right or wrong, and therefore we shall consider her in the wrong.

The antagonism to Russia created by the dispatch of May 1 is therefore most deeply to be regretted, most mischievous, most dangerous. That this dispatch is in the highest degree unfriendly and antagonistic is the view of all foreigners. The other Powers took no such step; concerned as they are as much as we, they have let the action of Russia pass in silence. If we thought it necessary formally to wash our hands of the business for the present, we might have done so without this bitter condemnation. The fear is that a breach thus commenced may widen. Speeches in the House of Commons are often judged more by the notoriety of the speakers

than by their contents, and, though it has been little noticed, one of the most telling was that of Mr. Hussey Vivian when he recalled the history of the Crimean war, and showed how our unfriendly comments when the Russians crossed the Pruth gradually ripened into war nine months later.

The profound silence of the Prime Minister is not more re-assuring than the dispatch of his Foreign Secretary. Throughout his career, whenever he was unable to have his own way, Mr. Disraeli knew how to hold his peace, and to await his moment. This time, if his moment comes, and he finally succeeds in committing us to a war against Russia, the probability is that he will ruin the future of his own colleagues. Even if we can suppose that a bare majority of the country might be stirred up and blindly misled into approval of such a war—a supposition that we at least are not yet ready to admit as likely—there would still be a powerful, determined, and very articulate minority, and in the face of the activity of such a minority, the first steps towards the repetition of the mismanagement of the Crimean War—and all experience shows that such mismanagement may be counted on in every English war on the Continent of Europe—would be the instant shipwreck of the ministry. But all this is not hidden from the eyes of the sensible men of the cabinet. Responsibility brings weightiness of judgment. On this account, we may almost be content that the Liberals are out of office, and that the men who would in opposition have been sure to cry loudest against the policy which is now their own, as a surrender of national honour, dignity, safety, and the other shibboleths, are now silenced by the necessities of their own situation.

Let us return for a moment to the relations between the Liberal leaders in parliament and the Liberals in the constituencies. Mr. Gladstone's visit to Birmingham, to which, while we write, the attention of all the political part of the country is directed, is in one respect only the natural outcome of his avowed policy since last September; namely, the policy of urgent, pertinacious, and incessant appeal from the present Parliament, the Ministry, and the opinion of London society, to the nation at large. Mr. Gladstone's visit has, however, a more general aspect than this. It gives his sanction, countenance, and encouragement, to that Confederation of Liberal Associations, which is to be definitely organized on the occasion. Now what is the object and principle of such a Confederation, and why has it appeared desirable to its originators to promote it? In the first place there can be no intention of mechanically imposing a programme upon such constituencies as enter into the scheme. No doubt one effect of discussion among delegates from popularly chosen associations will be gradually to lead to a certain consensus as to the improvements in our legislative structure which it is desirable to press. Men will naturally not take the trouble to combine, to meet together, and to stir the energies of local wards and districts, all for nothing more definite than the return to power of a party without a programme, and leaders without initiative. But the essential aim of the new organization is to secure a certain unity of action among the Liberals of the

country. It is a means, and the only means, of getting at their mind and wishes. It is an elementary attempt to ask the constituencies the question—What improvements in government do you want? We cannot summon English Liberals in a mass out into Salisbury Plain. Representation is the only plan for ascertaining the popular temper, and these representatives, in turn, meeting as they will with those of other towns, and having their ideas widened and their vigour stimulated by the intercourse, will inevitably influence the electors by whom they are chosen. All this will stimulate and brace the constituencies, and it will convince the parliamentary leaders that in the present condition of liberalism, at all events, it is not true that "they also serve who only stand and wait." The shrewd hostility of the Whigs of the *Saturday Review*, for instance, already shows them that the section of action are the Liberals of the future, and that when the next spell of power comes, it will mean not only a redistribution of electoral power, but first the emancipation of landowners from long settlements and of farmers from vexatious and restrictive covenants, and second, the relegation of ecclesiastical and spiritual functions to those whom they concern.

*May* 28, 1877.

# BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

*Supernatural Religion: an Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation.* Vol. 3. Longmans.

Mainly an analysis of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the testimony to the Resurrection.

*St. Clement of Rome.* By J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D. Macmillan.

A supplement to the author's previous edition of Saint Clement, containing the newly-discovered portions of his epistles, and a translation of the whole.

*Recollections of the Irish Church.* By R. S. BROOKE, D.D. Macmillan.

Extends from 1822 to 1862.

*Life and Teaching of Theodore Parker.* By PETER DEAN. Williams and Norgate.

A warm and eloquent eulogy.

*The Authorship of the De Imitatione Christi; with many Interesting Particulars about the Book.* By SAMUEL KETTLEWELL. Rivingtons.

An exhaustive discussion of the vexed question of the authorship of the "De Imitatione," determining the point in favour of Thomas a Kempis.

*A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant; with an Historical Introduction.* By EDWARD CAIRD. Maclehose.

*American Addresses.* By T. W. HUXLEY. Macmillan.

Reports of the addresses, chiefly on scientific subjects, delivered by Professor Huxley during his recent tour in the United States.

*A Comparative Survey of the Laws in Force for the Prohibition, Regulation, and Licensing of Vice in England and other Countries.* By SHELDON AMOS. Stevens and Sons.

A collection of everything relating to the subject in a legal point of view, to which is appended a powerful argument against the public countenancing of prostitution as a social necessity.

*Administration of their* . GILBERT. Daldy, Isbister, & Co.

An impeachment of the general management of the property of the Corporation and the Companies; especially on the ground of the alleged systematic exclusion of the poor from the precincts of the City.

*Turkey in Europe.* By JAMES BAKER, Lieutenant-Colonel Auxiliary Forces. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Treats, among other subjects, of the Turkish army, navy, and finances, the national means of defence, and foreign instigation to insurrection, especially in Bulgaria.

*Sind Revisited.* By RICHARD F. BURTON. Bentley.

A comparison of the Sind of to-day with Sind as known to the author twenty years since, with especial reference to political and administrative considerations.

*The Literary Remains of Charles Francis Tyrwhitt Drake.* Edited, with a memoir, by WALTER BESANT. Bentley.

A collection of papers chiefly relating to the topography of Palestine.

*Memoir of James, First Lord Abinger.* By the Hon. P. C. SCARLETT. Murray.

An unfinished autobiography of the great advocate, with some slight additions, and half a volume of forensic arguments.

*Renaissance in Italy.* By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2 vols. Smith, Elder & Co.

The first of these volumes treats very fully of the revival in literature, the second of the revival in art: they form a continuation of the author's "Age of the Despots," and are to be succeeded by a fourth volume treating of Italian literature in general.

*Thomas De Quincey: his Life and Writings.* With unpublished correspondence. By H. A. PAGE. 2 vols. John Hogg & Co.

Partly a reproduction of De Quincey's autobiographic sketches; but also containing much unpublished matter of great interest respecting the latter period of his life.

*Charlotte Bronte: a Monograph.* By M. T. WEMYSS REID. Macmillan.

Founded principally on hitherto unpublished letters addressed by Charlotte Bronté to an intimate female friend; and "meant to be a companion, not a rival, to Mrs. Gaskell's Life."

*Garth.* By JULIAN HAWTHORNE. 3 vols. Bentley.

*L'Art d'être Grand-père.* Par Victor Hugo. Calmann Lévy; Barthes and Lowell.

Poems on infancy, inspired by the veteran poet's accustomed affection for the young and compassion for the weak.

*L'Hetman: drame en cinq actes, en vers.* Par Paul Deroulède. Calmann Lévy; Barthès and Lowell.

Represents the condition of France after the war under a transparent disguise, and with an energy of patriotic feeling that has already carried it through fifteen editions.

*Dictionnaire Géographique de l'ancienne Egypte, contenant plus de 2,000 noms géographiques qui se rencontrent sur les monumens égyptiens. Wörterbuch, &c.* Par H. Brugsch Bey. Hinrichs; Williams and Norgate.

Will be completed in about eight parts.

*Peter von Ailli. Zur Geschichte des grosser abendländischen Schisma und der Reformconcilien von Pisa und Constanz.* Von Dr. Paul Tschackert. Perthes; Williams and Norgate.

The portrait of a mediæval ecclesiastic celebrated for his erudition, who combined the characters of a zealous patriot and a zealous churchman.

*Feldmarschall Graf Moltke's Briefe aus Russland.* Paetel; Williams and Norgate.

Private letters on the occasion of the coronation of the present Tsar, which the author attended in an official capacity.

*Skizzenbuch, Lieder, und Bilder.* Von Paul Heyse. Hertz; Williams and Norgate.

Miscellaneous pieces in the most refined style of poetical composition.

*Das Vermächtniss Kains.* Th. 2. Von Sacher-Masoch. Frobeen; Nutt.

Novelettes criticising the institution of property, and exhibiting its inequalities in a dramatic form.

*Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures.* Par G. Vapereau. Hachette; Barthès and Lowell.

A copious but compact encyclopædia of literature; biographical, æsthetic, and bibliographical.

*Précis du Droit des gens.* Par Th. Funck-Brentano et Albert Sorel. Plon; Barthès and Lowell.

*Traité de la Science des Finances.* Par Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. 2 tom. Guillaumin; Barthès and Lowell.

A great repertory of accurate financial information, in two parts: the first treating of the principles of taxation; the second of the public credit, loans, and paper money.

*Colbert et son Temps.* Par A. Neymarck. 2 tom. Dentu; Barthès and Lowell.

A general survey of Colbert's administration.

*Un Homme d'autrefois.* Souvenirs recueillis par son arrière petit-fils le Marquis Costa de Beauregard. Barthès and Lowell.

The memoirs of a French emigrant during the Revolution, who took refuge in Piedmont and fought against Bonaparte, with whom he was subsequently employed to negotiate.

*Mes Souvenirs*, 1806—1833. Par Daniel Stern. Calmann Lévy; Barthès and Lowell.

Reminiscences of the authoress's youth, marriage, and the revolution of 1830.

*Les Pyrénées et le Midi de la France.* Par Adolphe Thiers. Charles; Barthès and Lowell.

Notes of a tour performed in 1822. Highly characteristic of the writer.

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Sketches of the leading men and reviews of the most pressing questions in modern Belgium.

*Voyage à travers les malentendus et la plaisanterie de l'Existence humaine.* Par l'Abbé H. Duclos. 2 tom. Didier; Barthès and Lowell.

Discussions in a lively strain on numerous questions of ethics and manners, especially such as illustrate the divergence between modern ideas and the traditions of the Catholic Church.